

# sacris erudiri

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A Journal on the Inheritance of Early and Medieval Christianity

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A Journal on the Inheritance of Early and Medieval Christianity

Founded by Dom Eligius Dekkers († 1998)

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All correspondence should be addressed to the Editorial Manager :

Sint-Annaconvent  
Begijnhof 39  
B-2300 Turnhout (Belgium)  
  
Tel. : +32 (14) 711054  
Fax : +32 (14) 711059  
E-mail : luc.jocque@brepols.net

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Eusebio di Cesarea, *Hist. Eccl.* 5.27 e  
*Praep. Ev.* 7.21.5:  
indagine su Massimo,  
autore « fantasma »\*

da

Roberta FRANCHI

(Firenze)

1. *Status quaestionis*

Eusebio di Cesarea nella *Historia ecclesiastica*, dopo aver citato alcune opere di Ireneo giunte a sua conoscenza, elenca altri scritti di autori contemporanei al vescovo di Lione; insieme alle opere di Eraclito sull'Apostolo, alle pagine di Candido e di Apione sull'*Esamerone* e a quelle di Sesto sulla resurrezione figurano gli scritti di Massimo riguardanti il problema tanto dibattuto tra gli eretici della provenienza del male e dell'essere la materia creata:

Di esse noi stessi abbiamo letto quelle di Eraclito sull'Apostolo (τὰ Ἑρακλείτου εἰς τὸν ἀπόστολον), quelle di Massimo (τὰ Μαξίμου) sulla questione tanto dibattuta tra gli eretici della provenienza del male e sull'essere la materia originata, quelle di Candido (τὰ τε Κανδίδου) sull'*Esamerone* e di Apione sullo stesso argomento (καὶ Ἀπίωνος

\* Vorrei ringraziare il Dr. Peter Van Nuffelen (University of Exeter), che nella veste di peer reviewer di *Sacris Erudiri* mi ha suggerito, dopo la lettura di questo articolo, alcune indicazioni bibliografiche e soprattutto utili osservazioni di natura cronologica in merito al problema dell'eventuale identificazione di Massimo come l'autore del *Dialogo di Adamanzio*.

εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν); ugualmente quelle di Sesto sulla resurrezione [...]<sup>1</sup>.

Nessuna indicazione geografica, storica o biografica accompagna la lista degli autori: segno che le opere erano ancora lette al tempo di Eusebio, ma non si era in grado di fornire ulteriori informazioni; probabilmente lo stesso scrittore di Cesarea le ritiene coeve a quelle di Ireneo e quindi collocabili sotto il regno di Commodo, in virtù del contenuto e dei problemi che esse trattano. Gli studiosi ravvisano nell'uso di τᾶ genericamente con cui egli si riferisce all'opera di Massimo una testimonianza sull'incertezza eusebiana a proposito di questo scrittore<sup>2</sup>; bisogna comunque notare che esso è formulare<sup>3</sup>.

Il vescovo di Cesarea menziona Massimo anche nella *Praeparatio evangelica*, dove lo ricorda come autore di un trattato intitolato *Sulla materia*, di cui riporta subito dopo un lungo estratto, ritenuto indispensabile per completare la panoramica sul problema della ὕλη che sta affrontando in quelle pagine:

Quanto a Massimo, uomo non privo di importanza (οὐκ ἀσήμω) della scuola di Cristo, ha composto un proprio scritto *Sulla materia* (Περὶ τῆς ὕλης). Da questo mi sembra utile riproporre un buon passo per ottenere degli argomenti giusti sulla questione<sup>4</sup>.

In questo caso compare un titolo che non era presente nella *Historia ecclesiastica* dove, come abbiamo visto, ricorre una perifrasi volta a esprimere le tematiche essenziali dell'opera. La critica è convinta che l'indicazione περὶ τῆς ὕλης sia ricavata da Eusebio stesso sulla base del contenuto dell'estratto che ri-

<sup>1</sup> Cfr. Eus., *H.E.* 5.27, hersg. von F. WINKELMANN, Berlin, 1999 (*GCS* 6.1 Neue Folge), p. 498.19-24.

<sup>2</sup> Vd. l'utile introduzione, tenuta molto presente durante la stesura di questo articolo, a EUSÈBE DE CÉSARÉE, *La préparation évangélique*, Livre VII. Introduction, traduction et annotation par G. SCHROEDER, text grec révisé par É. DES PLACES, Paris, 1975 (*SC* 215), in part. p. 112; A. VAILLANT, *Le « De autexsusio » de Méthode d'Olympe. Version slave et texte grec édités et traduits en français*, Paris, 1930 (*PO* 22.5), p. 637.

<sup>3</sup> Se pone problema per l'attribuzione a Massimo dello scritto, dovrebbe suscitarsi anche per Eraclito, Candido, Apione e Sesto.

<sup>4</sup> Cfr. Eus., *P.E.* 7.21.5 (*SC* 215, p. 280). L'estratto è presentato subito dopo: cfr. *P.E.* 7.22 (*SC* 215, p. 282-312).

porta, centrato non a caso sul problema della materia; la conclusione sarebbe che egli non conosceva con certezza né l'autore dell'opera, né il suo titolo esatto<sup>5</sup>.

Voler cercare ulteriore conferma dell'esistenza di Massimo in altri autori cristiani è impresa vana, perché sia Rufino, che traduce in latino la *Historia ecclesiastica*<sup>6</sup>, sia Gerolamo nel *De viris illustribus*<sup>7</sup>, accettano e riportano semplicemente quanto detto da Eusebio, senza verificarne la veridicità e senza aggiungere altro; il vescovo di Cesarea è il primo a chiamarlo in causa. La situazione si complica allorché questo stesso estratto, che Eusebio nella *Praeparatio evangelica* presenta e attribuisce a Massimo<sup>8</sup>, è inserito da Basilio di Cesarea e Gregorio di Nazianzo nella *Philocalia*<sup>9</sup>: essi infatti hanno creduto di ritrovarlo letteralmente in un altro dialogo, comunemente denominato *Dialogo di Adamanzio: Sulla retta fede in Dio*, considerato di Origene e tradotto di conseguenza in latino da Rufino<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Cfr. SCHROEDER, *Eusèbe de Césarée, La préparation évangélique*, p. 113; p. 282 e n. 1. Nel corso della trattazione, dopo aver ripercorso i punti salienti del problema Massimo-Adamanzio-Metodio, saranno vagliate le ipotesi formulate dagli studiosi e qualora risultassero inadeguate, sebbene siamo ben consapevoli di quanto sia pericoloso avanzare teorie in assenza di materiale sicuro, si cercherà di fornire una probabile spiegazione dell'errore eusebiano. Poiché disponiamo di una minima parte di tutta la produzione letteraria antica, sarà bene prospettare varie possibilità.

<sup>6</sup> « Cuius temporibus... Maximus, qui de famosissima omnium haereticorum dissevit quæstione, qua semper inquiritur, unde sint mala vel unde malitia et quod materia facta sit et non infecta ». Cfr. RUF., *H.E.* 5.27, hersg. von F. WINKELMANN (GCS 6.1 Neue Folge), p. 499.20-22.

<sup>7</sup> « Maximus sub iisdem principibus (scil. Commodus Severoque) famosam quæstionem insigni volumine ventilavit, unde malum et quod materia facta a Deo sit ». Cfr. HIER., *Vir. Ill.* 47, ed. di A. CERESA-GASTALDO, Firenze, 1988 (Biblioteca Patristica 12), p. 146.

<sup>8</sup> Cfr. EUS., *P.E.* 7.22.1-64 (SC 215, p. 282-313).

<sup>9</sup> Cfr. J. ROBINSON, *The Philocalia of Origen*, Cambridge, 1893, p. 212-226, in part. 225-226: Ταῦτα ἀπὸ τοῦ ζ' λόγου τῆς Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παλαιστίναιου εὐαγγελικῆς προπαρασκευῆς ἠντληται, ὅντα ὡς φησιν Μαξίμου οὐκ ἀσήμου ἐν τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς συγγραφέως. αὐτολεξεῖ δὲ ταῦτα ἡῦρεται κείμενα ἐν τῷ Ὁριγένους πρὸς Μαρκωνιστὰς καὶ ἄλλους αἵρετικοὺς διαλόγῳ, Εὐτροπίου δικάζοντος, Μεγεθίου δὲ ἀντιλέγοντος.

<sup>10</sup> Si tratta di un dialogo in cui il portavoce ortodosso principale è Adamanzio, che ribatte contro vari interlocutori di posizioni gnostiche e valentiniane. Il testo ruota attorno al problema del male e a un certo punto presenta quel brano che, se Eusebio ha attribuito a Massimo, Basilio e Gre-

Secondo queste testimonianze due opere, una attribuita a Massimo l'altra a Origene, conterrebbero una parte in comune.

gorio di Nazianzo hanno inserito al capitolo XXIV della *Philocalia*, credendolo di Origene. In realtà come vedremo, è tratto dal *De autexusio* di Metodio d'Olimpo. Mentre Eusebio riproduce soltanto i capp. 5-12.8 (P.E. 7.22, SC 215, p. 282-312 ~ METH., *Arbitr.* 5-12.8, GCS 27, p. 157-178), il *Dialogo di Adamanzio* ha ripreso, seppure apportando molte modifiche e ampliamenti, una sezione di testo più ampia. Oltre alla lunga discussione sulla materia e le sue qualità, ha inserito le parti sul libero arbitrio (ADAM., GCS 4, p. 162.7-164.11 ~ METH., *Arbitr.* 15.1-5, GCS 27, p. 183-185; ADAM., GCS 4, p. 164.19-168.5 ~ METH., *Arbitr.* 16.1-7, GCS 27, p. 186-188). Viene dunque da pensare che Eusebio ha copiato indirettamente, mentre l'autore del dialogo anonimo direttamente; su questo aspetto cfr. *infra* e n. 21, mentre per informazioni su Metodio cfr. n. 11. Per l'edizione del *Dialogo di Adamanzio* vd. W. H. VAN DE SANDE BAKHUYZEN, *Der Dialog des Adamantius*, GCS 4, Leipzig, 1901 (con a fronte la trad. latina di Rufino), dove alle p. 136-168, seppure con vari rimaneggiamenti, figura la parte ripresa da Metodio. Per una introduzione al testo, una traduzione (inglese) e un commento vd. *Adamantius. Dialogue on the True Faith in God. De Recta in Deum Fide*. Translated with Commentary by R. A. PRETTY, Peeters, 1997 (edited for publication by G. W. Trompf). Lo scrittore di Aquileia lo ha tradotto credendolo di Origene; la sottoscrizione del testo reca infatti: «incipiunt libri *Adamantii Origenis* adversus haereticos...» (hersg. von VAN DE SANDE BAKHUYZEN, GCS 4, *Einleitung*, p. xxii). L'errata attribuzione ad Origene, sebbene sia stata da taluni evitata (cfr. Theodoret., *Storia delle eresie*, PG 83, 339A e PG 83, 377A che distingue Origene da Adamanzio e Photius, *Bibl.* cod. 231, il quale menziona una lettera di Sofronio in cui il patriarca fa distinzione tra Origene e Adamanzio: 'Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἄλλος μὲν ἐστὶ Ὁριγένους ὁ παλαιός, ἕτερος δὲ ὁ μετ' ἐκείνων, ἐπικληθεὶς Ἀδαμάντιος), è dovuta al fatto che uno degli interlocutori principali dell'opera si chiama Adamanzio, soprannome dell'Alessandrino: cfr. Eus., *H.E.* 6.14.10, hersg. von F. WINKELMANN (GCS 6.1 Neue Folge), p. 552: ὁ γὰρ τοῖς Ἀδαμάντιος (καὶ τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν τῷ Ὁριγένει ὄνομα). Sul fatto che l'elaborato non possa essere frutto di Origene vd. VAN DE SANDE BAKHUYZEN, *Der Dialog*, p. xiv-xv e PRETTY, *Adamantius*, p. 11-12. I mss. greci che restituiscono l'opera sono dieci e tre di essi hanno l'intestazione: «Un dialogo di Origene contro i Marcioniti»; gli altri presentano il seguente prologo: «Una discussione di Adamanzio, che è anche Origene, riguardo la retta fede in Dio, con gli eretici Megezio e Marco, Droserio, Valente e Marino». In assenza di un titolo preciso, è stato accettato quanto affermato dagli autori della *Philocalia* e da Rufino: *Sulla retta fede in Dio* (Περὶ τῆς εἰς θεὸν ὀρθῆς πίστεως - *De recta in Deum fide*). Comunemente viene chiamato *Dialogo di Adamanzio*, dal nome del protagonista principale. Sul titolo dell'opera cfr. VAN DE SANDE BAKHUYZEN, *Der Dialog*, p. xxii; PRETTY, *Adamantius*, p. 1-2. Per informazioni su Adamanzio vd. J. QUASTEN, *Patrologia*, I, trad. it., Torino, 1971, p. 407.

In realtà, gli studi condotti nel corso del tempo hanno dimostrato che l'*excerptum* eusebiano riproduce parte del dialogo sul libero arbitrio (Περὶ τοῦ αὐτεξουσίου) di Metodio d'Olimpo, a cui spetta la paternità originaria del testo<sup>11</sup>.

Nel diciassettesimo secolo Jean Meursius (1579-1639) presenta per la prima volta l'edizione di un manoscritto (Laurent. Plut. 9.23 del decimo secolo, f. 193r-197v) che restituisce soltanto l'inizio dell'opera di Metodio, *Sul libero arbitrio*<sup>12</sup>; dopo un prologo molto raffinato dal punto di vista letterario, vi compare una piccola porzione del testo conservato da Eusebio<sup>13</sup>. Nel 1644 Combefis pubblica i frammenti di Metodio

<sup>11</sup> Su Metodio si può vedere N. G. BONWETSCH, *Die Theologie des Methodius von Olympus*, Berlin, 1903; J. FARGES, *Les Idées morales et religieuses de Méthode d'Olympe. Contribution à l'étude des rapports du Christianisme et de l'Hellénisme à la fin du troisième siècle*, Paris, 1929; ID., *Méthode d'Olympe: « Du libre arbitre »*. Traduction précédée d'une Introduction sur les questions de l'origine du monde, du libre arbitre et du problème du mal dans la pensée grecque, judaïque et chrétienne avant Méthode, Paris, 1929; E. PRINZIVALLI, *L'esegesi biblica di Metodio d'Olimpo*, Roma, 1984; L. G. PATTERSON, *Methodius of Olympus. Divine sovereignty, Human Freedom and Life in Christ*, Washington, 1997; K. BRACHT, *Vollkommenheit und Vollendung. Zur Anthropologie des Methodius von Olympus*, Tübingen, 1999. Per un quadro riepilogativo sulla biografia e sull'importanza della figura di Metodio cfr. M. B. ZORZI, « Metodio d'Olimpo, un autore minore? », *Revue d'études augustiniennes et patristiques*, 52.1 (2006), p. 31-56, mentre per inquadrare Metodio nel terzo secolo, soprattutto in rapporto alla controversia originiana cfr. E. PRINZIVALLI, *Magister Ecclesiae. Il dibattito su Origene fra III e IV secolo*, Roma 2002. L'edizione critica delle opere metodiane e quindi dello stesso dialogo sul libero arbitrio è a cura di N. G. BONWETSCH, *Methodius*, GCS 27, Leipzig 1917 (da cui si cita nel corso dell'articolo). Per il *De libero arbitrio* esiste anche la già menzionata edizione di Vaillant, (PO 22.5), Paris 1930. Le notizie principali su Metodio giungono da Gerolamo, *De viris illustribus* 83. Come nota giustamente TH. ZAHN, « Die Dialoge des 'Adamantius' mit den Gnostikern », *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 9 (1888), p. 226 e n. 4, questo capitolo è indipendente da Eusebio, perché lo scrittore di Cesarea non lo nomina mai nella *Historia ecclesiastica*; vd. n. 73. Fondamentale è anche l'edizione del *Simposio* curata da H. MUSURILLO, *St. Methodius, The Symposium: A Treatise on Chastity* (Ancient Christian Writers 27) Westminster / London, 1958, nonché H. MUSURILLO - V.-H. DEBIDOUR, *Méthode d'Olympe: Le banquet*, Paris, 1963 (SC 95).

<sup>12</sup> Cfr. J. MEURSIUS, *Variorum divinatorum liber unus*, Leyde, 1619, p. 89-110.

<sup>13</sup> Il ms. Laurent. Plut. 9.23 riporta i capp. 1-7.5, f. 193r-197v, (secondo l'edizione di Bonwetsch, GCS 27, sono le p. 145-163); Eusebio quelli dal 5 al 12.8 (P.E. 7.22, SC 215, p. 282-312 ~ METH., *Arbitr.* 5-12.8, GCS 27,

contenuti nella *Biblioteca* di Fozio (cod. 236) e nei *Sacra Paralela*<sup>14</sup>. In seguito Jean Rodolphe Wettstein, occupandosi del dialogo *Sulla retta fede in Dio*, che egli, sulla scia degli autori della *Philocalia*, crede essere di Origene, non accetta che l'Alessandrino abbia potuto copiare da Massimo parte della sua opera<sup>15</sup>. Nelle sue *Memorie* il Tillemont, pur analizzando i frammenti con cui Combefis appronta la sua edizione, non instaura nessun possibile legame tra Massimo e Metodio, limitandosi a concludere: « S. Jérôme parle d'un écrit de S. Méthode sur le libre arbitre et semble marquer qu'il était aussi dirigé contre Origène »<sup>16</sup>; tuttavia, affrontando nel terzo libro il problema di Massimo-Origene, egli fa una osservazione interessante: secondo lui sarebbero esistiti due Adamanzi, uno Origene, l'altro un autore vissuto sotto Costantino e per niente inferiore all'Alessandrino<sup>17</sup>. A metà del diciannovesimo secolo M. J. Routh, analizzando i frammenti di Massimo inseriti nelle *Reliquiae Sacrae* e dipendenti senza dubbio da Eusebio, avanza l'ipotesi che essi debbano essere esaminati alla luce del *De autexsio*, piuttosto che del *Dialogo di Adamanzio*<sup>18</sup>. Un notevole contributo è portato nel 1865 da A. Jahn che, nel suo studio introduttivo volto ad analizzare lo stile di Metodio, da un lato, apre la strada per mostrare come la parte iniziale del manoscritto edito da Meursius preceda l'estratto di Eusebio, dall'altro, poiché la fonte principale della cultura metodiana risul-

p. 157-178). Entrambi, quindi, presentano una porzione di testo in comune. Secondo l'edizione di Vaillant (*PO* 22.5) la parte conservata dal *ms.* corrisponde a 3-31.20 (p. 727-755), quella di Eusebio a 23.11-55.9 (p. 747-779), vista la diversa indicazione della scansione testuale. Proprio grazie al manoscritto Laurenziano si è potuto escludere la paternità di Massimo per l'*excerptum* eusebiano e attribuire di conseguenza il dialogo sul libero arbitrio a Metodio.

<sup>14</sup> Cfr. F. COMBEFIS, *Sanctorum Patrum Amphiloicii Iconiensis, Methodii Patrensis et Andreae Cretensis opera omnia*, Paris, 1664, p. 283-474.

<sup>15</sup> Wettstein nel 1674 fornisce un'edizione di qualche opera di Origene con traduzione latina; cfr. J. R. WETTSTEIN, *Origenes, Opera*, Leipzig, 1674.

<sup>16</sup> Cfr. L-S. LE NAIN DE TILLEMONT, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles*, Paris, 1698, t. V, p. 472. Egli parla di Massimo nel III tomo e di Metodio d'Olimpo nel V.

<sup>17</sup> Cfr. ID., *op. cit.*, Paris, 1695, t. III, p. 760-762.

<sup>18</sup> Cfr. M. J. ROUTH, *Reliquiae Sacrae*, II, Oxonii, 1846<sup>2</sup>, p. 75-121. Lo studioso rimane pur sempre legato alla figura di Massimo.



ta essere Platone, arriva a nutrire una profonda ammirazione per il suo Metodio « platonizans »<sup>19</sup>.

Così, dopo la prima pubblicazione delle opere metodiane a cura di Bonwetsch<sup>20</sup> e in seguito a quanto sostenuto da Robinson sul capitolo 24 della *Philocalia*<sup>21</sup>, ogni ombra di dubbio sembra fugata. Gli studiosi sono sicuri che i capp. dal 5 al 12.8<sup>22</sup> presenti nel *De autexusio* appartengono allo scrittore licio, senza risalire a quella fonte precedente identificata con Massimo, e arrivano a negare la storicità di quest'ultimo personaggio, ritenendolo frutto di un errore del vescovo di Cesarea, un autore « fantasma »<sup>23</sup>.

## 2. Rapporto Massimo-Metodio-Adamanzio

Nel tentativo di valutare l'effettiva veridicità della ricostruzione, sarà utile ripercorrerne le varie fasi. Il lungo passo riprodotto da Eusebio nella *Praeparatio evangelica* è senza dubbio identico a quello del *De autexusio* di Metodio, come si scorge fin da una prima lettura:

<sup>19</sup> Cfr. A. JAHN, *S. Methodii opera et S. Methodius platonizans*, Halle, 1865.

<sup>20</sup> Cfr. N. G. BONWETSCH, *Methodius von Olympos*, I Schriften, Erlangen und Leipzig, 1891. Nel 1917 segue l'edizione delle opere metodiane in *GC.S* 27.

<sup>21</sup> Dopo un'analisi attenta Robinson è arrivato alla conclusione che *due* autori hanno attinto da Metodio, l'uno indipendentemente dall'altro: Eusebio e l'autore del *Dialogo di Adamanzio*. Gli estratti non sono perfettamente paralleli, in quanto il secondo ha iniziato a copiare dal trattato dello scrittore licio, a un punto precedente da quello cui l'estratto eusebiano comincia e continua ad usare l'opera di Metodio anche dopo che Eusebio ha terminato di riportare il passo. Secondo lo studioso l'autore del *Dialogo di Adamanzio* ha ripreso direttamente dal testo metodiano e non indirettamente come Eusebio. Cfr. ROBINSON, *The Philocalia*, p. XLVI-XLVIII.

<sup>22</sup> Stando all'edizione di Vaillant (PO 22.5) corrispondono a 23.11-55.9, p. 747-779.

<sup>23</sup> Cfr. É. DES PLACES in EUSÈBE DE CÉSARÉE, *La préparation évangélique*, p. 315 (*Note complémentaire sur le chapitre 22*). Al riguardo lo studioso cita: O. BARDENHEWER, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, I<sup>2</sup>, Fribourg-en-Brisgau, 1913, p. 395; O. STÄHLIN, *Die altchristliche griechische Literatur*, Munich, 1924, p. 1306 e 1357.

Eus., *P.E.* 7.22.1-2 (SC 215, p. 282-284): "Οτι μὲν ἀδύνατον ὑπάρχειν ἀγένητα δύο ἅμα οὐδὲ σὲ ἀγνοεῖν νομίζω, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα δοκεῖς προλαβὼν τοῦτο προστεθεικέναι τῷ λόγῳ, τὸ πάντως ἐξ ἀνάγκης τὸ ἕτερον δεῖν λέγειν, ἢ ὅτι κεχώρισται τῆς ὕλης ὁ θεὸς ἢ αὖ πάλιν ὅτι ἀμέριστος αὐτῆς τυγχάνει. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἡνώσθαι τις αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν ἐθέλοι, ἐν τῷ ἀγένητον λέξει· **ἐκάτερον** γὰρ τούτων μέρος ἔσται τοῦ πλησίον· ἀλλήλων δὲ μέρος τυγχάνοντα οὐκ ἔσται ἀγένητα δύο, ὡς οὐδὲ διάφορα **μέρη** κατακερματίζομεν εἰς πολλὰ γενητά, ἀλλ' ἢ ὡς ὁ λόγος ἀπαιτεῖ, ἐν τι γενητὸν τὸν ἄνθρωπον πολυμερὲς πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ γεγονέναι φαμέν.

METH., *Arbitr.* 5.1-2 (GCS 27, p. 157-158): "Οτι μὲν οὖν ἀδύνατον ὑπάρχειν ἀγένητα δύο ἅμα, οὐδὲ σὲ ἀγνοεῖν νομίζω, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα δοκεῖς προλαβὼν τοῦτο προστεθεικέναι τῷ λόγῳ, τὸ πάντως ἐξ ἀνάγκης τὸ ἕτερον δεῖν λέγειν, ἢ ὅτι κεχώρισται τῆς ὕλης ὁ θεὸς ἢ αὖ πάλιν ὅτι ἀμέριστος αὐτῆς τυγχάνει. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἡνώσθαι τις αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν ἐθέλοι, ἐν τῷ ἀγένητον λέξει· **ἐκαστον** γὰρ τούτων μέρος ἔσται τοῦ πλησίον· ἀλλήλων δὲ μέρος τυγχάνοντα οὐκ ἔσται ἀγένητα δύο, **ἀλλ' ἐν ἐκ διαφορῶν συνεστὸς οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἔχοντα** διάφορα **μέλη** κατακερματίζομεν εἰς πολλὰ γενητά· ἀλλ' εἰ, ὡς ὁ λόγος ἀπαιτεῖ, ἐν τι γενητὸν τὸν ἄνθρωπον πολυμερὲς πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ γεγονέναι φαμέν [...].

La somiglianza tra i due testi pervade fino alla sua conclusione tutto l'*excerptum* eusebiano, che mostra rispetto al *De autexusio* soltanto poche varianti, dovute alla trasmissione testuale<sup>24</sup>. E' possibile tuttavia che sia stato Metodio a riprendere dal Massimo eusebiano questa medesima sezione di testo? La risposta non può che essere negativa, perché, come hanno già intravisto gli studiosi, l'andamento dialettico-retorico, le formule di passaggio proprie del genere dialogico fungono da continui richiami all'interno di tutto il *De autexusio*, tanto nella parte introduttiva e finale del trattato, entrambe

<sup>24</sup> Le parti evidenziate in neretto hanno lo scopo di rendere conto delle differenze testuali.

trasmesse da altri testimoni e non da Eusebio<sup>25</sup>, quanto in quella riportata anche nella *Praeparatio evangelica*<sup>26</sup>. Inoltre, se il vescovo di Cesarea avesse continuato a trascrivere l'opera ancora per altre poche pagine, con ogni probabilità sarebbe giunto al capitolo quindicesimo; questo è chiaramente frutto del pensiero metodiano, in quanto l'argomento affrontato – nessuna cosa è malvagia per natura, ma è il modo di utilizzo che la rende tale, concetto di ispirazione platonica – viene discusso sinteticamente anche nel *Simposio*<sup>27</sup>. Infine, bisogna rilevare che il *De autexusio* non presenta rimaneggiamenti. Generalmente quando un autore si appropria dello scritto di un altro, pur mostrandosi aderente al contenuto di partenza, apporta delle variazioni sia a livello linguistico-strutturale sia contestuale; questo è il caso per esempio delle *Massime di Sesto Empirico*<sup>28</sup>, dell'*Apologia* di Aristide di Atene confluita nel *Barlaam et Joasaph* di Giovanni Damasceno<sup>29</sup> e dello stesso *Dialogo di Adamanzio*. Nonostante esso riproduca una sezione di testo ben più ampia rispetto a quella di Eusebio, traspare la precisa volontà dell'autore di una sapiente rielaborazione del materia-

<sup>25</sup> Sulla tradizione del *De autexusio* cfr. BONWETSCH, *Methodius*, GCS 27, p. xxxi-xxxiv.

<sup>26</sup> Cfr. e.g. τὴν τε γῆν πεπηγυῖαν ὁρῶν (2.8, GCS 27, p. 149) ~ καὶ γῆν ὁμοίως πεπηγυῖαν ὁρᾷς (16.3, GCS 27, p. 187); τὴν μὲν προθυμίαν ἀποδέχομαι τὴν σὴν, ὧ φίλε, καὶ σου τὴν περὶ τὸν λόγον σπουδὴν ἐπαινῶ (4.1, GCS 27, p. 155) ~ τὴν μὲν προθυμίαν τὴν σὴν ἀποδέχομαι, ὧ φίλε, καὶ σου τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σπουδὴν ἐπαινῶ (9.4, GCS 27, p. 170); ποιεῖ δὲ φόβους καὶ μοιχείας καὶ κλοπὰς καὶ ὅσα τούτοις ὅμοια (8.13, GCS 27, p. 168) ~ οἷον φόβος καὶ μοιχεία καὶ τὰ τούτοις παραπλήσια (13.2, GCS 27, p. 179). Per altri richiami interni all'opera vd. ROBINSON, *The Philocalia*, p. xlii-xliv.

<sup>27</sup> Metodio, riproponendo un passo del *Simposio* di Platone (180ef e 183d), scrive nel *De autexusio* 15.1 (GCS 27, p. 183): ἐγὼ πρῶτον [μὲν] τῇ φύσει οὐδὲν φαῦλον λέγω, τῷ δὲ τῆς χρήσεως τρόπῳ κακὸν εἶναι λέγεσθαι [...]. Lo stesso concetto è esposto con minori esempi nel suo *Simposio* 2.5 (GCS 27, p. 21-22).

<sup>28</sup> Cfr. H. CHADWICK, *The Sentences of Sextus: a Contribution to the History of Early Christian Ethics*, Cambridge, 1959.

<sup>29</sup> Cfr. ARISTIDE DI ATENE, *Apologia* a cura di C. ALPIGIANO, Firenze, 1988 (Biblioteca Patristica 11), p. 28.

le metodiano<sup>30</sup>. Leggendo proprio la parte relativa alla discussione sulla materia e confrontandola con quella del *De autexu-sio*, risulta pressoché evidente che, non tanto Metodiodio, quanto il redattore dell'anonimo scritto ha copiato parte del dialogo dello scrittore licio, arrecando delle sostanziali modifiche:

ADAM., 4.842a.19-843b.19 (GCS 4, p. 142-146): ΑΔ.: [...] Οἱ δ' αὖ πάλιν τὸν θεὸν τούτων δημιουργὸν ἀπεφάναν-  
το, σύγχρονον αὐτῷ ὑπόστασιν δοῦναι πεφοβημένοι·  
ἕτεροι δὲ ἐκ τοῦ φοβηθῆναι τῶν κακῶν ποιητὴν εἰπεῖν  
τὸν θεόν, σύγχρονον αὐτῷ δοῦναι τὴν ὕλην ἔδοξαν. Καὶ  
συνέβη ἑκατέροις ἐκ τοῦ μὴ κατ' ἐπιστήμην τοῦ ἀλη-  
θοῦς φοβηθῆναι τὸν θεόν τὸ μὴ καλῶς εἰπεῖν. Ἐγὼ δὲ  
διὰ τὴν σὴν προθυμίαν ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς ζητήσεως τρα-  
πήσομαι λόγον· μόνον εὐγνωμόνως πρὸς ἕκαστα  
ἀποκρίναι ὧν ἐρωτῶ. Ἐκ γὰρ τούτου γενήσεται  
καὶ σὲ μὲν γινῶναι τὸ ἀληθές καὶ ἐμὲ δὲ μὴ μάτην  
τοὺς λόγους ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς σέ. ΔΡ. Ἐτοιμῶς ἔχω  
προστῆναι τοῦ ὄρου Οὐαλεντίνου. ΑΔ. Ποίας ἀπο-  
δείξεις ἔχεις ὅτι σύγχρονος ἡ ὕλη τῷ θεῷ; ΔΡ. Οὐ  
φάσκει ἐν τῇ Γενέσει ὅτι ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος καὶ  
ἀκατασκεύαστος; ΕΥΤΡ. Οὕτω γέγραπται ὅτι γῆ  
ἦν καὶ οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ γέγονεν; ΔΡ. Εἰ βούλει,  
ἀναγινώσκω. ΑΔ. Πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καθεύ-  
δοντες ὀνειροπολοῦσι [καὶ] πολλῶν κειμηλίων  
ἐγκρατεῖς ὄντες <καὶ> εἰς ὕπαρ ἐλθόντες οὐδὲν με-  
τὰ χεῖρας ἔχουσι, κεναῖς ἐλπίσι ὀνειροπολήσαντες.  
Τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ Δροσέριος. Πρόσταξον τοί-  
νυν ἀναγνωσθῆναι τῆς κοσμοποιΐας τὴν γραφήν,  
καὶ γνώσῃ εἰ προῆν ἡ γῆ ἢ ὕλη. ΕΥΤΡ. Ἀναγνω-  
σθήτω. Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ  
τὴν γῆν. Ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος  
(Gn. 1, 1-2). ΑΔ. Ὁρᾷς, ἱερώτατε δικαστά, τὴν ἄδι-  
κον ἐπιβουλήν Δροσερίου, τῆς γραφῆς φασκούσης  
πρότερον πεποιημέναι τὸν θεὸν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ  
τὴν γῆν, καὶ τότε εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ ἔφη ὅτι ἐν ἀρχῇ  
ἦν ἡ γῆ, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν  
καὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ ὑποβὰς λέγει· ἡ δὲ γῆ ἀόρατος.

<sup>30</sup> Come già accennato alla n. 10, mentre Eusebio riproduce soltanto i capp. 5-12.8 (P.E. 7.22, SC 215, p. 282-312 ~ METH., *Arbitr.* 5-12.8, GCS 27, p. 157-178), il *Dialogo di Adamanzio* ha ripreso una più lunga sezione.

**ΕΥΤΡ.** Ἡ γραφή σαφῶς δείκνυσι ποίημα τοῦ θεοῦ εἶναι τὴν γῆν καὶ τὸν οὐρανόν· τηλαυγῶς γὰρ τὸ ποίημα προτάξας ἐπήγαγε τό· ἦν· ἀνάγκη γὰρ μετὰ τὸ γενέσθαι εἶναι τὸ γεγονός. **ΑΔ.** Ἀναδράμωμεν ἐπὶ τὸ προκείμενον. Ὑλὴν βούλεται λέγειν Οὐαλεντίνος συνεῖναι τῷ θεῷ, ἵνα τὸν θεὸν τῶν κακῶν ἀναίτιον δείξῃ; **ΔΡ.** Ναί. **ΑΔ.** Τῆς ὕλης ταύτης κεχωρισμένος ἦν ὁ θεὸς ἢ ἡνωμένος; **ΔΡ.** Κεχωρισμένος. **ΑΔ.** Τί οὖν ἦν τὸ διαχωρίζον μεταξὺ θεοῦ καὶ ὕλης; **ΔΡ.** Οὐδέν. **ΑΔ.** Οὐκοῦν ἡνωμένος ἦν διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναί τι [αἷτιον] τὸ διαχωρίζον· ἄλλως δὲ καὶ ἐν μέρει λέγεις εἶναι τὸν θεὸν καὶ οὐ πάντῃ δυνάμενον ἐπεκτείνεσθαι. **ΕΥΤΡ.** Ἀδύνατόν τι χωρίζεσθαι ἀπὸ τινος μὴ ὄντος τοῦ χωρίζοντος· ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὸ χωρίζον ἰσχυρότερον εἶναι τοῦ διαχωριζομένου· ἄλλως τε καὶ τρίτον μέρος ἔσται κατέχων ὁ θεός. Τί οὖν φῆς, Δροσέριε, ἐν μέρει τινί ἐστὶν ὁ θεός καὶ οὐ πάντῃ; **ΔΡ.** Ἐγὼ οὐ φημι ἐν μέρει τὸν θεὸν ἀλλ' ἀναίτιον τῶν κακῶν. **ΑΔ.** Λόγῳ ἀναίτιον αὐτὸν βούλει λέγειν, ἔργῳ δὲ δημιουργὸν καὶ ὑποδοχέα τῶν κακῶν ἀπεδείξατε σὺ καὶ Οὐαλεντίνος. **ΔΡ.** Πῶς; **ΑΔ.** Προϊὼν ὁ λόγος δείξει τὸν ὅρον. Ὅτι μὲν οὖν ὑπάρχειν ἀδύνατον ἀγένητα δύο ἅμα οὐδὲ σὲ ἀγνοεῖν νομίζω, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα δοκεῖς προλαβὼν τοῦτο προστεθεικέναι τῷ λόγῳ· πάντως γὰρ ἐξ ἀνάγκης τὸ ἕτερον δεῖν λέγειν, ἢ ὅτι κεχώρισται τῆς ὕλης ὁ θεός, ἢ αὖ πάλιν ὅτι ἀμέριστος αὐτῆς τυγχάνει.

METH., *Arbitr.* 4.2-5.1 (GCS 27, p. 155-157): Οἱ δ' αὖ πάλιν τὸν θεὸν τούτων δημιουργὸν ἀπεφάναντο, σύγχρονον αὐτῷ ὑπόστασιν δοῦναι πεφοβημένοι· ἀκακεῖνοι ἐκ τοῦ φοβηθῆναι τῶν κακῶν ποιητὴν εἰπεῖν τὸν θεὸν σύγχρονον αὐτῷ δοῦναι τὴν ὕλιν ἔδοξαν. Καὶ συνέβη ἑκατέρωθεν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ κατ' ἐπιστήμην τοῦ ἀληθοῦς φοβηθῆναι τὸν θεὸν τὸ μὴ καλῶς εἰπεῖν. Ἕτεροι δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν [καὶ] περὶ τοῦ τοιούτου ζητεῖν παρητήσαντο, ὥς οὐκ ἔχοντος τέλος τοῦ τοιούτου ζητήματος. Ἐμὲ δὲ τὰ κοινὰ τῆς πρὸς σὲ φιλίας παραιτεῖσθαι τὸ ζητούμενον οὐκ ἔα· καὶ μάλιστα ὅτε τὴν προαίρεσιν ἀπαγγέλλεις τὴν σὴν, ὥς οὐ προλήψει κρα-

τούμενος (εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα οὕτω πως ἐξ ὧν ὑπενόησας ἔδοξας ἔχειν τὰ πράγματα), ἀλλ' ἐν ἐπιθυμία τῆς τοῦ ἀληθοῦς γνώσεως καθεστάναι λέγεις. "Ὅθεν προθύμως καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς ζητήσεως τραπήσομαι λόγον. Βούλομαι δὲ καὶ τουτονὶ τὸν ἐταῖρον ἀκροατὴν γενέσθαι τῶν ἡμετέρων λόγων· καὶ γὰρ δοκεῖ πως κατὰ τι περὶ τούτων ὁμοίως σοὶ δοξάζειν καὶ αὐτός. Διὸ κοινὸν πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους τὸν λόγον ποιεῖσθαι βούλομαι· ἃ γὰρ ἂν εἴποιμι πρὸς σὲ οὕτως ἔχοντα, ταῦτα καὶ πρὸς τοῦτον ὁμοίως λέξω. Εἴ σοι τοίνυν ἀληθῶς περὶ τοῦ κρείττονος λέγειν εὐγνωμόνως δοκεῖ, πρὸς ἕκαστον ἀποκρίναι ὧν ἐρωτῶ· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων γενήσεται καὶ σὲ μὲν τὸ ἀληθὲς μανθάνειν, καὶ μὲ δὲ μὴ μάτην τοὺς λόγους ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς σέ. ΟΥΑΛ. Ταῦθ' ἅπερ εἶπας πράττειν ἐτοίμως ἔχω, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας ἐκεῖνα πυνθάνου, ἐξ ὧν περ νομίζεις δύνασθαι με τὴν ἐπιστήμην τοῦ κρείττονος μαθεῖν. Οὐ γὰρ μοι τὸ νικῆσαι πρόκειται κακῶς, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀληθὲς ἐκμαθεῖν καλῶς· ὅθεν ἔχου τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ λόγου. ΟΡΘΟΔ. "Ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἀδύνατον ὑπάρχειν ἀγένητα δύο ἅμα, οὐδὲ σὲ ἀγνοεῖν νομίζω, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα δοκεῖς προλαβὼν τοῦτο προστεθεικέναι τῷ λόγῳ, τὸ πάντως ἐξ ἀνάγκης τὸ ἕτερον δεῖν λέγειν, ἢ ὅτι κεχώρισται τῆς ὕλης ὁ θεὸς ἢ αὖ πάλιν ὅτι ἀμέριστος αὐτῆς τυγχάνει.

Dal confronto di queste due porzioni di testo, è possibile riscontrare che l'autore del *Dialogo di Adamanzio*, oltre ad aver ricondotto a Valentino le errate teorie sulla materia e ad aver presentato sulla scena specifici interlocutori<sup>31</sup>, ha cercato di

<sup>31</sup> Come è noto, i personaggi del *De autexusio* sono sprovvisti di nome e, sebbene il *ms.* Laurent. Plut. 9.23 sigli con ὀρθὸν l'ortodosso e con οὐαῖ il valentiniano, il bersaglio polemico non appare determinato con chiarezza; potrebbe esser preso di mira in generale lo gnosticismo e più in particolare il sistema valentiniano. Cfr. J. PÉPIN, «Platonisme et Stoïcisme dans le 'De autexusio' de Méthode d'Olympe», in *Forma Futuri. Studi in onore del cardinale Michele Pellegrino*, Torino, 1975, p. 136-144. Nel *Dialogo di Adamanzio* invece il rappresentante dell'ortodossia è Adamanzio, che ribatte in merito alle teorie sulla materia prima contro Droserio e poi contro Valente, entrambi sostenitori del δόγμα Οὐαλεντινίου.

inaugurare la trattazione non *ex abrupto*, ma attraverso una discussione iniziale su che cosa si debba intendere per separazione, ragionamento che si avvale fra l'altro del versetto iniziale della *Genesi*. L'ἀρχή del problema creazionistico su materia e Dio, di cui si fa menzione nel testo metodiano, ἕτεροι δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν [καὶ] περὶ τοῦ τοιούτου ζητεῖν παρητήσαντο, ὥς οὐκ ἔχοντος τέλος τοῦ τοιούτου ζητήματος, è ricondotta dal redattore del dialogo anonimo a un aspetto che fornisca un significato complessivo del suo esistere, un aspetto non solo materiale e fisico, ma anche metafisico e teologico: il versetto di *Gen.* 1.1-2, ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν. Ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἄορατος καὶ ἀκατασκεαστος. Lo sviluppo argomentativo trae pertanto origine e fondamento da un passo della Scrittura. Egli inoltre ha inserito un maggior numero di domande e risposte tra gli interlocutori, espediente volto, forse, a vivacizzare il ragionamento, che nel *De autexusia* tende a configurarsi piuttosto come una vera e propria dissertazione filosofica, e ha cercato di argomentare la trattazione in maniera razionale, così che la semplice ἐπιστημονικὴ ἀπόδειξις del testo metodiano finisce per assumere nel *Dialogo di Adamanzio* una veste maggiormente strutturata, opera di una sapiente mente organizzatrice, che ha tentato di inserire il materiale del maestro licio all'interno di un contesto di più ampio respiro, nonché di presentarlo nella forma di un discorso compiuto e dettagliato<sup>32</sup>.

Sembra allora improbabile quanto ipotizzato da Barnes; egli prospetta che Metodio possa aver ripreso dal dialogo anonimo, perché in quest'ultimo la teoria sulla materia, descritta come ὁ ὅρος τοῦ Οὐαλεντίνου e τὸ δόγμα Οὐαλεντίνου, è preceduta da un passo significativo: dalla presenza di due uomini e dalle loro cattive azioni, lo scrittore anonimo deduce

<sup>32</sup> La semplicità argomentativa e la nitidezza espressiva, così come l'inserimento di parti dialogiche volte ad amalgamare l'andamento generale, sembrano indurre a tale osservazione. Ugualmente, della discussione metodiana sul libero arbitrio l'autore ha ripreso alcune parti: ADAM., *GCS* 4, p. 162.7-164.11 e 164.19-168.5 ~ METH., *Arbitr.* 15.1-5; 16.1-7, *GCS* 27, p. 183-185, 186-188.

l'esistenza di due divinità, in ostilità l'una con l'altra<sup>33</sup>. Questo elemento e l'utilizzo nei passi seguenti della mitologia greca mostrerebbero, secondo Barnes, delle affinità col pensiero di Valentino, poiché anche Ippolito (*Ref.* 6.42.2) riferisce qualcosa di analogo a proposito dell'eresiarca; nel *De autexusio*, invece, lo stesso brano è messo in bocca a uno degli interlocutori, il cui nome potrebbe essere Valentino o celare l'eresiarca stesso. Se il passo del *Dialogo di Adamanzio* riproducesse veramente il pensiero di questo teologo appartenente all'alveo del cristianesimo ereticale, allora bisognerebbe concludere: « it is Methodius who imitates the dialogue, not the dialogue which copies Methodius »<sup>34</sup>. Tuttavia, dall'analisi del brano sulla materia appena esaminato risulta la dipendenza del *Dialogo di Adamanzio* da Metodio<sup>35</sup>. Del resto già Zahn nel suo articolo aveva sottolineato che l'autore del *Dialogo di Adamanzio* aveva copiato da Metodio, poiché vi compare non soltanto un'ampia parte del trattato sul libero arbitrio, ma anche del *De resurrectione*<sup>36</sup>; lo studioso ipotizzava che la datazione dell'anonimo dialogo dovesse oscillare tra il 300 e il 313<sup>37</sup>. Secondo Vaillant, il *Dialogo di Adamanzio* sarebbe opera di un discepolo di Meto-

<sup>33</sup> Cfr. ADAM., 4.840b.25-840c.4 (GCS 4, p. 136-138): Ούτωςι δέ πως εἷ διατεθεῖσθαι νομίζων ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἀνεχώρουν τὴν ἐμὴν· τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ, τούτέστι σήμερον, ἐλθὼν ἐώρων δύο τινάς, ὁμογενεῖς ἀνθρώπους λέγω δὴ, διαπληκτιζομένους καὶ λοιδορουμένους ἀλλήλοισι, ἕτερον πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον, τὸν δ' αὖ πάλιν ἀφιματώσαι πειρώμενον τὸν πλησίον.

<sup>34</sup> Cfr. T. D. BARNES, « Methodius, Maximus and Valentinus », *Journal of Theological Studies*, N.S., 30 (1979), p. 47-55, in part. 52-53. A giudizio di Barnes, il passo del *Dialogo di Adamanzio* meriterebbe una disamina da parte degli studiosi dello Gnosticismo.

<sup>35</sup> Dello stesso parere sono VAN DE SANDE BAKHUYZEN, *Der Dialog*, p. XVI; BONWETSCH, *Methodius*, GCS 27, p. IX; FARGES, *Méthode d'Olympe*: « Du libre arbitre », p. 6; VAILLANT, *Le « De autexusio »*, p. 637; SCHROEDER, *Eusèbe de Césarée, La préparation évangélique*, p. 119; É. JUNOD (éd.), *Origène. Philocalie 21-27. Sur le libre arbitre*, Paris, 1976 (SC 226), p. 67.

<sup>36</sup> Cfr. ZAHN, *art. cit.*, p. 193-239, in part. 228-229. Sulla trasmissione del *De resurrectione* vd. BONWETSCH, *Methodius*, GCS 27, p. XXXIV-XXXVII, mentre sulla presenza di ampi passi di Metodio nel *Dialogo di Adamanzio* cfr. VAN DE SANDE BAKHUYZEN, *Der Dialog*, p. XXXVIII-XLI.

<sup>37</sup> Cfr. ZAHN, *art. cit.*, p. 236-239. Per altre informazioni cfr. PRETTY, *Adamantius*, p. 16-17. Delle riserve su questa datazione avanza BARNES, *art. cit.*, p. 48-50. Per altre informazioni cfr. PRETTY, *Adamantius*, p. 16-17.



dio che, tacciandosi di ignoranza (τῆς τούτων ἀπειρίας), avrebbe ripreso, dietro consenso del maestro, parti del *De autexusio* per la sua esposizione filosofica sul problema del male increato<sup>38</sup>. Metodio avrebbe avuto fra l'altro l'opportunità di scrivere una nuova conclusione, nonché il giudizio di Eutropio<sup>39</sup>.

### 3. Ipotesi sull'errore eusebiano

Chiarito dunque che l'*excerptum* eusebiano è di Metodio, il quale non ha ripreso né da una fonte precedente (Massimo)<sup>40</sup> né dal *Dialogo di Adamanzio* questa porzione di testo in comune, resta pur tuttavia da spiegare l'erronea attribuzione di Eusebio. Allo scopo di fornire una plausibile soluzione al problema, Zahn e Robinson hanno formulato l'ipotesi che il titolo del trattato di Metodio fosse, in linea con gli altri scritti<sup>41</sup>, Μάξιμος (ῆ) περὶ τοῦ αὐτεξουσίου; in questo caso lo scrit-

<sup>38</sup> La ripresa da parte dell'autore di ampi estratti dal *De autexusio* e dal *De resurrectione*, ritenuti idonei, secondo il suo punto di vista, ad essere inseriti all'interno di un dibattito più ampio volto *in primis* a contrastare le errate teorie della dottrina valentiniana, induce effettivamente a pensare ad un legame con Metodio. L'autore del *Dialogo di Adamanzio* potrebbe essere stato un allievo dello scrittore licio, che mutuò dal suo maestro buona parte del materiale e la veste letteraria del suo dialogo, nonché l'amore per la filosofia, per il trionfo della retta fede contro gli gnostici e un'abilità esegetica e interpretativa supportata dalla Sacra Scrittura. Anche PRETTY, *Adamantius*, p. 19-20, lo ipotizza: « we can surmise that Maximus [...] was also a disciple or follower of Methodius who felt that his master had gone a little too far in his treatment of Origen's view in his writings. He therefore wrote the Adamantian Dialogue, giving the orthodox speaker a name of Origen (Adamantius) as an attempt to correct the balance ». A supporto lo studioso cita l'affermazione di Socrate in *H.E.* 6.13.

<sup>39</sup> Cfr. VAILLANT, *Le « De autexusio »*, p. 649.

<sup>40</sup> Mras a proposito dell'estratto eusebiano parla di un capitolo utilizzato da Metodio: cfr. K. MRAS, *Eusebius Werke*, t. VIII, vol. 1, Berlin, 1954 (*GCS* 43), p. 405.

<sup>41</sup> Gli altri dialoghi di Metodio presentano infatti il seguente titolo: Συμ- πόσιον ἢ περὶ ἀγγελίας; Ἀγλαοφῶν ἢ περὶ ἀναστάσεως. Probabilmente anche le opere giunte parzialmente dovevano avere la stessa forma di intitolazione: *Sistelius* <sive> de lepra; Ξένων (ῆ) περὶ τῶν γεννητῶν (vd. SOCR., *H.E.* 6.13). Cfr. VAILLANT, *Le « De autexusio »*, p. 639. Nel caso del *Simposio* bisogna notare che non si tratta di un nome proprio.

tore di Cesarea avrebbe confuso il nome di uno degli interlocutori con quello dell'autore dell'opera<sup>42</sup>. Sebbene sia una spiegazione logica, tuttavia suscita delle perplessità: nel corso del *De antexusio* niente induce a pensare che coloro i quali prendono parte alla discussione dovessero avere dei nomi, perché altrimenti avrebbero evitato quelle formule « impersonali » tipiche dei dialoghi platonici<sup>43</sup>; in secondo luogo, se Eusebio poteva ancora leggere il nome di Massimo insieme alla questione del libero arbitrio, forse ne avrebbe fatto menzione, allorché si accinge a riportare l'estratto, proprio come fanno gli autori della *Philocalia* attenti a indicazioni di questo tipo, e anziché chiamare in causa la materia (περὶ τῆς ὕλης) avrebbe nominato τὸ ἀντεξούσιον<sup>44</sup>; infine sembra strano (anche se non è da escludere) che all'intera tradizione sia sfuggita la presenza di questo nome e non compaia il benché minimo accenno a Massimo<sup>45</sup>. E' difficile prestar fede anche all'altra possibilità prospettata da Zahn, ossia che Metodio possa aver composto l'opera sotto lo pseudonimo di Massimo, così come in seguito sembra aver utilizzato quello di *Eubulio*<sup>46</sup>, perché niente sembra provarla<sup>47</sup>.

<sup>42</sup> Cfr. ZAHN, *art. cit.*, p. 226s.; ROBINSON, *The Philocalia*, p. XLVI.

<sup>43</sup> Cfr. ὃ φίλε (3.10; 4.1 GCS 27, p. 154-155); τουτονὶ τὸν ἑταῖρον (4.4, GCS 27, p. 156); ὃ οὗτος (8.4, GCS 27, p. 166); πρὸς τὸν ἑταῖρον (9.1, GCS 27, p. 169). Vd. VAILLANT, *Le « De antexusio »*, p. 639.

<sup>44</sup> Cfr. n. 10.

<sup>45</sup> Incline all'ipotesi di Robinson è SCHROEDER, *Eusèbe de Césarée, La préparation évangélique*, p. 121: « Mais il faut bien remarquer que ce serait le *seul* exemple chez Méthode, et une bien improbable négligence chez un imitateur aussi scrupuleux des dialogues de Platon. Aussi vaut-il mieux ne rien conclure du silence de deux manuscrits assez tardifs: on sait que les copistes omettaient souvent l'indication des personnages [...] Ainsi s'expliquerait l'erreur d'Eusèbe, qui aurait pris le nom de l'orthodoxe pour celui de l'auteur qu'il est censé représenter ». In effetti, questo sarebbe l'unico dialogo a non recare il nome degli interlocutori, ma con ogni probabilità è il primo componimento di Metodio, che, rispetto agli altri, sembra essere una sorta di *summa* riepilogativa sui problemi di materia, Dio e libero arbitrio, frutto di un lavoro, inteso come ricerca continua, a cui aveva sottoposto il bello uditorio che canta insieme al maestro i misteri divini, come si fa riferimento nel capitolo introduttivo (cfr. METH., *Arbitr.* 1. 7-9, GCS 27, p. 147).

<sup>46</sup> Cfr. ZAHN, *art. cit.*, p. 228. L'idea del nome di Eubulio risalirebbe a una testimonianza di EPIPH., *Haer.* 64.63 τοῦ μακαρίτου Μεθοδίου τοῦ καὶ Εὐβουλίου.

Vaillant avanza dal suo punto di vista varie ipotesi. Poiché il trattato del maestro licio si presenta come una rettificazione di alcune dottrine origeniane («une version orthodoxe du *De principiis*»), Eusebio, strenuo sostenitore dell'Alessandrino, avrebbe avuto motivo di presentare sotto falso nome e far risalire al secondo secolo un'opera in polemica con Origene, oppure effettivamente Metodio aveva preso lo pseudonimo di Massimo e in seguito il trattato dello Pseudo-Massimo sarebbe stato considerato dal vescovo di Cesarea un'opera di secondo secolo per via della costante presenza di tematiche dibattute dall'apologetica e da Ireneo. Tutto il problema sul falso Massimo e sul falso Origene sarebbe da attribuire, secondo lo studioso, al gioco di una scuola che voleva trarre in inganno gli origenisti e di fatto sarebbe riuscita nel suo intento<sup>48</sup>.

Non del tutto condivisibile si rivela la prima ipotesi perché Eusebio, anche quando nutre un atteggiamento di critica e di ostilità verso un autore, sembra ammetterne le effettive capacità. E' vero che molto spesso egli sceglie con cura i tratti a lui congeniali dell'eredità origeniana<sup>49</sup>, preferendo lasciare da parte quelle dottrine che avevano suscitato discussioni e finendo addirittura per forzare Origene secondo le proprie intenzioni (specialmente nel dibattito con Marcello), così come dall'analisi dei libri sesto e settimo della *Historia ecclesiastica* emerge il suo silenzio nei riguardi sia degli oppositori di Origene, sia dei sostenitori dell'Alessandrino, pur tuttavia non sembra presentare l'abitudine di falsificare le informazioni in suo possesso e da lui riportate<sup>50</sup>. Spesso omette o distorce fatti importanti, perché egli sembra concepire la storia come «an apologetic tool to promote and vindicate the truth of Christianity and the person and policies of Constantine and his

<sup>47</sup> Anche Patterson lo sostiene in un suo articolo, cfr. L. G. PATTERSON, «*De libero arbitrio* and Methodius' Attack on Origen», *Studia Patristica*, 14 (1976), p. 162 e n. 1. Egli avanza l'ipotesi che l'opera di Metodio si dovesse intitolare «*Massimo su Dio e sulla materia*», p. 162; cfr. inoltre Id., *Methodius of Olympus. Divine sovereignty*, p. 32.

<sup>48</sup> Cfr. VAILLANT, *Le « De autexsusio »*, p. 651-652.

<sup>49</sup> Cfr. M. SIMONETTI, «Eusebio e Origene. Per una storia dell'origenismo», *Augustinianum*, 26 (1986), p. 323-334.

<sup>50</sup> Cfr. PRINZIVALLI, *Magister Ecclesiae*, p. 190-197.

sons»<sup>51</sup>. Nonostante sia palese la sua ostilità nei confronti dei pagani, soprattutto di Porfirio, si dimostra pronto a riconoscere i meriti, allorché essi siano giunti a formulare delle dottrine, accettate dal cristianesimo stesso. Nella *Dimostrazione evangelica* definisce il successore di Plotino nella guida della scuola neoplatonica e Apollonio di Tiana « illustri filosofi e teologi »<sup>52</sup>; pertanto, se avesse saputo che il passo in questione era frutto di Metodio, con ogni probabilità l'avrebbe citato come tale. Fra l'altro, nel brano della *Praeparatio evangelica* 7.21.5 parla di Massimo con grande rispetto. Per quanto riguarda, invece, una possibile destinazione antiorigeniana bisogna notare che, poiché i « Filocalisti » hanno attribuito il medesimo estratto all'Alessandrino, è segno che non vi intravedevano nessuna eventuale critica a Origene; è naturale pensare che lo stesso valga per Eusebio.

La seconda formulazione espressa da Vaillant è in parte condivisibile, ma non risulta convincente né che Metodio possa aver assunto lo pseudonimo di Massimo, né che il caso dello Pseudo-Massimo e Origene sia frutto di una scuola, mossa dal preciso desiderio di trarre in inganno i sostenitori dell'Alessandrino. Allora, quale altra ipotesi è possibile formulare per poter spiegare l'errore?

#### 4. Massimo : una eventuale identificazione

Alcuni studiosi hanno avanzato la possibilità che dietro la figura di Massimo si possa celare l'autore dell'anonimo dialogo. Barnes prospetta, all'interno di un nutrito ventaglio di ipotesi<sup>53</sup>, anche la possibilità che Eusebio abbia avuto in mente il

<sup>51</sup> Cfr. R. W. BURGESS with the assistance of W. WITAKOWSKI, *Studies in Eusebian and Post-Eusebian Chronography*, Stuttgart, 1999 (Historia Einzelschriften 135), p. 71.

<sup>52</sup> Cfr. P. CARRARA (a cura di), EUSEBIO DI CESAREA, *Dimostrazione evangelica*, Milano, 2000, p. 283 e p. 321.

<sup>53</sup> Cfr. BARNES, *art. cit.*, p. 53: « There are three possibilities – Maximus, Methodius, and unknown author – of which none can be completely excluded. The dialogue could conceivably be an early work of Methodius, which he later plundered when composing *On Free Will* and *On the Resurrection*, even though it differs greatly in style from Methodius' known writings.

*Dialogo di Adamanzio* e che molto probabilmente un suo collaboratore possa aver inserito per errore il passo di Metodio<sup>54</sup>. Pur nella consapevolezza di non poter identificare l'autore del dialogo anonimo, secondo Pretty lo scrittore di Cesarea avrebbe potuto avere notizia della stesura, da parte di un certo Massimo (probabilmente l'autore del *Dialogo di Adamanzio*), di un'opera sulla materia e avrebbe ritenuto proprio di questo autore il testo inserito nella *Praeparatio*, nonostante appartenesse a Metodio<sup>55</sup>. In questo caso Eusebio si distinguerebbe per essere una fonte preziosa per la conoscenza di autori e testi dei quali noi non saremmo mai venuti a conoscenza<sup>56</sup>, perché sarebbe il solo a conservare la traccia di un nome che all'epoca

Alternatively, the author may be otherwise unknown. But the third possibility is the most attractive: that Eusebius has preserved the writer's name, even though he misdates him by fifty years. For if *De recta in deum fide* is indeed identical with Maximus' *On Matter* [...] ».

<sup>54</sup> Cfr. BARNES, *art. cit.*, p. 53-54. Durante la composizione della *Praeparatio* pare che Eusebio si sia avvalso dell'aiuto di assistenti e proprio a questi sembra di dover attribuire molti degli errori commessi: cfr. MRAS, *Eusebius Werke*, t. VIII, vol. 1 (GCS 43), *op. cit.*, p. LVIII e A. GRAFTON - M. WILLIAMS, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book. Origen, Eusebius, and the Library of Caesarea*, Cambridge-Massachusetts-London-England, 2006, p. 214. Secondo Barnes fu probabilmente Massimo a morire in Grecia sotto Decio o Valeriano. Metodio sarebbe stato invece martirizzato, dopo un processo, dall'imperatore Massimino che si trovava a Nicomedia tra l'estate del 311 e la primavera del 312, e che fu ad Antiochia, forse dopo essere passato per Panamara in Caria, nel luglio o agosto del 312.

<sup>55</sup> Cfr. PRETTY, *Adamantius*, p. 18: « he (scil. Eusebius) may therefore have heard that a certain Maximus had written on the subject of free will (whom we may suppose to be the composer of our Dialogue), and so had assumed that the treatise on free will from which he was taking his extract for insertion in his *Preparation* was none other than the writing of Maximus of which he had heard, although in actual fact it was the work of Methodius ».

<sup>56</sup> E' giusto ricordare come molte delle indicazioni fornite dallo scrittore di Cesarea siano esatte: il titolo della *Dimostrazione dell'insegnamento apostolico* di Ireneo si conobbe per molto tempo soltanto grazie a Eusebio (*H.E.* 5.26) fino a quando nel 1904 il testo intero dell'opera fu scoperto in una traduzione armena da K. Ter-Mekerttschian. Allorché tratta di Simon Mago (*H.E.* 2.13.1-5) riporta un passo tratto dalla prima *Apologia* di Giustino e sostiene che con l'apologeta concorda anche Ireneo nel primo libro del *Contro le eresie*; il passo citato compare effettivamente in *I Apol.* 26 e trova riscontro in *Haer.* 1.23.1-4. Tutto ciò comunque non esclude la presenza di alcuni errori e imprecisioni, cfr. n. 61.

della *Philocalia* svanirà del tutto. Il periodo che separa Basilio e Gregorio dal vescovo di Cesarea è molto ampio; potremmo avanzare l'ipotesi, considerata già la scarsa notorietà dell'autore all'epoca di Eusebio, che da tempo il *Dialogo di Adamanzio* non venisse più ricordato come opera di Massimo. La scelta di Adamanzio, in qualità di interlocutore principale, avrebbe provocato la definitiva caduta nell'oblio del *vero nome* dell'autore a favore di quello di Origene, secondo il noto principio per cui il personaggio più celebre fa eclissare il meno famoso. La confusione venutasi a creare ha finito col relegare nella totale oscurità un personaggio già in penombra.

Tuttavia, Eusebio, alla fine di quel brano in cui figura anche Massimo, sostiene di non poter tramandare per iscritto la cronologia, né citare il racconto di altri scrittori, perché non ha a sua disposizione alcun dato, così come è in possesso di altre opere, che per contenuto gli sembrano in linea con i dogmi della Chiesa, ma che non può menzionare, in quanto sprovviste del nome dell'autore: *καὶ ἄλλων δὲ πλείστων, ὧν οὐδὲ τὰς προσηγορίας καταλέγειν ἡμῖν δυνατόν, ἦλθον εἰς ἡμᾶς λόγοι, ὀρθοδόξων μὲν καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῶν, ὥς γε δὴ ἡ ἐκάστου παραδείκνυσιν τὴν θείας γραφῆς ἐρμηνεία, ἀδήλων δ' ὅμως ἡμῖν, ὅτι μὴ τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐπάγεται τῶν συγγραψαμένων*<sup>57</sup>. L'affermazione è importante, perché sembra dimostrare come il vescovo di Cesarea paia limitarsi a riportare le informazioni tramandate da un *dosier* o da una fonte precedente e come questa tradizione a lui anteriore, alla quale ha attinto, possa aver attribuito il brano metodiano a Massimo; ciò è plausibile se teniamo conto della possibilità che la parte relativa a Dio e alla materia del dialogo di Metodio circolasse ampiamente sotto forma di estratto<sup>58</sup>.

<sup>57</sup> Cfr. EUS., *H.E.* 5.27, hersg. von F. WINKELMANN (*GCS* 6.1 Neue Folge), p. 498.27-500.2.

<sup>58</sup> Sia il *ms.* Laurent. Plut. 9.23 sia soprattutto la traduzione paleoslava (cfr. VAILLANT, *Le « De autexusio »*, p. 775 e 819) fanno precedere alcuni capitoli da una *inscriptio*; anche l'estratto metodiano riprodotto da Eusebio è preceduto nel *ms.* Laurent. Plut. 9.23 (f. 196v) dal titolo: *περὶ θεοῦ καὶ ὕλης*. Questo poteva favorirne una circolazione avulsa dal contesto e portare a considerare il testo come brano autonomo. Vd. anche n. 21. Gerolamo stesso (*Vir. Ill.* 83), nel menzionare le opere di Metodio, afferma che erano

Del resto, già nella prefazione della *Historia ecclesiastica* Eusebio aveva dichiarato che la sua opera consisteva nella creazione di un particolare tipo di antologia che si prefiggeva di cogliere, come da prati spirituali, i passi più utili degli antichi scrittori, cercando di inserirli all'interno della sua esposizione in modo organico<sup>59</sup>.

Il fatto che Eusebio menzioni Massimo nella *Historia ecclesiastica* 5.27, un libro, il quinto, che arriva a coprire come periodo l'età di Severo e che nella sua confusione cronologica lo scrittore suggerisca di pensare a un Massimo di tardo secondo - inizi terzo secolo, dunque a un autore prima di Origene, mentre il *Dialogo di Adamanzio* sembra essere frutto di un dibattito sul pensiero e la figura origeniana *post Origenem*, non può forse essere considerato un elemento a totale discapito della non coincidenza di Massimo con l'autore del dialogo anonimo. E' ben noto come molto spesso il vescovo di Cesarea compia errori, alcuni dei quali sulla datazione. Sulla base della sua fonte (ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ γραφῇ) data ad esempio il martirio di Metrodoro, che morì durante la persecuzione di Decio del 250 d.c., nello stesso tempo dello straordinario e apostolico Policarpo, che fu martirizzato intorno al 155 d.c. (*H.E.* 4.15.46-47). Simili casi dimostrano che « Eusebius worked through his collections in Caesarea, text by text, following in his narrative the sometimes random order in which sources appeared in the library's boxes of rolls and codices »<sup>60</sup>. Questa

lette da un ampio pubblico: « [...] multa alia quae vulgo lectitantur »; cfr. inoltre H.A. MUSURILLO, « Méthode d'Olympe », in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, X (1980), 1109-1117, in part. 1110.

<sup>59</sup> Cfr. EUS., *H.E.* 1.1.3-4 e v.d. GRAFTON - WILLIAMS, *Christianity*, p. 202 ss. Per un'analisi del passo cfr. R. M. GRANT, *Eusebius as Church Historian*, Oxford, 1980, p. 28-29.

<sup>60</sup> Cfr. GRAFTON - WILLIAMS, *Christianity*, p. 210-211. A. CARRIKER, *The Library of Eusebius of Caesarea*, Leiden, 2003, ha sostenuto che Eusebio utilizzò molte fonti pagane e cristiane, una collezione più ampia rispetto a quella di Panfilo. I materiali aggiunti dal vescovo di Cesarea includevano notizie e fonti sui martiri, un gran numero di lettere di Origene, di fonti storiografiche e dei filosofi medioplatonici, alcune lette nella forma di epitome, altre nella stesura originale.

conclusione riconduce nuovamente allo stretto rapporto tra Eusebio e le sue precedenti fonti<sup>61</sup>.

Ciò che forse appare veramente strano è che Eusebio, un coautore insieme a Panfilo dell'*Apologia di Origene* e un importante esponente della discussione sulla figura dell'Alessandrino<sup>62</sup>, non offra una cronologia esatta di Massimo, se quest'ultimo, in qualità di autore del *Dialogo di Adamanzio*, è stato un protagonista attivo del dibattito. Se infatti Massimo fosse stato uno dei partecipanti, Eusebio avrebbe dovuto conoscerlo e situarlo correttamente all'interno del panorama, o per lo meno, avendo in mente il *Dialogo di Adamanzio*, avrebbe forse fornito ulteriori indicazioni. A riscontro è possibile citare il caso dei compilatori della *Philocalia*.

I « Filocalisti », che ripresero in seguito l'*excerptum* eusebiano dello scrittore licio, credendolo tratto dal *Dialogo di Adamanzio*, opera a loro avviso di Origene<sup>63</sup>, scrivono: « Questo testo è stato posto nel libro settimo della *Preparazione evangelica* di Eusebio il palestinese; è, dice, di Massimo, scrittore degno di nota fra i cristiani. Ma esattamente *le stesse parole* (αὐτολεξεί) si ritrovano nel Dialogo di Origene contro i Marcioniti e gli altri eretici, dove Eutropio insegna e Megezio lo contraddice ». Poiché in realtà non si tratta di ripresa letterale perché il *Dialogo di Adamanzio* apporta vari rimaneggia-

<sup>61</sup> Ciò comporta degli errori. Nella *Historia ecclesiastica* 3.10.6-11 ritiene opportuno citare un passo delle *Antichità* di Giuseppe Flavio, ma il brano riportato, in realtà, è tratto dall'*Autobiografia*; confonde inoltre i nomi di Novato e Novaziano (*H.E.* 6.43). Comunque, sembra che questi errori non arrivino ad inficiare il ruolo portante degli argomenti; sono comprensibili, se si considera da un lato la presenza di assistenti nella realizzazione delle opere, ai quali dunque possono in parte essere attribuiti, e dall'altro lato se valutiamo la grande quantità di notizie riportate, alcune delle quali rivelatesi corrette; cfr. GRAFTON - WILLIAMS, *Christianity*, p. 213-214.

<sup>62</sup> Cfr. GRAFTON - WILLIAMS, *Christianity*, p. 133: « Eusebius of Caesarea was Origen's best-known and most self-conscious successor ».

<sup>63</sup> Su questo aspetto cfr. *supra* e n. 10. Il dialogo promuove i dogmi dell'insegnamento cristiano contro le dottrine marcionite e valentiniane e soprattutto, poiché introduce Adamanzio come portavoce della retta fede, ha indotto la maggior parte dei lettori antichi a identificare subito questo personaggio con l'Alessandrino, a tal punto che il dialogo è finito veramente per essere ritenuto frutto di Origene.



menti<sup>64</sup> e poiché Megezio non interviene polemicamente nella parte che i due Padri riproducono, è necessario concludere che non avevano al momento della stesura una copia del *Dialogo di Adamanzio*, ma soltanto l'estratto di Eusebio<sup>65</sup>. Tuttavia essi, che prendono parte attiva al dibattito e alla formazione di un pensiero origeniano, sono a conoscenza dell'esistenza di un *Dialogo di Adamanzio* e seppure erroneamente<sup>66</sup> lo menzionano; lo stesso sarebbe dovuto accadere per Eusebio se avesse avuto in mente il dialogo anonimo, allorché attribuisce a Massimo l'estratto metodiano. Nel caso di Metodio, sebbene non lo menzioni mai nella *Historia ecclesiastica*, comunque sembra, stando a una citazione riportata da Gerolamo (*C. Rufinum*, I, 11, *PL* 23, 423), che nell'*Apologia di Origene* lo accusava di aver osato scrivere contro l'Alessandrino; dunque ne faceva un accenno. Probabilmente si sarebbe comportato alla medesima maniera anche per Massimo, se costui fosse stato l'autore del dialogo anonimo all'interno del quale la figura e il pensiero di Origene svolgono comunque un ruolo rilevante.

<sup>64</sup> Vd. *supra*, allorché si è trattato delle differenze tra il *De autexsusio* e il *Dialogo di Adamanzio*.

<sup>65</sup> Cfr. ROBINSON, *The Philocalia*, p. XLVII; JUNOD (éd.), *Origène. Philocalie* 21-27, p. 67. L'errore poteva facilmente accadere se consideriamo la stretta somiglianza fra la sezione in comune delle due opere, nonché chiaramente l'analogia contenutistica, senza contare il probabile interesse suscitato nel quarto secolo anche dal *Dialogo di Adamanzio*. Esso, infatti, cerca di sviluppare tematiche che continuavano ad esercitare un certo fascino (diavolo, male, materia, libero arbitrio) all'interno di un tessuto dialogico più strutturato e analitico rispetto al *De autexsusio*. Ciò chiaramente non esclude delle notevoli differenze. Nel *De autexsusio* l'andamento dialogico a un certo punto sembra svanire, per assumere la veste di un vero e proprio trattato, inoltre, già il fatto che nel dialogo del maestro licio gli interlocutori sono sprovvisti di nome e che il bersaglio polemico (gnostici oppure gnosi valentiniana) non è ben identificato, laddove invece il *Dialogo di Adamanzio* è attento a dettagli e a indicazioni di questo tipo, sembra dimostrare una diversa impostazione di composizione.

<sup>66</sup> Del resto, anche se il *Dialogo di Adamanzio* presenta numerose battute tra gli interlocutori, assenti invece nel *De autexsusio*, a un certo punto il contenuto è il medesimo (cfr. n. 10). Nel mondo antico gli autori si fidavano spesso della memoria, compiendo così errori disastrosi dal punto di vista filologico.

### 5. *Alcuni elementi fra tanti problemi*

In verità, anche se non si accetta l'identificazione di Massimo con l'autore del *Dialogo di Adamanzio*, la sua esistenza probabilmente non deve essere messa in discussione. Prima di tutto bisogna tener presente che gli antichi hanno compiuto scambi di autori e/o di opere, causati il più delle volte dall'eccessivo affidamento sulla memoria oppure dall'attuazione di analogie e collegamenti logici<sup>67</sup>. Essi, però, non presentano l'abitudine di inventarsi autori a cui ascrivere i testi redatti; anzi, hanno sempre cercato di ricondurli, anche quelli minori, ad una *auctoritas*, tanto che agli studiosi spetta l'arduo compito di distinguere tra ciò che veramente è frutto di quel dato scrittore e ciò che è spurio; in ambito cristiano sulla base del contenuto o dello stile, molte opere sono state attribuite ai grandi scrittori ecclesiastici e in varie occasioni il *nomen auctoris* ne ha decretato l'utilizzazione a fini dottrinali oppure l'effettiva esclusione dal canone<sup>68</sup>.

Quindi, se Eusebio chiama in causa Massimo, viene da pensare che sia esistito realmente un filosofo cristiano, la cui esistenza e notorietà per un qualche motivo sono state offuscate, il quale si è occupato del problema del male<sup>69</sup>. Inoltre, quel dossier di *excerpta* sulla materia, presentato nel settimo libro della *Praeparatio evangelica*, si distingue per essere un valido strumento, perché conserva anche passi di opere perdute; insieme all'estratto di Dionigi d'Alessandria contro Sabellio e a quello di Massimo (in realtà tratto dal *De autexusio* di Metodio), figurano porzioni di testo desunte dal perduto (in greco) secondo libro del *De Providentia* di Filone d'Alessandria, nonché dal *Commentario sulla Genesi* di Origene, di cui Eusebio è

<sup>67</sup> Per esempio, allorché uno stesso argomento è stato trattato da due scrittori e durante la trasmissione del testo è andata perduta l'indicazione del nome dell'autore originario, si è finito per attribuire l'opera dell'uno all'altro.

<sup>68</sup> Nel mondo cristiano il nome garantisce l'ortodossia o l'eterodossia di un testo; l'importanza del *nomen* dell'autore agisce anche su Eusebio: cfr. n. 57 con relativo brano.

<sup>69</sup> Pensare, come suggeriva ipoteticamente ZAHN (*art. cit.*, p. 228) che il nome di Metodio si sia corrotto in Massimo, è quasi certamente impossibile.

pressoché l'unico testimone<sup>70</sup>. Infatti, il suo lavoro in generale assomiglia a un mosaico, a una collezione di frammenti raccolti da altre fonti e per questo motivo un tesoro importante ai fini di una eventuale conoscenza di scritti perduti. Dunque, sebbene l'estratto attribuito a Massimo appartenga a Metodio, è inverosimile pensare che lo scrittore di Cesarea abbia volontariamente causato l'errore<sup>71</sup>, perché opera di un nemico della dottrina origeniana, così come è inappropriato negare a priori l'esistenza di Massimo; è strano credere che Eusebio abbia voluto creare *ex nihilo* questo autore. Il suo errore sembra piuttosto essere frutto di una tradizione precedente, che finì per attribuire il brano metodiano adespoto a Massimo, e l'informazione fu poi recepita dallo stesso scrittore di Cesarea. Massimo sarà stato con ogni probabilità un filosofo cristiano, che si occupò tra i vari argomenti, anche del problema del male e della materia, tema assai dibattuto all'interno del panorama cristiano, specialmente a partire dal secondo secolo e a

<sup>70</sup> Cfr. SCHROEDER, *Eusèbe de Césarée, La préparation évangélique*, p. 94-111. Vd. inoltre Eus., *P.E.* 7.19-20 e 21 (*SC* 215, p. 266-280). Del resto, la *Praeparatio evangelica* in sé contiene preziosi documenti, oggi pressoché perduti o comunque di notevole importanza filologica. Basti pensare soltanto ai frammenti di Enomao (*P.E.* 5.18-36; 6.7), oppure all'estratto dal *Dialogo delle leggi dei paesi* di Bardesane di Edessa in *P.E.* 6.10, l'unico brano conservato in lingua greca, perché il dialogo è pervenuto per intero soltanto in siriano.

<sup>71</sup> Anche per altri aspetti ed opere, certamente non è necessario accusarlo di cattiva fede come hanno fatto alcuni studiosi della *Vita di Costantino*; tutti gli sforzi compiuti da alcuni, per dimostrare che Eusebio falsifica i testi a sua disposizione, si sono rivelati inutili. Fra l'altro un documento da lui citato è stato restituito da un papiro. Sulla questione vd. F. WINKELMANN, « Zur Geschichte des Authentizitätsproblems der *Vita Constantini* », *Klio*, 40 (1962), p. 187-243; C. PIETRI, « Constantin en 324: propagande et théologie impériales d'après les documents de la *Vita Constantini*, in « *Crise et redressement dans les provinces européennes de l'Empire (milieu du III<sup>e</sup> au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle ap. J.-C.)* », Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg (December 1981), Strasbourg, 1983, p. 63-90; F. WINKELMANN (ed.), *Eusebius Werke*, I.1: *Über das Leben des Kaisers Konstantin*, GCS, Berlin 1975, p. li-lii; B. H. WARMINGTON, « The Sources of Some Constantinian Documents in Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* and *Life of Constantine* », *Studia Patristica*, 18.1 (1986), p. 93-98. Caso mai Eusebio fu « an innovative writer in many other spheres, and the very task of writing about a Christian emperor presented new problems and called for new solutions » (cfr. A. CAMERON - S. HALL (eds.), *Eusebius: Life of Constantine*, Oxford, 1999, p. 27, 31).

costui fu attribuita la parte sulla materia di Metodio, che forse circolava come estratto a sé stante<sup>72</sup>.

All'interno di questa situazione così oscura, risulta chiaro che Eusebio non si è accorto dell'errata « σύγκρισις », perché non aveva letto Metodio<sup>73</sup> e non aveva avuto una adeguata conoscenza di Massimo; la sua incertezza nei riguardi dell'autore e dell'opera traspare chiaramente<sup>74</sup>. Allorché termina l'estratto si limita a concludere: τοσαῦτα καὶ ὁ προδηλωθεὶς συγγραφεύς, senza fornire indicazioni aggiuntive e poiché il libro è già di una ampiezza consistente, ritiene opportuno passare a quello successivo<sup>75</sup>. La collocazione stessa del testo al tempo di Ireneo è dettata dal contenuto, il quale rivela analogie concettuali con gli apologeti, nonché con il vescovo di Lione: l'idea, per esempio, presentata subito all'inizio del passo eusebiano, che l'esistenza di un altro principio comporterebbe forti limitazioni alla onnipotenza di Dio, era già stata sostenuta in ambito cristiano da Taziano, Teofilo e poi da Ireneo contro gli gnostici<sup>76</sup>, così come il concetto seguente, l'impossibilità che Dio sia contenuto da qualcosa perché è Egli che contiene tutto, era stato un argomento molto dibattuto nel secondo se-

<sup>72</sup> Cfr. n. 58.

<sup>73</sup> Non lo menziona mai nella *Historia ecclesiastica*. Soltanto nell' *Apologia di Origene*, stando a una citazione riportata da Gerolamo (*C. Rufinum*, I, 11, PL 23, 423) lo accusava di aver osato scrivere contro l'Alessandrino: « Quomodo ausus est Methodius nunc contra Origenem scribere qui haec et haec de Origenis locutus est dogmatibus? ». Probabilmente Eusebio si riferisce alla stesura del *De resurrectione*; cfr. ROBINSON, *The Philocalia*, p. XLV, considerazione presentata anche da PRINZIVALLI, *L'esegesi biblica*, p. 10 sulla base del « nunc ».

<sup>74</sup> Cfr. SCHROEDER, *Eusèbe de Césarée, La préparation évangélique*, p. 112-113; PRETTY, *Adamantius*, p. 19 n. 52. Ciò potrebbe confermare l'impossibilità di identificarlo con l'autore del *Dialogo di Adamanzio*.

<sup>75</sup> Cfr. EUS., *P.E.* 7.22.64 (SC 215, p. 312).

<sup>76</sup> EUS., *P.E.* 7.22.1-5 (SC 215, p. 282-284) ~ IREN., *Haer.* 2.1.2 (SC 294, p. 26): « quemadmodum enim poterit super hunc alia Plenitudo aut Initium aut Potestas aut alius Deus esse, cum oporteat Deum horum omnium Pleroma in immenso omnia circumcontinere et circumcontineri a nemine? Si autem extra illum est aliquid, iam non omnium est Pleroma, neque continet omnia: deerit enim Pleromati aut ei qui sit super omnia Deo hoc quod extra eum dicunt. Quod autem deest et delibatum est ab aliquo, hoc non est omnium Pleroma ».

colo<sup>77</sup>. Valida conferma di ciò è fornita dalla presenza all'interno dell'estratto di riferimenti al pensiero di Plotino che, nato intorno al 203-204, non poteva essere contemporaneo di Ireneo: il rifiuto dell'argomentazione neoplatonica secondo la quale come esiste un bene in sé, c'è anche il male, che a sua volta è sostanza e accidente; l'idea che la privazione delle qualità rappresenti per la materia stessa una qualità<sup>78</sup>. L'estratto è quindi posteriore e databile a partire dalla metà - fine terzo secolo. Anche l'indicazione περὶ τῆς ὕλης, nonostante non sia del tutto in contraddizione con quanto espresso nella *Historia ecclesiastica*<sup>79</sup>, è desunta dallo stesso scrittore di Cesarea sulla base del contenuto<sup>80</sup>. Il motivo per cui Eusebio non aveva a sua disposizione notizie sicure su Massimo può dipendere dal lasso di tempo che separa questa figura dalla stesura della *Praeparatio evangelica*, ma forse non è separato dall'alone di scarsa notorietà che avvolse lo scrittore.

Questa ardua strada è stata intrapresa per dissipare l'idea, ormai comunemente invalsa, dell'inesistenza del Massimo citato da Eusebio, senza comunque aver la presunzione di certezza, né tanto meno l'ardire di semplificare un siffatto problema, bensì con lo scopo di indagare una questione assai dubbia e complicata ed aprire un piccolo spiraglio di luce su alcuni problemi ed elementi. E' chiaro che di fronte a una simile questione, scarsamente supportata da fonti, nessuno si propone di offrire verità inoppugnabili e decisive, ma soltanto di presentare varie ipotesi.

<sup>77</sup> Cfr. Eus., *P.E.* 7.22.6-10 (SC 215, p. 284-288). Vd. al riguardo PÉPIN, *art. cit.*, p. 126-144.

<sup>78</sup> Eus., *P.E.* 7.22.32-34; 36-37 (SC 215, p. 298-300) ~ Plot., *Enn.* 1.8.3; 2.4.13.

<sup>79</sup> Nella *Historia ecclesiastica* sostiene di essere entrato in contatto con degli scritti di Eraclito sull'Apostolo, vale a dire delle opere che avevano come soggetto Paolo; ugualmente di Candido e di Apione ha letto pagine che avevano per argomento la creazione del mondo in sei giorni e di Sesto quelle che indagavano il problema della resurrezione. Non riporta dunque il titolo, ma la loro ὑπόθεσις, ossia l'argomento fondamentale di cui esse trattano.

<sup>80</sup> Cfr. SCHROEDER, *Eusèbe de Césarée, La préparation évangélique*, note a p. 280-282.

## 6. L'attribuzione a Origene dell'*excerptum* eusebiano: un ulteriore problema

Gli studiosi si sono anche interrogati su come Basilio e Gregorio di Nazianzo, allorché hanno copiato nella *Philocalia* l'*excerptum* di Eusebio, possano aver creduto all'attribuzione origeniana di un così lungo estratto, che subito si qualifica per una forte presenza di platonismo e una quasi totale assenza delle Sacre Scritture, tanto amate dal maestro d'Alessandria e base della sua discussione sul libero arbitrio<sup>81</sup>. L'osservazione acquista un notevole peso per un lettore moderno, ma i « Filocalisti » con ogni probabilità adottano parametri e coordinate diverse. Se pensiamo che la filosofia di Platone è alla base tanto dell'estratto metodiano di Eusebio quanto del pensiero origeniano e degli stessi Cappadoci<sup>82</sup>, che il dottore di Alessan-

<sup>81</sup> Cfr. JUNOD (éd.), *Origène. Philocalie* 21-27, p. 70-71. Per la presenza di platonismo e di richiami scritturistici nel *De autexsusio* vd. VAILLANT, *Le « De autexsusio »*, p. 653-656.

<sup>82</sup> Nel passo di Eusebio il vb. *κατακερματίζειν* (P.E. 7.22.2, SC 215, p. 284 ~ METH., *Arbitr.* 5.2, GCS 27, p. 158), la descrizione della materia agitata da movimento (P.E. 7.22.7, SC 215, p. 286 ~ METH., *Arbitr.* 6.2, GCS 27, p. 159), la ripresa del ragionamento dall'inizio (P.E. 7.22.21, SC 215, p. 292 ~ METH., *Arbitr.* 8.1, GCS 27, p. 165), l'espressione *φέρων* (P.E. 7.22.56, SC 215, p. 308 ~ METH., *Arbitr.* 12.1, GCS 27, p. 175) rimandano a Platone. Più in generale, la distinzione tra due movimenti, quello di rotazione e quello di traslazione, la necessità di un centro fisso (2.5, GCS 27, p. 149), la definizione della bontà di Dio (3.7, GCS 27, p. 152-153), l'espressione *τὰ κοινὰ τῆς πρὸς σὲ φιλίας* (4.3, GCS 27, p. 156: cfr. *Phaedr.* 279c: *κοινὰ [...] τὰ τῶν φίλων*) riconducono all'illustre filosofo. Del resto, tutto il dialogo metodiano è condotto secondo la maniera platonica: la scelta degli interlocutori (4.4; p. 156); la ripresa del ragionamento dall'inizio (8.1; p. 165); l'elogio della contraddizione (4.1; p. 155: *τὴν μὲν προθυμίαν ἀποδέχομαι τὴν σὴν, ὃ φίλε, καὶ σου τὴν περὶ τὸν λόγον σπουδὴν ἐπαίνῳ* cfr. *Protag.* 361d). Il metodo socratico mette in luce la volontà di Metodio di non mostrarsi fortemente critico nei confronti delle dottrine eterodosse, ma di ricondurle nel solco della retta fede, dopo averle sottoposte a un attento vaglio critico. Cfr. VAILLANT, *Le « De autexsusio »*, p. 641; p. 653-656. Per un primo approccio alla presenza di Platone in Origene vd. R. A. NORRIS, *God and World in Early Christian Theology*, New York, 1965, p. 129-157; E. V. IVANKA, *Plato Christianus*, Einsiedeln, 1964, p. 100s. Sul platonismo dei Cappadoci cfr. L. SHEAR, *The Influence of Plato on St. Basil*, Baltimore, 1906; C. MORESCHINI, *Filosofia e letteratura in Gregorio Nazianzeno*, Milano, 1997; J. DANIELOU, *Platonisme et théologie mystique*, Paris, 1944; E. PEROLI, *Il*

dria aveva composto un'opera, il *Περὶ ἀρχῶν*, con lo scopo di indagare i principi costitutivi dell'essere (Dio, mondo, uomo, demoni e libertà), presi in esame anche da Metodio e che una serie di richiami al pensiero di Origene traspaiono dall'estratto eusebiano dello scrittore licio<sup>83</sup>, il quale si inserisce nel solco già tracciato dal maestro alessandrino e da una tradizione filosofica precedente<sup>84</sup> – senza dimenticare la forte *auctoritas* svolta dal nome Adamanzio – potremmo arrivare, certamente solo in piccolissima parte, almeno a giustificare l'errore dei compilatori della *Philocalia*. Più difficile è spiegare come si sia giunti ad ascrivere a Origene un dialogo, che in vari altri punti sembra esporre dottrine opposte a quelle teorizzate dall'Alessandrino<sup>85</sup>. Un ruolo notevole avrà sicuramente giocato il *nomen* di Adamanzio, ma con ogni probabilità, attraverso uno studio analitico di questa opera si potrà riportarla alla luce, dopo essere rimasta in penombra, e forse chiarire in maniera più precisa molti problemi.

*platonismo e l'antropologia filosofica di Gregorio di Nissa: con particolare riferimento agli influssi di Platone, Plotino e Porfirio*, Milano, 1993.

<sup>83</sup> La materia non è né buona, né malvagia, ma indifferente (cfr. *Cels.* 3.41-42); la creazione del mondo da parte di Dio *ex nihilo*, senza materia preesistente e increata (cfr. *Cm. in Job.* 1.17.103; *Princ.* 2.1.4). Cfr. JUNOD (éd.), *Origène. Philocalie* 21-27, p. 71. Comunque, in tutto il *De autexusio* figurano richiami al pensiero alessandrino e origeniano: vd. FARGES, *Méthode d'Olympe*. « *Dulibre arbitre* », p. 58-67; VAILLANT, *Le « De autexusio »*, p. 650-652, nonché le dipendenze riscontrate da BONWETSCH nella sua edizione.

<sup>84</sup> La ricerca sui principi costitutivi dell'essere è alla base della più antica speculazione filosofica greca: basti pensare ai tre principi dei Platonici (θεός, ὕλη, ἰδέα) e ai due degli Stoici (τὸ ποιοῦν καὶ τὸ πάσχειν, Θεός καὶ ὕλη: SVF I, p. 24; II, p. 111). L'*Epitome* di Alcinoos riflette nella trattazione della materia il forte interesse nutrito per queste tematiche. Cfr. ORIGENE, *I Principi* a cura di M. SIMONETTI, Torino, 1968, p. 27-28.

<sup>85</sup> Cfr. PRETTY, *Adamantius*, p. 11-12. Si tratta di un ulteriore problema che meriterebbe di essere indagato alla luce delle tematiche affrontate nel *Dialogo di Adamanzio*.

*Summary*

This paper offers an overview of the problem about the quotation of 'Maximus' by Eusebius. Certainty is hard to get by regarding this question. We may perhaps conclude that Eusebius knew practically nothing of Maximus and he cannot have been equally ignorant of Methodius' work. The extract, inserted in Eusebius' *Praeparatio evangelica*, has followed an earlier source, which has attributed to Maximus the Methodius' passage. Probably, Maximus was a Christian author, who wrote writings in which God, matter and free will were central subjects. The article cannot claim to offer the ultimate solution, but it gives good insight in the problems and possible solutions.



# Gregory the Great, Roman Law and the Jews : Seeking “True” Conversions\*

by

Darius Oliha MAKUJA

(Syracuse, NY)

## 1. Introduction

Gregory’s policy toward the Jews stands in stark contrast to the treatment they had been accustomed to receiving from both ecclesiastical and civil leaders. His pastoral approach reveals that he understood the importance of building good will as an enticement to voluntary conversion. Particularly concerned that the Church observe Roman law in regard to the Jews, Gregory defended their legitimate religious and political liberties and opposed attempts to force baptism upon them. In a letter to Victor, the Bishop of Palermo, he wrote: “Just as no freedom ought to be granted to the Jews in their synagogues beyond what has been permitted to them by law, even so, in what has been allowed to them, they should not sustain any prejudice.”<sup>1</sup>

\* This article is a revision of Chapter 4 “Gregory the Great and the Jews” in my dissertation *Eschatology and Inculturation: The Missionary Strategy of Pope Gregory the Great (590-604)* (Saint Louis University, 2006).

<sup>1</sup> S. Gregorius Magnus, *Registrum Epistularum*, ed. by D. NORBERG (*Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina*, 140-140A; Turnholti: Typographi Brepols Editores Pontificii, 1982). *Ep.* VIII, 5, lines 1-3 (*CCSL* 140, p. 546) “Sicut Iudaeis non debet esse licentia quicquam in synagogis suis ... ita in his quae eis concessa nullum debent praeiudicium sustinere,”. Werner Keller notes Gregory was “moderate and fair-minded ... [doing] all in his power to prevent poisoning the atmosphere” (*Diaspora: The Post-Biblical History of the Jews*, New York: Harcourt, Brace & World Inc. 1969, p. 122).

In this study I investigate whether Gregory's shift away from previous Church policy was merely rhetorical. In other words, was the change simply a politically correct attempt, on the part of a former Roman Prefect, to align the Church's treatment of Jews, at least theoretically, with their status in Roman law, especially the *Theodosian* and the *Justinian Codes*? Or was Gregory insisting that his priests and bishops enforce that law as a strategy to bring Jews into the Church? First, I describe the legal status that Roman civil law conferred upon Jews as individual Jews, as well as upon the Jewish community as a whole. Then ancillary to my analysis of Gregory's policies, I sketch the Church's treatment of Jews and its collusion with civil authorities to maintain the Jews' inferior economic and social status and to curtail any social influence they might have had.<sup>2</sup> I conclude that Gregory advocated civil justice for the Jews, limited though it was, to portray the church as their protector and to persuade them to convert and be baptized into the Church in anticipation of the final judgment that he envisioned within his lifetime. The underlying motives, then, for Gregory's Jewish policy are his imminent eschatology and his pragmatism, that is, his willingness to use whatever means necessary to prepare the world for judgment.<sup>3</sup> In championing the Jews' civil rights, Gregory brought his not insignificant political skills to bear on advancing his pastoral and missionary agendas for the Church.

While Gregory regarded Judaism as little more than a superstition, he was eager to win Jews for Christianity through voluntary conversion. Gregory first sought to crystallize within Church policy their religious freedom under Roman law. Then, as a matter of principle, Gregory advocated persuasive preaching and monetary incentives.<sup>4</sup> His refusal to tolerate force and coercion resulted in a unique pastoral policy

<sup>2</sup> S. GRAYZEL, "Jews and the Ecumenical Councils," *The Seventy-Fifth Anniversary Volume of the Jewish Quarterly Review* (1967), p. 116.

<sup>3</sup> Gregory's policy is significant in its own right in the history of Judaism and the history of the Church because it became official church policy in the early medieval period. In succeeding centuries, church councils promoted legislation that was by its very nature anti-Semitic.

<sup>4</sup> *Ep.* I, 45 (CCSL 140, p. 59).

toward the Jews during his pontificate. R. A. Markus argues that “for Gregory, mission and pastoral ministry formed an indissoluble unity within his worldview. Preaching, persuasion, inducement could be employed to gain Jewish converts, but not force, pressure or coercion.”<sup>5</sup>

The Church’s attitude toward the Jews before Gregory reveals the significance of Gregory’s approach. Scholarship dealing with the Jews during that period paints a grim picture of the Church’s ambivalent attitude toward them. Civil and ecclesiastical authorities labeled Judaism a perfidious sect and accused Jews of being obstinate, rebellious, and contemptible. At the same time, such rhetoric was part of the constant pressure exerted on the Jews to convert to Catholicism.

Linda Woodhead makes the point that: “The treatment of Jews, who by this time constituted a sizeable and widely spread population within the borders of Christendom, was ... similar to [the treatment of] heretics ... they were treated as anti-church, and they too were suspected of conspiracy and a plot to take over the world.”<sup>6</sup> According to Solomon Grayzel,

The medieval Church found the peculiar and inferior Jewish status a highly acceptable arrangement, and it insistently reminded the princes of their duty to restrain Jewish influence and enforce Jewish inferiority. Understandably, the Church based itself, not on the presumed historical arguments or legalists, but preferred to go back to the “crime” of the crucifixion which made the Jews the eternal and insidious enemies of Christendom.<sup>7</sup>

Jews then posed both a religious and a political problem. They were regarded as Christ killers who were hostile toward his Church and as conspirators who might seize political and economic power. In an effort to control the Jews’ “pernicious” influence, Léon Poliakov argues, that the church some-

<sup>5</sup> R. A. MARKUS, *Gregory the Great and His World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 80.

<sup>6</sup> L. WOODHEAD, *An Introduction to Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 13.

<sup>7</sup> S. GRAYZEL, “The Jews and Roman Law,” *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 59 (1968), p. 116.

times called upon heads of state to force conversion upon the Jews.<sup>8</sup>

While Gregory's policy took a different direction than those of his predecessors, it created a situation in which

... on the one hand, [the Jews] were reduced to pariahs hedged in with much abuse and contempt, and rendered vulnerable to forced conversion and persecution, but on the other, they were guaranteed minimal rights that allowed them to practice Judaism and to enjoy extensive local self-government.<sup>9</sup>

## 2. *Jews under the Codes of Theodosius and Justinian*

In his monumental work, *Les juifs dans l'empire romain: leur condition juridique, économique et social* published in 1914, Jean Juster advanced the conclusion that "Jewish degradation as well as Jewish disabilities dates from the union of the Church with the Roman State."<sup>10</sup> A survey of selected decrees issued by Christian emperors and enshrined in the *Theodosian* and the *Justinian Codes* justifies Juster's harsh assessment.

<i>Emperor</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Issue</i>
1. Constantine	315	Penalty for Jewish harassment of converts to Christianity
2. Constantine	353	Jews forbidden to circumcise, own, or purchase Christian slaves
3. Honorius Theodosius	393	Jews free to worship in their synagogues
4. Honorius Theodosius	412	Judaism a legal religion; synagogues not to be seized or destroyed
5. Honorius Theodosius	412	Civil responsibilities should not conflict with observance of Sabbath

<sup>8</sup> L. POLIAKOV, *The History of Anti-Semitism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), p. 28.

<sup>9</sup> F. M. SCHWEITZER, "Medieval Perceptions of Jews and Judaism," in *Jewish-Christian Encounters over the Centuries: Symbiosis, Prejudice, Holocaust, Dialogue*, eds. M. PERRY and F. M. SCHWEITZER (New York: Peter Lang, 1993), p. 132.

<sup>10</sup> A. RABELLO, "A Tribute to Jean Juster," *Israel Law Review*, 11 (1946), p. 246.

6. Honorius Theodosius	418	Jews barred from civil service
7. Honorius Theodosius	423	Jews not allowed to build new synagogues, can only rebuild synagogues that have been destroyed or consecrated as churches
8. Justinian	534	Strengthens prohibitions against Jewish ownership of slaves and establishes severe penalty
9. Justinian	553	<i>Novella</i> 146: Forbids Jewish observance of Sabbath

Table 1 : Select Roman Law concerning Jews

Roman common law had already acknowledged the Jews as a distinct group (*Iudaei et communi iure vientes*). Roman citizenship (*cives Romani*), conferred right of assembly, a right recognized and protected by both non-Christian and Christian Emperors. Roman common law also granted Jews *privilegia*, exemptions that allowed them to live according to their religious laws; a right denied to other non-Christian citizens in the Empire did not share. *Privilegia* construed the Jewish community as a legal person in control of its finances, capable of owning property and of entering into legal transactions.<sup>11</sup>

As this section will demonstrate, Christian civil authorities honored the *privilegia*, but denied Jews the rights that other Roman citizens enjoyed. For example, Christian rulers stripped Jews of the right to build and maintain synagogues, to proselytize and oversee conversion, to own and purchase slaves, and to participate in civil service and in agricultural pursuits. Church leaders intensified and extended such prohibitions when they made incorporated them into canon law.<sup>12</sup>

The following imperial decrees represent the legal foundation of Gregory's pastoral policies regarding the Jews. The first two texts are fourth century legislations hostile to the Jews. I then discuss five texts issued by the emperors Theodosius and Honorius: the first three edicts protect the Jews' right to practice their religion freely without interference; the

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 200.

<sup>12</sup> F. M. SCHWEITZER, "Medieval Perceptions of Jews and Judaism," p. 132.

fourth edict bars Jews from public service; and the fifth limits synagogue construction and repair. The last two texts from the Emperor Justinian reinforce earlier prohibitions against Jewish ownership of slaves and rescind the Jews' freedom of religion by forbidding observance of the Sabbath.

(1) Emperor Constantine (306-337) issued the first Roman laws hostile to Jews. In 315 he addressed a decree to Evagrius, Praetorian Perfect in Italy, with instructions for dealing with Jewish attacks on Jewish converts to Christianity in North Africa. It laid out harsh penalties for Jews who harassed such converts, as well as for Jewish communities that welcomed new converts to Judaism, and for the converts themselves:

It is our will that the Jews and their elders and patriarchs shall be informed that if, after the instance of this law, any of them should dare to attempt to assail with stones or with any other kind of madness – a thing which We have learned is now being done – any person who has fled their feral sect and has resorted to the worship of God, such assailant shall be immediately delivered to the flames and burned, with all his accomplices. Moreover, if any person from the people should betake himself to their nefarious sect and should join their assemblies, he shall sustain with them the deserved punishment.<sup>13</sup>

The language of the decree sets the Jews apart and strips them of their humanity in two ways. By calling Judaism a “feral sect,” it reduces them to a band of wild beasts whose first impulse is to attack. By referring to it as a “nefarious” sect, one decree demonizes all Jews. As nonhuman threats to both civil and religious social order, Jews and their associates are easily “delivered to the flames and burned,” without benefit of due process.

<sup>13</sup> *Codex Theodosianus*, 16.8.1. *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions*, C. PHARR, transl. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952), p. 467. E. Klingenberg comments that “the language is harsh and intolerant.” “Roman Legislation on Jewish Ownership of Slaves,” *Jewish Law Association Studies*, 4 (1990), p. 80.

(2) In a 393 decree addressed to Felix, Praetorian Prefect, Emperor Constantius (337-361) wrote :

If any one among the Jews has purchased a slave of another sector nation, that slave shall at once be appropriated for the imperial treasury. If, indeed, he shall have circumcised the slave whom he has purchased, he will not only be fined for the damage done to that slave but he will also receive capital punishment. If, indeed, a Jew does not hesitate to purchase slaves – those who are members of the faith that is worthy of respect [Christianity] – then all these slaves who are found in his possession shall at once be removed. No delay shall be occasioned, but he is to be deprived of the possession of those men who are Christians.<sup>14</sup>

Under pain of death, Jews could not forcibly circumcise slaves even though civil authorities tolerated and even assisted in the forced baptism of Jews. Not only were Jewish slave owners fined, they lost their slaves to the imperial treasury. Constantius dealt the Jews a serious economic blow since most slave traders were Jews. The decree further narrowed the occupations they could legitimately pursue.

(3) In 393, Emperors Honorius and Theodosius addressed this edict to Addeus, Count and Master of the Military Service in the Orient :

It is sufficiently established that the sect of the Jews is forbidden by no law. Hence, we are gravely disturbed that their assemblies have been forbidden in certain places. Your Sublime Magnitude will, therefore, after receiving this order, restrain with proper severity the excesses of those persons who, in the name of the Christian religion, presume to commit certain unlawful acts and attempt to destroy and to despoil the synagogues.<sup>15</sup>

Important here is the acknowledgement that Judaism is a legal religion within the Empire. Attempts to prevent Jews from practicing their religion, including attacks on their syna-

<sup>14</sup> *Codex Theodosianus*, 16.9.1.

<sup>15</sup> *Codex Theodosianus*, 16.8.9.

gogues are, therefore, prohibited. To Addeus is left the task of determining how to “restrain with proper severity” such unlawful acts.

(4) In 412, Emperors Honorius and Theodosius issued a reminder that the Roman court system provided due process and protection to all roman citizens including Jews, from private vengeance. Addressed to Philip, *Prefectus Praetorius* of Illyricum, the decree reads:

No one shall be destroyed for being a Jew, though innocent of crime, nor shall any religion whatsoever execute him while he is exposed to contumely. Their synagogues and habitations shall not be indiscriminately burned, or wrongfully damaged without any reason. For even if someone is estranged by crimes, the vigor of the courts and the protection of public law appear to have been instituted in our midst for that very reason, that no one shall have the power to permit himself to take vengeance. But, just as we wish to provide in this law for all the Jews, we order that this warning too should be given, lest the Jews grow perchance insolent, and elated by their security commit something rash against the reverence of the Christian cult.<sup>16</sup>

The Emperors again affirmed the Jews’ right to practice their religion without harassment, adding that due process also applies to Jews. Jewishness is not sufficient grounds for murder or execution. At the same time, to emphasize that imperial protection of those rights carries with it certain conditions, Honorius and Theodosius warned their Jewish subjects against abusing their freedom by attacking Christians, their churches, or their rituals, especially, the Eucharist. In other words, they had to maintain peaceful and respectful relations with Christians.

(5) That same year the two emperors issue an imperial edict at Ravenna, addressed to John, *Prefect Praetorius* of Italy. They repeat the injunction against persecution of the Jews and destruction of their property, reinforce the Jews’ right to

<sup>16</sup> *Codex Theodosianus*, 16.8.21.



observe the Sabbath, and, with some weariness, observe that “enough had been legislated on this matter” in the past:

No one shall dare to violate or seize and occupy what are known by the names of synagogues and are assuredly frequented by the conventicles of the Jews, for all must retain what is theirs with unmolested right and without harm to religion and cult. Furthermore, since the ancient custom and usage preserved the Sabbath, sacred to the said people of the Jews, we decree that this too must be avoided, that no summons shall constrain a man of the said custom under pretext of public or private business, for it would seem that all the remaining time suffices for the public laws, and it would be most worthy of the government of our time that former privileges shall not be violated; although it would seem that enough had been legislated on this matter in general constitutions by past Emperors.<sup>17</sup>

The Emperors point out that the rest of the week provides ample time to demand that Jews make themselves available for any legal matter. There is no need, then, for the Prefect to oblige them to deal with such matters on their Sabbath.

(6) In 418 Honorius and Theodosius informed the Praetorium Prefect Paladius of their decision to bar Jews from holding positions in imperial service:

Those persons who live in the Jewish superstition shall hereafter be barred from seeking entrance to the imperial service. To those persons who have undertaken the oaths of enlistment in the imperial service as members of secret service or as palatines we grant the right to complete such service and to end it within the statutory periods, ignoring the fact rather than favoring it. But the regulation which we wish to be relaxed for a few at present shall not be permitted in the future.<sup>18</sup>

Although Christian Emperors tolerated Jews to a certain degree, the Christianization of Roman law had adverse effects on their lives. This imperial decision separated Jews by law

<sup>17</sup> *Codex Theodosianus*, 16.8.20. A. LINDER (transl.), *The Jews in Roman Imperial Legislation* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1987), p. 262.

<sup>18</sup> *Codex Theodosianus*, 16.8.24.

from the faithful and relegated them to an inferior legal position although not to the same extent as heathens, heretics and apostates.”<sup>19</sup> Jewish participation in the imperial service would cease once current appointees completed their terms. Jews were also barred “from the offices of court officials and from military service.”<sup>20</sup>

(7) A 423 decree restricted the construction of synagogues. It reiterated earlier destruction and confiscation of synagogues. It also ordered that recently seized properties be returned or that Jews receive equal compensation for any property that had already been consecrated for Church use.

It is our pleasure that in the future no synagogue at all of the Jews shall be indiscriminately taken away from them or consumed by fire, and that if, after the issuance of this law, there are any synagogues which by recent attempt have been seized, vindicated to the churches, or at any rate consecrated to the venerable mysteries, the Jews shall be granted as compensation thereof, places in which they can construct synagogues commensurate, of course, with those that were taken away. If any offertories have been removed, they shall be restored to the aforesaid Jews if they have not yet been dedicated to the sacred mysteries, but if the venerable consecration does not permit their return, a price equal to the value thereof shall be paid as compensation for them. In the future no synagogues shall be constructed, and the old ones shall remain in their present condition.<sup>21</sup>

The decree served a dual purpose. It ensured that Judaism could not gain a foothold in areas in which it did not already exist since it only permitted the reconstruction of synagogues that had been destroyed. By declaring that synagogues should remain “in their present conditions,” the decree forbade expansion and renovation of the buildings, perhaps even necessary repairs, so that eventually a Jewish community would not have a suitable gathering place. In other words, “the legis-

<sup>19</sup> *Codex Theodosianus*, 16.8.24. Cf. RABELLO, “A Tribute to Jean Juster,” p. 247.

<sup>20</sup> *Codex Theodosianus*, 16.8.3-4; 12.1.99; 16.8.24.

<sup>21</sup> *Codex Theodosianus*, 16.8.25.

lators were aware of the freedom of worship in existing synagogues that permitted the Jews such rights and thus had to remain binding.”<sup>22</sup> The law, however, implies that the Jews’ freedom to worship publicly would be compromised as synagogues fell into disrepair.

(8) The *Codex Justiniani* (534) strengthened prohibitions against the Jews. They absolutely could not own Christian slaves, much less circumcise them.<sup>23</sup> Nor were they allowed to build new synagogues, read the Bible only in Hebrew in their synagogues, celebrate Passover before Easter, or testify against Christians in court.

(9) Justinian’s *Novella* 146 (553) forbidding the Jews to observe the Sabbath, is “flagrant interference in the internal affairs of the Jewish community.”<sup>24</sup> Justinian closed all synagogues and had them consecrated as churches, thus making public worship for Jews virtually impossible.<sup>25</sup> Other Christian emperors had tried to establish legal boundaries between Jews and other groups within the empire by describing what each group was prohibited from doing in regard to the other. Justinian, however, “intervened directly in the internal affairs of the Jewish community as well ... [thereby setting] a precedent that was to influence Jewish-Christian relations for centuries to come ...”<sup>26</sup>

Even a cursory survey of Roman legislation regarding the Jews under Christian emperors supports Juster’s view that “Christianity began to corrode and to subvert Jewish energy, to undermine Jewish spirit.”<sup>27</sup> A. Linder argues that Roman law

<sup>22</sup> W. KELLER, *Diaspora: Post-Biblical History of the Jews* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc. (1969), p. 122.

<sup>23</sup> E. H. FLANNERY, *The Anguish of the Jews: Twenty-Three Centuries of Anti-Semitism* (New York/Mahwah: Paulist Press, 1985), p. 68.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid. p. 225. According to Flannery: “Of paramount import to the destiny of Judaism was the formulation of the *Justinian Code* in the first half of the sixth century.”

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. p. 69.

<sup>26</sup> J. LEONARD, “Justinian’s Novella 146: Between Jews and Christians,” in *Jewish Culture and Society under the Christian Roman Empire*, eds. R. KALMIN and S. SCHARTZ (Leuven: Peeters, 2003), p. 385.

... documents the ideological stances, policies, and practical means of application adopted and carried out in regard to the Jews by ecclesiastical and secular authorities. In so far as the status of the Jews was determined on religious grounds, the church was the foremost legal authority called upon to lay down the law and see its enforcement; and in so far as that status was determined on public law grounds, with the Jews treated as citizens or as aliens, the same role reverted to the secular state authorities.<sup>28</sup>

In the next section I will provide selected examples of the failure of Church leaders in the period before Gregory to incorporate into their policies the limited religious freedom granted Jews under Roman law. For the most part, civil authorities also failed to enforce laws regarding the Jews, especially those protecting their freedom of religion. The majority of the laws did not carry explicit penalties for those who violated them, nor were mechanisms in place to insure that they were enforced. To do so would make the Jews visible and acknowledge that they enjoyed a legal status on a par with Roman citizens. Few civil or religious authorities were willing to risk public outrage for the sake of the Jews.

### 3. *Church Policies toward the Jews before Gregory*

Gregory's attitude about Jewish-Christian relations during his pontificate was based on his awareness of the legal status of the Jews in the Roman Empire. Admittedly the Christian

<sup>27</sup> J. JUSTER, *Les Juifs dans l'empire romain* (Paris, 1914), 2, 325.

<sup>28</sup> A. LINDER, *The Jews in the Legal Sources of the Early Middle Ages* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1997), p. 14. He also observes that: "Jewry law, the corpus of legal texts and practices that regulated the life of the Jews in their relations with medieval Christian society, is one of the main sources of evidence on medieval Jewish history. This is due to the central role given to legal concepts and practices in medieval Christian civilization, which usually formulated and explicated policies in regard to the Jews in legal terms and on legal principles, while the practical application of these policies caused both governors and governed, Christians as well as Jews, to use – and when the need arose, to create – specific judicial machinery and practices" (p. 13).

Roman Emperors had an ambivalent attitude toward the Jews. On the one hand, Judaism was tolerated and Jews had the freedom to observe the Sabbath and other holy days without persecution. On the other hand, as noted in the previous section, the “Christianization of Roman law tended to affect Jewish status adversely.”<sup>29</sup> Schweitzer suggests that ecclesiastical authorities intensified and extended any negative aspects of civil law.<sup>30</sup> To highlight the paradigm shift [from the policies of his predecessors], represented in Gregory’s attitude toward Jews, it is important to show how the Church, through the agency of various missionary bishops, clergy and pious individuals, ignored the Jews’ religious freedom and openly persecuted them, seizing their synagogues and coercing them to convert.

<i>Religious/Civil Leader</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Significance</i>
1. Pope Leo I	c. 450	<i>Eighteen Sermons on the Incarnation</i>	Jews should convert
2. Avitus, Bishop of Clermont	576	Gregory of Tours	Coercive Baptism of Jews
3. King Chiperick	582	<i>History of the Franks</i> Book 6.17	Forced baptism of Jews
4. Reccared, Visigoth King of Spain	589	Council of Toledo Canon 14	Children of Jewish-Christian marriages must baptized Christian

Table 2: Church Policies toward the Jews  
before Gregory the Great

(1) Although he called Judaism “perfidy” and prayed that Jews might receive divine mercy, he would welcome them if they converted. The attitude of Leo the Great (440-461) to-

<sup>29</sup> M. F. SCHWEITZER, “Medieval Perceptions of Jews and Judaism,” in *Jewish-Christian Encounters over the Centuries: Symbiosis, Prejudice, Holocaust, Dialogue*, ed. by M. PERRY and F. M. SCHWEITZER (New York: Peter Lang, 1993), p. 132.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

ward the Jews is summed up in this statement from his *Sermons on the Incarnation*:

And, therefore while we detest their perfidy, we welcome their faith if they are converted. Imitating the mercy of our Lord, who prayed for those by whom He had been crucified, we also join our prayers with blessed Paul the Apostle, the desire that mercy may be obtained by that people, on account of whose stumbling we have received the grace of reconciliation. For, as the same teacher of the Gentiles says, God has concluded all things in unbelief, that he may have mercy upon all.<sup>31</sup>

Leo also acknowledges the role that Jews played in the salvation of humankind. Leo's pastoral concern for the Jewish people is not far from Gregory's.

(2) The best known instance of forced conversion occurred in Gaul in 526 during a Holy Saturday procession, a new baptized Christian, a convert from Judaism was assaulted by a member of the Jewish community. Bishop Avitus of Clermont prevented the Christians from stoning the assailant. Later, on the feast of the Ascension, a mob attacked and destroyed the Jewish synagogue.

One of them asked the Jews to be baptized on holy Easter, and, being born again in God by Sacrament of Baptism, in his white garments he joined the white-clad procession with others. When people were going in through the gate of the city one of the Jews, urged to it by the devil, poured stinking oil on the head of the converted Jew. And when all the people, horrified at this, wished to stone him, the bishop would not allow it. But on the blessed day, on which the Lord ascends to heaven in glory after the redemption of man, when

<sup>31</sup> S. Leo the Great, *Eighteen Sermons on the Incarnation*, transl. by W. BRIGHT (London: Joseph Masters, 1862), p. 48: "Quorum itaque perfidiam detestamur, eorum fidem, si convertantur, amplectimur, et imitantes misericordiam Domini, qui pro eis a quibus erat crucifixus orabat, nos quoque cum beato Paulo apostolo nostras jungimus preces, et ut ille populus misericordiam consequatur optamus, ob cujus offensionem gratiam reconciliationis accepimus, quoniam, sicut ait idem magister gentium, conclusit Deus omnia in incredulitate, ut omnium misereatur."

the bishop was walking in procession from the cathedral to the church singing psalms, a multitude of those who followed rushed upon the synagogue of the Jews and, destroying it from the foundations, they leveled it to the ground.<sup>32</sup>

The sixth-century chronicler, Gregory of Tours (538-594) asserts that an avid Avitus, proselytizer, used that event to confront the Jews with a great dilemma: be baptized or leave town. Five hundred Jews in Clermont accepted baptism. But the Jews who refused to abandon their faith fled to Marseilles and settled there.

(3) In 582, the Gallican King Chiperick, pressured by the same Gregory now a bishop, (538-594), ordered many Jews to be baptized, imprisoning those who resisted.<sup>33</sup> A man named Priscus managed to outwit both the king and the bishop and escaped to Marseilles.

But Priscus could not be influenced in any way to recognize the truth. The king was angry at him and ordered him to be put into prison, in the idea that if he did not wish to believe of his own accord he would force him to hear and believe. But Priscus offered gifts and asked for time until his son should marry a Hebrew girl at Marseilles; he promised deceitfully that he would then do what the king required.<sup>34</sup>

Among other things, the text illustrates the futility of forced conversions.

According to Rabello: "Increasing fanaticism and persecution left the Jews no other option than baptism and even denied them safety in the refuge of compulsory baptism ..."<sup>35</sup> Jean Juster remarks that: "When the impoverished Jews came to the Church to seek asylum from their creditors, the

<sup>32</sup> Gregory of Tours, *History of the Franks*, transl. by B. ERNEST (New York, Octagon Books, Inc., 1965), p. 113: Gregory of Tours goes on to identify Jews as "liars of God," "closed-minded," "ever-incredulous race," "wicked and perfidious nation."

<sup>33</sup> L. POLIAKOV, *The History of Anti-Semitism*, Vol. 1 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), p. 28.

<sup>34</sup> Gregory of Tours, *History of the Franks*, transl. by B. ERNEST (New York, Octagon Books, Inc., 1965), p. 155.

<sup>35</sup> A. RABELLO, "A Tribute to Jean Juster," p. 225.

law shut the gate before them even if they expressed their readiness to become Christians: they should have done so earlier, at a time when they were still wealthy – and that is what the cautious Jews were doing.”<sup>36</sup> Such a practice suggests that greed, not salvation, was more often a motivating factor behind attempts to force Jews to the baptismal font: “Rabello observes that confiscation of property was frequent punishment inflicted on the Jews and must have increased royal income substantially.”<sup>37</sup>

(4) In 587, the Visigoth King Reccared of Spain (586-601) converted to Catholicism. Two years later, along with local bishops who had converted from Arianism, Reccared convoked the *Third Council of Toledo* (Toletana) in May 589. This first “national” council had great political and religious ramifications for Spanish history. Spain turned from Arianism to Catholic Orthodoxy. It made Spain a Catholic nation. The Council “established a particular relationship between monarchy and church that dominated all subsequent Visigothic history.”<sup>38</sup> Following the tradition of his predecessors who typically endorsed conciliar decisions, giving them the status of civil law, Reccared denounced Arianism in twenty-three canons, professed his faith, and adopted the Roman name Flavius.<sup>39</sup> For example Canon 23 reads:

“This condemnation of the Arian heresy we have subscribed with our hands. The definitions of those Synods of Nicaea, etc., we have subscribed. They contain clearly the

<sup>36</sup> J. JUSTER, *Juifs*, 2, 325.

<sup>37</sup> A. RABELLO, “A Tribute to Jean Juster,” p. 250.

<sup>38</sup> J. HERRIN, *The Formation of Christendom* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), p. 228.

<sup>39</sup> C. J. HEFELE, *A History of the Councils of the Church: From the Original Documents* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1895), p. 418. “The Council was opened by King Reccared, who pronounced his own declaration of faith, stressing the authority of the first four ecumenical councils and quoting the creeds of Nicea, Constantinople, and Chalcedon as well as his own. He denounced Arianism with 23 anathemas, which recapitulated Catholic belief in contradistinction to heretical errors. Both the king and queen signed their agreement to these statements of orthodoxy, Reccared adopting the Roman name Flavius.”



true doctrine on the Trinity and Incarnation. If anyone falsifies this, for example, holy doctrine, and separates himself again from Catholic communion which we have now obtained, he is anathema before God and the world.”

Peter Brown argues that “having established a firm alliance with the Catholic bishops through their conversion from Arianism in 589, the Visigothic kings of Spain succeeded in holding together for over a century the largest undivided political unit in seventh century Europe.”<sup>40</sup>

Of particular concern to this discussion are conciliar decisions affecting Jewish and Christian relations. The Council prohibited Jews from owning Christian slaves, marrying Christians and holding public office in Visigothic Spain, and granted freedom to Christian slaves who had been circumcised by their Jewish slave owners. The King and bishops also “introduce(d) compulsory baptism of children from Judeo-Christian marriages.”<sup>41</sup> According to Canon 14:

No Jew may have a Christian woman as wife or concubine; and if there are children of such a union, they must be baptized. Neither must Jews exercise any public office over Christians with power of punishment. They may not buy for their own use Christian slaves; and if the latter have been by them stained with any Jewish rite they shall become free, and without ransom return to Christianity. It is the King’s will that this be taken into the canons.<sup>42</sup>

The motivation for such decrees was the establishment of a united Catholic Spain from which all Jews had been expunged. Madden points out that “[t]he Catholic Faith was to be the fundamental law of the state, and the fundamental prin-

<sup>40</sup> P. BROWN, *The Rise of the Western Christendom*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Malden, MA; Blackwell, 2005), p. 366: He goes on to say: “It was a remarkable achievement, maintained, in part, by intermittent bursts of solemn words. Like imperial codes of East Rome, the royal laws of the Visigothic kings covered all subjects and claimed to solve all problems. They ranged from occasional, grandiose mandates for the forced baptism of Jews throughout the kingdom to list of compensations for injuries caused to villagers by local bulls.”

<sup>41</sup> J. JUSTER, “The Legal Condition of Jews under the Visigothic Kings,” *Israel Law Review*, 41 (1976), p. 262.

<sup>42</sup> HEFELE, *A History of the Councils of the Church*, p. 420.

ciple of all codes, the unity of the Catholic nation. The link that bound peoples of the Iberian Peninsula together was their common Catholic Faith.”<sup>43</sup> P. D. King observes that subsequent conversions brought into being,

a true *societas fidelium Christi*, a unitary body bound together by a common faith and ruled over by a divinely sanctioned head. With the creation of such politico-religious unity, it is understandable that the attention should have become focused upon the Jews who, by their very existence, stood in the way of a virtually absolute identification of *regnum* and *ecclesia* and detracted from the full theocratic character of the monarchy.<sup>44</sup>

The conversion also set the stage for persecution of the Jews, “since there could not be a united Catholic Spain as long as there was a large group within the territorial boundaries of the kingdom but beyond its ideological confines.”<sup>45</sup> Civil authorities, therefore, colluded with the Church through its Councils to pass stringent anti-Jewish laws.

#### 4. *Gregory's Pastoral Policies on the Jewish Question*

I now turn my attention toward the pastoral policies of Gregory the Great toward the Jews. My argument will demonstrate that Gregory was not simply a legalist giving the Jews their proper due but that he was an astute political and ecclesiastical policy maker. His appeal to Roman law illustrates how the administrative knowledge and legal skills he developed in civil service as Prefect of Rome accounts for his pragmatic approach to pastoral care. In addition, his desire to bring the Jews to Christianity through persuasion is a direct result of his conviction that the final judgment was approach-

<sup>43</sup> M. MADDEN, *Political Theory and Law in Medieval Spain* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1930). Madden also observes: “They saw all their problems in the light of its teaching; they never attempted a solution without first consulting its principles,” p. 34.

<sup>44</sup> P. D. KING, *Law and Society in the Visigothic Kingdom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), p. 213.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

ing; if they did not submit to baptism, they would be consigned to hell.

G. R. Evans argues that “the Jews posed a theological and a practical problem, but a familiar one, with which the Church had to learn to live. They were everywhere in the Empire, and their presence made itself felt.”<sup>46</sup> This section examines selected letters that support the claim that Gregory’s pastoral strategies of flexibility and adaptation applied to the Church’s relationship to the Jewish community (Jewish Question). His policies called for a moderate and fair-minded pastoral approach toward the Jews, evidence of his political consciousness that he had to protect their rights to the extent Roman law permitted. Table 3 provides a synopsis of Gregory’s pastoral policies in disputes concerning Jews and Christians. The selections reflect the situation in Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, Gaul and Spain. Gregory’s correspondences indicate that followers of Judaism had relatively free access to him to deliver complaints about the actions of certain bishops or clerics towards the Jewish communities.

I examine selected pastoral correspondence of Gregory the Great within the context of Roman laws, particularly the *Codex Theodosianus*, reviewed earlier. Gregory recognized that the Church was subject to the civil law of the Empire and thus insisted that his bishops and clerics should see that the Jews were accorded the limited religious freedom that law granted the Jews. In contrast to his predecessors, Gregory pursued policies of justice and fairness toward the Jews during his pontificate. The justice that he granted the Jews was their legal due, nothing more, nothing less. His motivation, however, was the example of the crucified Christ who prayed, “Father, forgive them for they have no idea what they are doing” (*Luke 23:34*). Instead, Gregory’s vision of an imminent eschaton and a fiery judgment compelled him “to work towards their conversion by mild persuasive methods, gently and mercifully rather than by the threats which he feared might lose more souls than they saved.”<sup>47</sup>

<sup>46</sup> G. R. EVANS, *The Thought of Gregory the Great* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 135.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p. 140.

For the most part, Gregory refused to tolerate the forced conversion of Jews to Christianity, but he also refused to allow the Jews to practice their religion in peace. As Flannery puts it, "Gregory's devotion to law and justice in no way lessened his zeal for the conversion of Jews to Christianity. He ... exhorted his bishops to work tirelessly to win Jews to Christ, not by force or terror but by gentleness and persuasion."<sup>48</sup> In this way, Gregory avoided creating greater tensions between Jews and Christians even though he worked hard to convert them before Christ arrived for the final judgment.<sup>49</sup> In contrast, Gregory's policy toward other non-Christian tenants on Church lands was less than exemplary and did not demonstrate a desire to soften their attitude toward conversion. If they refused to obey regulations, they were forced to pay exorbitant fines. Free men were imprisoned until they agreed to pay, and their slaves tortured.

Ernest Abel argues that "Pope Gregory I played a very definite role in the condition of the Jews not only in Italy but throughout the Christian world at this time."<sup>50</sup>

In the execution of that role Gregory betrayed certain ambivalence. He recognized Judaism as a religion (*Ep.* I, 45), although little better than paganism, and, like his contemporaries, he regarded Jews as an ethnic social group of unbelievers (*Iudaeica perfidia*) who had rejected and killed the Christ. He tried to protect them from forced conversion and reprimanded clerics and bishops who intimidated them. At the same time, he advocated the use of less abrasive coercion, such as offering financial enticements and promising reduced rents if Jews on the papal patrimony would convert. Certainly Gregory's impending eschatology created the urgency that led him to resort to such practices. However benign, they remained coercive and as unlikely to produce sincere conversion as the more blatant practices that he disavowed.

<sup>48</sup> FLANNERY, *The Anguish of the Jews*, p. 73.

<sup>49</sup> *Ep.* VI, 26 (CCSL 140, p. 397) and *Ep.* IX, 65 (CCSL 140, p. 621).

<sup>50</sup> E. ABEL, *The Roots of Anti-Semitism* (London: Associated University Press, 1975), p. 189.

<i>Addressee</i>	<i>Letter &amp; Date</i>	<i>Pastoral Policy</i>
<i>Italy</i>		
1. Sub Deacon Anthelm (Campania)	<i>Ep. I, 66</i> (Jun 594)	Restore Church vessels sold to a Jew by clergy.
2. Sub Deacon Anthelm (Campania)	<i>Ep. IV, 31</i> (Jul 594)	Support willing Jewish converts: Provide financial support for the widow Justa and her children.
3. Bishop Pascasius (Naples)	<i>Ep. XIII, 13</i> (Nov 602)	Use “allurements” (reason, preaching, gentleness and exhortation) to encourage voluntary conversions.
4. Citizens of Rome (Rome)	<i>Ep. XIII, 1</i> (Nov 602)	Castigates Christian Judaizers who insist that Christians observe both the Jewish Sabbath and the Lord’s Day (Sunday).
<i>Sicily</i>		
1. Fantinus, Defender (Palermo)	<i>Ep. IX, 40</i> (Oct. 598)	Seized Jewish ship to be restored.
2. Fantinus, Defender (Palermo)	<i>Ep. IX, 38</i> (Oct. 598)	Bishop occupies the synagogue – Justice and true fairness needed. Return stolen manuscripts.
3. Fantinus, Defender (Palermo)	<i>Ep. VIII, 23</i> (May 598)	Regarding the Jews in Agrigento who are willing to convert: Fantinus should expedite baptismal process
4. Peter, sub-Deacon (Rector)	<i>Ep. II, 50</i> (July 592)	Notify Jewish tenants that their taxes will be reduced if they willingly convert.

Table 3: Persuasion as Strategy for Conversion

The appendix at the end of this paper lists the sources that contain Gregory’s policies according to geographic region. However, I organize the following discussion according to themes that emerged from my analysis of those sources.

In June 591 Gregory wrote to Archbishop Virgil of Arles and Bishop Theodore of Marseilles about complaints he had received from Jews living in the region that they were forced to convert to Christianity:

In fact, a lot of men of the Jewish religion, who reside in that province, and often travel in parts of Marseilles on various businesses, have brought to our attention that many Jews living in that district have been brought to the baptismal font by force rather than by preaching. For it is my opinion that the intent of this sort of act is certainly praiseworthy, and I acknowledge that it derives from a love of our Lord. Yet unless this same intention is accompanied by a suitable display of Holy Scripture, I am afraid that either no reward may come from there, or else losses may follow in terms of some of the souls (God forbid), which we want to be saved. For when anyone approaches the baptismal font not due to the sweetness of preaching, but under constraint, he returns to his former superstition, and dies worst from having been born again.<sup>51</sup>

Gregory praised the bishops for their “love of our Lord” evident in their desire to bring Jews under the mantle of salvation, but at the same time, he questioned their methodology, skeptical that Virgil and Theodore can find scriptural bases for their actions. He disapproved of and doubted the efficacy of forced conversions. Gregory feared that Jews forced to convert would abandon their new faith and end up in a worse spiritual state at the last judgment than in the previous one. He urges Virgil and Theodore to adopt a more subtle method: to entice Jews to conversion by the loving quality of their fraternal relationship and the compassion expressed in their preaching: “Let your fraternity stir up men by frequent preaching, to the end that through the sweetness of their teacher they may desire the more to change their life.”<sup>52</sup>

In July-August 592, Gregory wrote to Peter, Sub-Deacon of Sicily an administrator of the Church patrimony in Sicily, (590-592) and one of the Pope’s close advisors, giving an example of what would become a typical missionary strategy: “But because many of the Jews remain on the lands of the

<sup>51</sup> *Ep.* I, 45 (*CCSL* 140, p. 59).

<sup>52</sup> *Ep.* I, 45, lines 20-23 (*CCSL* 140, p. 59): “Fraternitas ergo vestra huiusmodi homines frequenti praedicatione provocet, quatenus mutare veterem magis vitam de doctoris suavitate desiderent.” See also ABEL, *The Roots of Anti-Semitism*, p. 190.

Church, I wish that, if some of them want to become Christians, their tax should be reduced somewhat, so that others, also impressed by this generosity, may rise with the same desire.”<sup>53</sup> Keller accurately interprets Gregory’s mindset. His intervention in matters concerning the Jews sprang from his

ecclesiastical policy, not from any benevolence toward those he defended. He, too, had no sympathy at all for the “people of God.” In letters dealing with the Jews he constantly uses the words ‘superstition,’ ‘perdition,’ ‘perfidy.’ But Gregory was convinced that the ‘remnant of Israel’ could gradually be won over to the Christian faith by peaceable methods.<sup>54</sup>

In 594, Gregory wrote to Deacon Cyprian, Rector of the Sicilian patrimony and Peter’s successor. He explicitly urged him “to make every effort” to send letters to all Jews living on Church landholdings who were hostile to being “converted to our God.” In Gregory’s name Cyprian should promise that Jews willing to convert would receive a one-third reduction in their rent:

However, it has come to my attention that there are Jews on our holdings, and they are very unwilling to be converted to our God. But I think that you ought to send letters through all your holdings on which the Jews themselves are known to reside, promising them from me in particular that, whichever of them converts to the true God and our Lord Jesus Christ, will have the tax on his holding reduced to some degree. And I also want this to be done in the following way: Suppose one of them is converted. If he has a tax of one gold coin, let a third be reduced for him. If it is a tax of three or four gold coins, there should be a deduction of one coin. If it is somewhat higher, then a deduction should be made in accordance with the same proportion or certainly according to what your Beloved decides. Thus the tax burden would be relieved for the convert, and the Church funds would not be

<sup>53</sup> *Ep.* II, 50, lines 9-12 (*CCSL* 140, p. 141): “Quia autem multi Iudaeorum in massis ecclesiae commanent, volo ut, si qui de eis Christiani voluerint fieri, aliquantum eis pensi relaxetur, quatenus isto beneficio provocati, tali desiderio et alii assurgant.”

<sup>54</sup> KELLER, *Diaspora*, p. 123.

under pressure from a heavy expense. Nor are we doing this unprofitably, if by relieving their tax burden we bring them to the grace of Christ.<sup>55</sup>

Gregory, however, is realistic about the quality of conversions his offer might generate. In his 592 letter to Peter, he admitted: "Although these Jews thus converted for material advantage may not prove to be especially faithful believers, their children will probably be better Christians."<sup>56</sup>

In 598, in the province of Agrigentum (modern Girgenti), some Jews willingly decided to become Christians. According to Church policy at the time, prospective converts had to spend eight months as catechumens before they could be baptized. Gregory was concerned that the Jews would have second thoughts if they were not baptized as soon as possible. In addition, he points out that "the nature of these times" and "the destruction that is rampant," references to the social and political upheavals he viewed as signs of the approaching end time, "forces us not to put off their desires with any delay." So, in October 598, in a typically pragmatic move, he advised Fantinus, Rector and Defender of Palermo, and the bishop of Girgenti to expedite the catechumenate of Jews who were willing and to get them baptized at the end of forty days:

From a report by Domina, the abbess of the convent of Saint Stephen, that was established in the territory of Girgenti, we find that many of the Jews want to be converted to the Christian faith, inspired by the divine grace. But if it is necessary,

<sup>55</sup> *Ep.* V, 7, lines 7-23 (*CCSL* 140, p. 273): "Pervenit vero ad me esse Hebraeos in possessionibus nostris qui converti ad Deum nullatenus volunt. Sed videtur mihi ut per omnes possessiones, in quibus ipsi Hebraei esse noscuntur, epistulas transmittere debeas, eis ex me specialiter promittens quod, quicumque ad verum Deum et Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum ex eis conversus fuerit, onus possessionis eius ex aliqua parte imminuetur. Quod ita quoque fieri volo, ut si quis ex eis conversus fuerit, si solidum pensionem habet, tremis suis relaxari debeat, si tres vel quattuor, unus solidus relaxetur. Si quid amplius, iam iuxta eundem modum debet relaxatio fieri vel certe iuxta quod tua dilectio praevidet, ut et ei qui convertitur onus releveretur et ecclesiastica utilitas non gravi dispendio prematur. Nec hoc inutiliter facimus, si pro levandis pensionis oneribus eos ad Christi gratiam perducamus ...".

<sup>56</sup> *Ep.* I, 45 (*CCSL* 140, p. 59).



we hear that someone should set out for that place, at our command. Therefore, holding this authority, we order you to give up every excuse and go to the aforesaid place, and quickly assist their desire with your encouragement and the favor of God. But if it seems a long time or gloomy for them to wait for the solemnity of Easter, and you know that they are in a hurry to be baptized now, so that a long delay (heaven forbid!), is not able to change their minds again, speak with our brother, the bishop of the place itself. And so, when penitence and abstinence have been prescribed for forty days, they should be baptized, protected by the compassion of almighty God, either on a Sunday or if a much celebrated festival should perhaps occur. For the nature of these times also, because of the destruction that is rampant, forces us not to put off their desires with any delay.<sup>57</sup>

The pope instructed Fantinus to use his own funds to buy baptismal clothes for those too poor to provide that symbol of their new life in Christ. He also encouraged him to urge the bishop to admit into the catechumenate immediately any Jews who decided to wait until Easter to be baptized and to take a personal interest in them.

However, for any of them whom you know are poor, and cannot afford to purchase a vestment for themselves, we want you to purchase and provide a vestment, for them to have their baptism. You know the price you pay for them should be charged to your accounts. But if they should have chosen to wait for the holiness of Easter, speak with the bishop again, so that some of them can now become catechumens and he may visit them and encourage them frequently, and show concern for them, and insure their minds with encouraging advice. Thus, the longer away the festival in which they wait, the more they might prepare themselves, and support it with fervent desire.<sup>58</sup>

Gregory's pastoral policy in this instance may appear to border on manipulation. On the other hand, Gregory acts like a shrewd politician, binding prospective converts with

<sup>57</sup> *Ep.* VIII, 23, lines 1-16 (*CCSL* 140, p. 543).

<sup>58</sup> *Ep.* VIII, 23 (*CCSL* 140, p. 543).

special privileges, so that their reluctance to disappoint their benefactor will override any apprehension about the decision they have made. On a more positive note, Gregory was willing to make accommodations to further his pastoral policy.

Pascasius, the bishop of Naples, had a reputation for interfering in Jewish affairs. In November 602 Gregory censured him for trying to forbid, without explanation, certain practices during Jewish festivals. He suggests that Pascasius may be more concerned about his personal interests than those of God since such hostility will not attract the Jews to Christianity.

For whosoever ... want[s] to stop them from the usual observance of their rites, under this cover, prove to be looking after their own interests rather than God's. For, indeed, the Jews living in Naples have complained to us, asserting that some people are trying to prevent them from certain solemn rites of their holy days without any reason, so that they are allowed to observe and celebrate until now as had their parents for a long time in the past ... Or why do we set rules for Jews as to how they should observe their ceremonies, if we cannot win them over? And so we should take action to inspire them more by reason and kindness, and make them willing to follow us, not flee from us, so that by proving what we say from their texts, we may be able to convert them to the bosom of Mother Church, with the help of God."<sup>59</sup>

Gregory's response is firmly rooted in the freedom granted Jews under Roman law to celebrate their rituals without interference. The bishop of Naples had no legitimate authority to interfere with the religious practices of the Jews within his diocese.<sup>60</sup> He was, in fact, acting illegally. Gregory urged Pascasius "to inspire [the Jews] to conversion, with God's assistance ... [to] let them have a free license to observe and celebrate all of their festivals and holy days ... to inspire them more by reason and kindness ... so that by proving what we say from their texts, we may be able to convert them to the bosom of Mother Church, with the help of God."<sup>61</sup>

<sup>59</sup> *Ep.* XIII, 13 (*CCSL* 140, p. 1013).

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> *Ep.* XIII, 13 (*CCSL* 140, p. 1013).

Gregory's response is typical of his strategy for converting the Jews voluntarily, a strategy based in Roman law and motivated by his vision of the approaching end of the world. In letter after letter the pope would keep insisting that Church officials follow such a methodology in dealing with the Jews during his pontificate.

### 5. *Seizure of Synagogues and Other Jewish Property*

To harass local Jewish communities or to force them into Christianity, regional bishops often colluded with civil authorities to seize synagogues and confiscate their furnishings, claiming that the church needed more space to accommodate the growing number of Christians in the area. Gregory was aware that the practice denied the Jews a right granted under Roman law. The following discussion demonstrates his efforts to hold his bishops accountable and to allow local Jewish communities to reclaim or rebuild their place of worship and study.

Gregory ordered the local bishops to pay compensation for seized property: He ordered Peter, Bishop of Terracina to compensate Jews for the value of one synagogue (*Ep.* XIII, 13, 591). He forced Victor, Bishop of Palermo, to compensate for synagogue and return furnishings and scrolls the Christians had taken (*Ep.* VIII, 25, 598). Gregory advised Januarius, Bishop of Sardinia to imitate the Bishop of Terracina, that is, to pay for synagogues already consecrated as churches and to return any other synagogues seized illegally (*Ep.* IX, 196, 599).

In a 591 letter to Peter, bishop of Terracina, Gregory lauds his efforts to preach to the Jews, but disapproves of his threat to persecute the Jews if they refused to abandon their faith. Consistent with Roman law, Gregory criticized destruction of a place in which the Jews "in Campania, had been accustomed to meet together, to celebrate their holy festivals."<sup>62</sup> Peter had first expelled the Jews from their synagogue, alleging that they recited their prayers at such a volume that they interfered

<sup>62</sup> *Ep.* I, 34 (CCSL 140, p. 42).

with services in the nearby church. He and his congregation subsequently followed the Jews to their new place of worship and drove them away from there too.

Gregory established a commission to investigate the complaint and ordered that, if the proximity of the synagogue to the Church was problematic, the bishop was responsible for finding a new location for the synagogue and for compensating the Jews for the cost of the original building and its contents. Gregory here reinforced his strategy for gradually winning Jews over to the Christian faith by upholding their rights under Roman law and by inviting them “to believe in Christ through the sweetness of preaching and the coming terror of the future judge” so that they gather “to hear the word of God from you in a friendly manner.”<sup>63</sup>

This letter and others that contain no evidence that Peter and his fellow bishops followed Gregory’s directives, that is, whether they corrected the injustices committed against the Jews by restoring the value of property they had confiscated.<sup>64</sup>

In 598, Gregory learned that Victor, bishop of Palermo, Sicily, had seized a Jewish synagogue and immediately consecrated it as a church. In October, Gregory wrote Victor demanding that the bishop comply with Roman law and compensate the Jews for the loss of the synagogue and its furnishing and return any scrolls he had confiscated. The following year Gregory wrote Bishop Januarius of Cagliari in Sardinia regarding the behavior of Peter, a converted Jew who “with rash enthusiasm had immediately after his baptism collected disorderly persons and seized the synagogue, putting there a cross, an image of the Virgin, and his own baptismal robe.”<sup>65</sup> The bishop then consecrated the synagogue as a Church. Gregory ordered Januarius to comply with Roman law and return to the Jews any synagogues that he had not

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> *Ep.* VIII, 25 (CCSL 140, p. 546).

<sup>65</sup> J. PARKES, *Conflict of Church and Synagogue: A Study in the Origins of Anti-Semitism* (New York: Hermon Press, 1974) p. 214. According to Parkes, “Gregory, therefore, orders the bishop to restore the synagogue to the Jews, since they may not build a new one, and to attempt also to restore peace in the city.”

yet consecrated and to compensate them fairly for the value of the synagogues they had lost.<sup>66</sup> The approaching end of the world added urgency to Gregory's command.

### 6. *Judaizers in Rome*

Judaizers (Jews who had converted to Christianity and then demanded that Christians should also follow Jewish practices) were a problem for Gregory in at least one instance. In a letter to the Christians of Rome, dated September 602, Gregory was aware that some were among the Christians in Rome:

It has come to my attention that certain people with perverted spirits have sown among you some ideas that are evil and opposed to the holy faith, so much so that they would prohibit any work being done on the Sabbath. What else should I call them other than preachers of Anti-Christ? For when he comes, he will have the Sabbath and the Lord's Day both kept free from work. Because he pretends that he dies and rises again, he wants the Lord's day to be treated reverently, and because he compels the people to live like the Jews, he wants the Sabbath to be observed, so that he may recall the external rite of the law and subject the perfidy of the Jews to himself ... And so we accept what has been written spiritually about the Sabbath and we uphold it spiritually. For the Sabbath means rest. And we have as a true Sabbath our Redeemer himself, Jesus Christ the Lord. Whoever acknowledges the light of his faith, if through his eyes he draws the sins of desire into his thoughts, introduces burdens through the gates on the Sabbath day. And so we do not introduce burdens through the gates of the Sabbath, if we rely on the grace of our Redeemer and do not draw the burdens of sin into our soul through bodily senses.<sup>67</sup>

Gregory's conviction that he was living in the end time is evident in the question he poses: "What else should I call them other than preachers of Anti-Christ?" The appearance of the Judaizers is one more sign that the final judgment is ap-

<sup>66</sup> *Ep.* IX, 9 (*CCSL* 140, p. 570).

<sup>67</sup> *Ep.* XIII, 1 (*CCSL* 140, p. 991).

proaching. Gregory does not attack the content of their teaching. Instead he affirms that Christ is the true Sabbath for Christians and urges his audience to resist introducing “burdens through the gates of the Sabbath,” by relying “on the grace of our Redeemer.” In other words, Judaism has no legitimate claim on Christians.

7. *Jewish Ownership of Christian Slaves*

Table 4 summaries Gregory’s policy about Jewish ownership of Christian slaves :

<i>Addressee</i>	<i>Letter Date</i>	<i>Pastoral Policy</i>
<i>Italy</i>		
1. Bishop Venantius (Luna)	<i>Ep. I, 21</i> (May 594)	Jews not to keep Christian slaves.
2. Bishop Fortunatus (Naples)	<i>Ep. V, 29</i> (Apr 596) <i>Ep. IX, 105</i> (Feb 599)	Jews not to buy or sell Christian slaves. Jews not to own Christian slaves.
3. Bishop John (Syracuse)	<i>Ep. VIII, 21</i> (598)	The case of Felix, a Christian, enslaved for 18 years, who escaped. His Samaritan owner wanted to purchase him from the bishop.
<i>Visigothic Spain</i>		
1. King Reccared of Spain	<i>Ep. IX, 229</i> (Aug 599)	Applauds king’s refusal of bribes to overturn civil law prohibiting Jewish ownership of slaves
<i>Frankish Gaul</i>		
1. Presbyt. Candidus (Narbonne)	<i>Ep. VII, 21</i> (May 597)	Church funds to buy out slaves from Jews
2. Bps. Virgil & Theodore (Mars)	<i>Ep. I, 45</i> (Jun 591)	No coercion but preaching for baptism
3. King Theoderic & Theodebert	<i>Ep. IX, 216</i> (Jul 599)	Simony & Jews not to own Christian slaves
4. Regent Queen Brunhilde	<i>Ep. IX, 214</i> (Jul. 599)	Simony & Jews not to own Christian slaves

Table 4: Prohibition against Jewish Ownership of Christian Slaves

In 598 Nostamnus, a Jewish ship owner, complained to Gregory about Candidus, a papal agent in Sicily. Nostamnus' creditors, Candidus among them, had seized his ship and its cargo and sold them to recoup the money they had loaned him. As proof of repayment, everyone except Candidus had returned to Nostamnus the "warranties for the debt" bearing his signature. Gregory gave Nostamnus a letter to deliver to Fantinus, Defender of Palermo, instructing him to investigate the matter. If Nostamnus's debt had been satisfied as he claims, Fantinus should force Candidus to return to Nostamnus the warranty he is holding so another "complaint over this case does not return to us."

Nostamnus, a Jew who bears this letters, has informed us that his ship and other goods have been seized by our defender, Candidus, and by other creditors, and have been sold for the money that they had given him on credit. He claimed that they had all restored the warranties for debt, but only the aforesaid defender had kept a signed bond with him, and although the Jew often begged to return it, he had spurned him. And because, as he says, the obligation of the debt has been satisfied, we bid your experience to take care to learn more about it in every detail. If you find that this is the case, urge him with strict compulsion to restore the warranty of the aforesaid letter carrier. Your solicitude should thus ensure that a complaint over this case does not return to us again.<sup>68</sup>

Gregory's response to Nostamnus illustrates his commitment to granting Jews no more and no less protection than the Roman law granted any citizen. Because Nostamnus was a slave trader, it also indicates that civil laws against Jews owning slaves did not contain mechanisms to guarantee their enforcement. Nostamnus practiced his trade openly and relied on Christians to finance it. Slavery was a fact of life throughout the empire, a social institution neither the Church nor Gregory opposed. The agricultural economy of the early medieval period was run on the backs of slaves, and slaves worked on the land within the papal estates that their Jewish

<sup>68</sup> *Ep.* IX, 40 (*CCSL* 140, p. 598).

owners rented from the Church. Gregory's insistence that the Church apply Roman law to situations involving Jews and Christians became the mechanism for enforcing prohibitions against Jewish ownership of Christian slaves in particular. Gregory's main concern about Jewish ownership was based on the fear that the Christian slaves would be deceived and abandon their faith and convert to Judaism.

In letters to the Frankish kings Theodoric and Theodebert and to the regent Queen Brunhilde, Gregory expressed astonishment that they tolerated Jews keeping Christian slaves. How could they honor Christ, the Head of the Church, but allow his enemies to trample the members of his body?

... we have been quite amazed that you permit Jews in your kingdom to possess Christian slaves. For what are all Christians if not the members of Christ? We all know that you faithfully honor the head of these members. But let your Excellency consider how different it is to honor the head and to allow its limbs to be trampled on by the enemy. And for that reason we ask that a regulation of your Excellency may prove you more fully a worthy worshipper of our almighty Lord, as you have freed his faithful from God's enemies.<sup>69</sup>

Certainly the instance of perfidious Jews having authority over Christians who, according to Gregory, were better than unbelievers, surpassing them in all things spiritual, must have been a metaphysical oddity for Gregory. Even more scandalous must have been those cases where Jewish owners forcibly circumcised Christian slaves, inscribing on their flesh a visible sign of humiliation. Jews were marking male bodies, "members of Christ himself" (*1 Cor 6:15*) and "temples of the holy spirit" (*1 Cor 6:19*) as the property of a Jew, one of those responsible for killing the Christ. Gregory's motivation for insisting that the Church enforce Roman law prohibiting Jewish ownership of Christian slaves finds its primary source in Paul's insight that Christians are members of the body of Christ. A second concern may clarify Gregory's view:

<sup>69</sup> *Ep.* IX, 214, lines 65-73 (*CCSL* 140, p. 772).



A case brought to Gregory's attention concerned Nasas a certain "sacrilegious" Jew in Sicily. Gregory wrote to one civil Roman magistrate Libertinus, praetor of Sicily complaining that :

For indeed it is said Nasas, one of the wicked of the Jews, has built an altar in the name of *Saint Hilius*, with a temerity that must be punished, and has tricked many Christian there into prayers by means of a sacrilegious seduction. But he is said to have both purchased Christian slaves, and allotted them to his own service and advantage ... But let your Glory inquire into all of this with a strict examination, and if you find that there is proof for this sort of crime, you must inflict on this same Jew so strict a corporal punishment, that you may obtain the grace of Our God for yourself from this case ... But give their freedom to any of those Christian slaves clearly bought by him, as the law requires without any ambiguity, so that the Christian religion is not polluted in subjection to Jews. Therefore correct everything so very carefully and hastily that we may not only give thanks to you for this discipline, but may also provide a proof of your goodness wherever it should be necessary.<sup>70</sup>

Gregory took a different attitude toward slaves and their owners when both were Christians. In his *Regula Pastoralis* Gregory states that slaves and masters have the same nature. Nevertheless, they require different pastoral approaches because of the status conferred or imposed upon them :

Slaves are to be admonished in one way, masters in another, that is, slaves are to be admonished to consider always lowliness of their condition, masters, ever bear in mind their own nature, namely, that they have been created equal to their slaves. Slaves are to be admonished not to despise their masters, lest they offend God by their proud opposition to His ordinance. Masters are also to be admonished that they offend God by priding themselves on His gift to them, and not realizing that they who are held in subjection by reason of their state of life, are their equals in virtue of their common nature.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>70</sup> *Ep.* III, 37 (CCSL 140, p. 182).

<sup>71</sup> *Regula Pastoralis*, 3.5: *St. Gregory the Great Pastoral Care*, transl. by H. DAVIS (Westminster, MD : The New Press, 1950), p. 101.

Gregory's belief that slave and slave master share the same lowly nature supports Martyn's suggestion that, for Gregory, slavery was "a sociological accident recognized by the laws, and not without practical consequences that those laws will sustain, but an accident for all that."<sup>72</sup>

The letters discussed in this study give us a "unique picture of Jewish life at the end of the sixth century and of the relations between Christians and Jews."<sup>73</sup> Bachrach argues:

Thus, Gregory was not simply a legalist giving the Jews their due, as might any unimaginative bureaucrat. Rather, he was an important political and ecclesiastical policy maker who chose a course of action that would seem to demonstrate a pro-Jewish stance regardless of the latest imperial legislation. Gregory firmly pursued a policy of protecting Jewish synagogues from those who tried to implement certain Justinian laws.<sup>74</sup>

Werner Keller characterizes Gregory's attitude toward Jews as moderate and fair-minded, asserting that Gregory "did all in his power ... to avoid any greater tensions in the relations between Christians and the Jews precisely because he was much concerned with the latter's conversion."<sup>75</sup> Thus, Gregory kept insisting that the Church must allow the justice and the privilege granted Jews under imperial law.<sup>76</sup> His treatment of the Jews therefore is derivative of pastoral and political pragmatism.

J. Martyn highlights two important elements regarding Gregory's policy toward the Jews. Gregory wanted Church officials to comply with the limited religious freedom Jews enjoyed as a minority among Christians, certainly "a clear example of his knowledge of the Roman civil law."<sup>77</sup> Second,

<sup>72</sup> J. R. C. MARTYN, *The Letters of Gregory the Great* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2004), p. 95.

<sup>73</sup> J. PARKES, *The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue*, p. 218.

<sup>74</sup> B. S. BACHRACH, *Early Medieval Jewish Policy in Western Europe* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977), p. 36.

<sup>75</sup> KELLER, *Diaspora: The Post-Biblical History of the Jews* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World Inc., 1969), p. 122.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> MARTYN, *The Letters of Gregory the Great*, p. 87.

Gregory's desire to convert the Jews comes as no surprise, given his zeal for missionary activity among pagan people in Sardinia and Britain to free them from their "worship of stones and trees" so they could have some hope at the final judgment. Gregory regarded Judaism as a more serious problem than paganism. He viewed Judaism as "a truncated and distorted faith, indeed a form of disbelief and even a disaster."<sup>78</sup> Unless he could persuade Jews to convert to Christianity before the Christ's imminent return to judge the world, they would be cursed for eternity.

Markus points out two competing aspects of Gregory's attitude towards the Jews. First, Gregory derived his representation of the Jews, especially in his homilies, from a long tradition of pre-critical biblical exegesis that put the blame for the crucifixion of the Son of God squarely on the Jewish people past and present.<sup>79</sup> For example, in the *Moralia*, Gregory argues that: "Hardened like frost by unbelief, the Jews refused to see who Christ was, and behaved with terrible cruelty to him"<sup>80</sup> and that "they did not see their Scripture foretelling the coming of Christ and so they did not believe in him"<sup>81</sup>

Second, Gregory refused to endorse the harassment and coercion that "real life" sixth-century Jews were suffering from bishops and clerics zealous for their conversion or their property in Italy and in patrimonial land throughout the Empire.<sup>82</sup> Gregory's position against forced baptism, restriction of their freedom of religion, and unlawful seizure or destruction of

<sup>78</sup> Ibid. p. 88.

<sup>79</sup> R. A. MARKUS, "The Jew as a Hermeneutical Device: The Inner Life of a Gregorian Topos," in *Gregory the Great: A Symposium*, ed. by J. CAVADINI (Notre Dame and London, University of Notre Dame Press, 1995), p. 1-15.

<sup>80</sup> *Mor.* 18.29.46 (CCSL 143A, p. 915).

<sup>81</sup> G. R. EVANS, *The Thought of Gregory the Great* (Cambridge, New York, New Rochelle, Melbourne, Sydney: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 137. "The Jews' blindness is not merely an absence of sight; it involves a hardness of heart which made them persecute Christ and his followers."

<sup>82</sup> B. DAVID, "The Forced Baptism of the Jews in Christian Europe: An Introductory Overview," in *Christianizing Peoples and Converting Individuals*, ed. by G. ARMSTRONG & I. N. WOOD (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), p. 1.

their synagogues emphasize that his pastoral policy toward the Jews was a shift from Gregory's predecessors.

Both aspects are evident in Gregory's letters. His insistence that Jews must not own Christian slaves is based on his view that they are the enemies of Christ. At the same time, he is aware that Roman law grants them special privileges regarding the practice of their religion. Gregory's strategy for converting the Jews was to draw them to the Church by positive means. His insistence that the Church honor the religious freedom, the Jews' legal privilege, was part of that strategy. Gregory's policy toward the Jews exhibits a nodding acquaintance with one of the characteristics of modern inter-religious dialogue. Unlike his contemporaries, however, he could not ignore the civil prohibition about Jews owning Christian slaves. To do so, would, from Gregory's perspective, allow Christ's enemies to practice "terrible cruelty" on his body.

Markus points out that: "Gregory appealed to the law as the sanction of his own decisions ..." <sup>83</sup> This is an example of astute politics. In regard to the Jews, Gregory does not present his personal view; rather he appeals to the Roman legal tradition. Thus bishops who ignore his admonitions open themselves to accusations of the treason against the Emperor as well as disobedience against the pope. The situation of the Jews in letters cited in this study demonstrates Gregory's concerns that Church officials do not become party to injustices against the Jews by seizing their property, their synagogues, interfering with their worship, or by forcing baptism upon them. Such actions violated the freedoms granted them by Roman law.

### *Conclusion*

Conversion was one of Gregory's primary concerns. In his writings, Gregory linked it to his conviction that the eschaton was fast approaching. He preached conversion for non-Christians and repentance for Christians so that all people might

<sup>83</sup> R. A. MARKUS, *Gregory the Great and His World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 77.

prepare to meet the Lord at the last judgment. Gregory's imminent eschatology formed and unified the strategies he adopted to implement his pastoral and missionary policies; it is the defining motif of Gregory's pontificate.

The homilies that Gregory delivered in Rome indicate that Gregory felt the Church had a role to play in offering social, political and spiritual support. They also reveal Gregory's disillusionment because Christians were abandoning the true faith for the worship of idols and that some clergy were betraying their ministry and not serving the people.

This study also re-enforces the contemporary claim that diversity in practice is a legitimate pastoral strategy for achieving unity of faith within the Church rather than strict reliance on fidelity to the Roman tradition. It illustrates Gregory's accommodation of Roman tradition to Church governance and its policy toward Jews. As part of his strategy to convert Jews to Christianity "by mildness and generosity, by admonition and persuasion ... by the sweetness of preaching and the fear of the coming judgment,"<sup>84</sup> Gregory incorporated the status of the Jews under Roman law into Church policy.

Gregory opposed forced baptisms, interference with the Jews' freedom of worship and illegal seizure of their synagogues. However, he reinforced legal restrictions on Jewish proselytizing, building new synagogues, holding public office and owning, purchasing, or circumcising slaves, especially Christian slaves. Gregory also accommodated the cultural stereotype of Jewish greed to further their conversion. He made conversion profitable for them. For example, he instructed his agents on ecclesial patrimonies to offer reductions in rent to Jews who converted, to win over Jewish children with small monetary gifts, and to provide baptismal garments and move up the baptismal date rather than have prospective converts lose interest because of a protracted waiting period.<sup>85</sup>

Pragmatism also informed Gregory's policy toward Jews, especially his response to situations in which bishops and oth-

<sup>84</sup> *Ep.* I, 34 (*CCSL* 140, p. 42).

<sup>85</sup> *Ep.* II, 38 (*CCSL* 140, p. 122); *Ep.* VI, 29 (*CCSL* 140, p. 401); *Ep.* VIII, 23 (*CCSL* 140, p. 543).

er agents of the Church mistreated them or confiscated their property. He demanded that bishops who had illegally confiscated synagogues and their furnishings return them or finance their replacement. Gregory advocated peaceful preaching and financial inducements. According to Markus, “for Gregory mission and pastoral ministry formed an indissoluble unity within his world view. Preaching, persuasion, inducement could be employed to gain Jewish converts, but not force, pressure or coercion.”<sup>86</sup>

### *Summary*

The Jewish question was an important pastoral concern of Gregory the Great (590-604). Gregory, a former Prefect of Rome, was familiar with the Roman legislation that protected the Jews and their property as citizens of the Roman Empire. This study discusses Gregory’s policies regarding the Jews at end of the sixth and beginning of the seventh centuries evaluating it from the over-all scheme of his pastoral and missionary outreach. He advocated civil justice for the Jews, limited though it was, in order to persuade them to convert and be baptized into the Church in anticipation of the final judgment he envisioned in his life time. Motivated by his imminent eschatology and his pragmatism, Gregory was willing to use whatever it took to prepare the world for the approaching judgment.

<sup>86</sup> R. A. MARKUS, *Gregory the Great and His World*, p. 80. J. Herrin claims that Gregory endorsed direct force as a last resort (*The Formation of Christendom* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), p. 171).

## Appendix

<i>Addressee</i>	<i>Letter and Date</i>	<i>Pastoral Policy</i>
<i>Italy</i>		
1. Bishop Venantius (Luna)	<i>Ep. I</i> , 21 (May 594)	Jews not to keep Christian slaves. Bishop urged to safeguard Jewish freedom.
2. Sub-Dn. Anthelm (Campania)	<i>Ep. I</i> , 66 (Jun. 594)	Restore Church vessels sold to a Jew by clergy.
3. Sub-Dn. Anthelm (Campania)	<i>Ep. IV</i> , 31 (July 594)	Support willing Jewish converts: Justa's children: Juliana, Redemptus and Fortuna.
4. Bishop Fortunatus (Naples)	<i>Ep. V</i> , 29 (Apr. 596) <i>Ep. IX</i> , 105 (Feb. 599)	Jews not to buy or sell Christian slaves. Jews not to own Christian slaves.
5. Bishop Pascasius (Naples)	<i>Ep. XIII</i> , 13 (Nov. 602)	Conversion: allurements, reason, preaching, gentleness and exhortation.
6. Citizens of Rome (Rome)	<i>Ep. XIII</i> , 1 (Nov. 602)	Concern with Christian Judaizers in Rome.
<i>Sicily</i>		
1. Cyprian, Deacon & Rector	<i>Ep. V</i> , 7 (Oct. 594)	Reduce taxes to entice Jews to convert.
2. Bishop Victor (Palermo)	<i>Ep. VIII</i> , 25 (June 598)	Stop consecrating synagogues into Churches.
3. Fantinus, Defender (Palermo)	<i>Ep. IX</i> , 40 (Oct. 598)	Seized Jewish ship to be restored.
4. Fantinus, Defender (Palermo)	<i>Ep. IX</i> , 38 (Oct. 598)	Bishop occupies the synagogue. Justice and true fairness needed. Return stolen manuscripts.
5. Fantinus, Defender (Palermo)	<i>Ep. VIII</i> , 23 (May 598)	Jews willing to convert in Agrigento. Expedite the process for their baptisms.
6. Peter, sub-Deacon (Rector)	<i>Ep. II</i> , 50 (July 592)	Reduced taxes for willing Jewish converts.
7. Bishop Peter (Terracina)	<i>Ep. I</i> , 34 (May 591)	No unjustified seizure of places of worship.

8. Bishop John (Syracuse)	<i>Ep.</i> VIII, 21 (598)	Jews not permitted to own Christian slaves. Felix, a Christian slave owned by a Samaritan for 18 years.
9. Bps Bacauda and Agnellus	<i>Ep.</i> II, 45 (Sept. 591)	Justice, provide another place; no oppressing.
<i>Sardinia</i>		
Bp. Januarius of Galiari	<i>Ep.</i> IX, 196 (July 599)	Justice & full compensation for items taken Peter, a Jewish convert not to occupy synagogue.
<i>Visigothic Spain</i>		
King Reccared of Spain, converted to Catholicism (587)	<i>Ep.</i> IX, 229 (Aug. 599)	Credits him for Arian conversion to Catholicism Applauds King's refusal of bribes from Jews to influence legal restriction of Jews on slaves.
<i>Frankish Gaul</i>		
1. Presbyt. Candidus (Narbonne)	<i>Ep.</i> VII, 21 (May 597)	Church funds to buy out slaves from Jews.
2. Bps. Virgil & Theodore (Mars)	<i>Ep.</i> I, 45 (June 591)	No coercion but preaching for baptism.
3. King Theoderic & Theodebert	<i>Ep.</i> IX, 216 (July 599)	Simony & Jews not to own Christian slaves.
4. Regent Queen Brunhilde	<i>Ep.</i> IX, 214 (July 599)	Simony & Jews not to own Christian slaves.

### Overview of Gregory's Policies toward Jews



# St. Braulio of Zaragoza's *Letter 21* to Pope Honorius I regarding lapsed baptized Jews\*

by  
Alberto FERREIRO  
(*Seattle*)

The epistolary exchange between Braulio and Pope Honorius I has been the object of several studies. The majority, however, have used the letter primarily as a source for exploring the wider question regarding the social and legal status of Jews in Visigothic Iberia. Not surprisingly the letter goes virtually unmentioned in Pope Honorius scholarship which instead focuses on his role in the Three Chapters controversy.<sup>1</sup> Since we do not have in hand the Pope's original missive to the bishops in Iberia the response by Braulio on behalf of the bishops gathered at the Sixth Council of Toledo (638) whom he represented is of great importance. By means of his letter we are able to reconstruct fairly well the main objections that Pope Honorius raised regarding the Jewish policy of some Iberian bishops. Much ink has been and continues to be devoted to the broader question of the Jews and there appears to be no full consensus on numerous questions. In particular to what extent were anti-Jewish laws promulgated by the Vis-

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<sup>1</sup> For the most current studies of Jews in Visigothic Spain consult, L. A. GARCÍA MORENO, *Los judíos de la España Antigua. Del primer encuentro al primer repudio*, Madrid, 1993, and Raúl GONZÁLEZ SALINERO, *Las conversiones forzadas de los judíos en el reino Visigodo*, Roma, 2000.

igothic kings enforced. This article does not intend to delve into or pretend to have resolved these questions. A brief historiographical overview of modern commentators of the letter is set forth below. My main focus, however, is to look more closely as to what this letter reveals to us about the following issues: the ecclesiology between the See of Rome, Braulio and the bishops whom he represented, and the apparent disagreement among the Iberian bishops over policy regarding lapsed Jews. To accomplish this goal I will analyze the letter section by section that will include a consideration of the scriptural-typological language that was employed by Braulio in response to the pope, a task never done before with this epistle. This subject is part of my ongoing project that seeks to explore the relationship between the See of Rome and the Iberian Bishops from the fourth century up to the Muslim Invasions.<sup>2</sup>

First, let us begin with a brief biographical sketch of Pope Honorius I and Braulio.<sup>3</sup> Pope Honorius I (625-638) was a wealthy aristocrat who was son of the consul Petronius. In

<sup>2</sup> To date I have published on the papacy in Iberia and Gaul "Martin of Braga, *De trina mersione*, and the See of Rome," *Augustinianum*, 47 (2007), p. 193-207. "Petrine Primacy and Episcopal Authority in Caesarius of Arles," *Fourteenth International Conference on Patristic Studies at the University of Oxford*, 18-23 August, 2003, Oxford. *Studia Patristica*, 43 (2006), p. 261-267. "The Iberian Church and the Papacy from the Fourth through Seventh Century: A Historiographical Reflection," *Annuario Historiae Conciliorum*, 37, 2 (2005), p. 399-410. "'Petrine Primacy' and Gregory of Tours," *Francia*, 33, 1 (2006), p. 1-16. "Sacred Scripture, Sacred Tradition, and *Auctoritas* at the Second Council of Seville (619)," *The Fathers of the Church and the Theological Schools in the Councils. VII Symposium of the School of Theology*, Pontifical University of the Holy Cross, 6-7 March, 2003, Rome. *Annuario Historiae Conciliorum*, 35 (2003), p. 247-272. Also in *I Padri e le Scuole Teologiche nei Concili*, Rome, 2006, p. 263-288. "Petrine Primacy, Conciliar Authority, and Priscillian," *XXX Incontro dell'antichità Cristiana*. (Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum, 78), Rome, 2002, p. 631-645.

<sup>3</sup> For Pope Honorius consult, J. N. D. KELLY, "Pope Honorius I," *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes*, Oxford, 1996, p. 70-71. For Braulio of Zaragoza, R. C. COLLINS, 'Braulio,' *Encyclopedia of Iberia*, Routledge, 2002, p. 182-183. For his *Letters* the editions by, L. RIESCO TERRERO, *Epistolario de San Braulio. Introducción, edición, crítica y traducción* (Anales de la Universidad Hispalense, 31), Sevilla, 1975, and J. MADOZ, *Epistolario de San Braulio de Zaragoza*, Madrid, 1941. For an English edition, C. W. BARLOW, *Braulio of Saragossa*

some respects he took Pope Gregory I as his model when he transformed his mansion into a monastery. His pontificate, unlike Gregory's, was plagued with several damaging controversies that marred his reputation and pontificate. The Three Chapters controversy deteriorated into an embarrassment for his pontificate to the point that he was posthumously anathematized at the Sixth General Council of Constantinople III (680-681) – which condemned monothelism. Although he has had his defenders regarding this rather unsavory dispute, an agenda that is not relevant here, the controversy has dominated commentary about his pontificate. For this reason, Braulio's letter has received at most brief incidental comments in scholarship about his pontificate, with the exception of specialists looking into Jewish policy in Visigothic Iberia.

St. Braulio of Zaragoza (d. 651) on the other hand enjoyed an impeccable reputation both in his lifetime and posthumously. In 631 he succeeded his brother John to the See of Zaragoza. He had extensive correspondence-much no longer extant- with several Visigothic kings, such as Chindaswinth. He also urged his good friend and fellow bishop Isidore of Seville to complete his 'magnus opus' the *Etymologiae*. Braulio was personally influential in several key Visigothic councils that convened in Toledo in 633, 636, and 638. It is at the last one that the bishops asked Braulio to draft a formal letter of response to the hostile missive from Pope Honorius I, who had reproached the episcopate for allegedly being too lax with baptized Jews who had relapsed into their Jewish faith. Braulio in his *Letter*, 21 respectfully but very strongly rejected this charge on the alleged conduct of the Iberian episcopate. In addition, Braulio expressed serious objections to the pope's proposals on how to remedy the Jewish policy in Iberia based on information the pontiff received from anonymous clerics. Braulio was laid to rest in the church of 'Nuestra Senora Merced del Pilar,' that was re-discovered in 1290. He authored the *Vita Aemiliani*, and we have 44 of his letters. He

was recognized by Ildephonsus of Toledo in his *De viris illustribus* as one of the greatest luminaries of his time.<sup>4</sup>

### 1. *Modern historiography*

Luis García Moreno and Raúl González Salinero have been the most productive contemporary scholars to deal with Jews in Visigothic Iberia. Their comments about the Jews will be limited to the exchange between Braulio and Pope Honorius I. Prior to their scholarship two renowned Iberianists Fidel Fita and Angel Custodio Vega provided what was for many decades the only substantive commentary on the letter. So it is fitting that we begin with them but only to summarize their respective findings.

Fidel Fita's lengthy study in the journal *La Ciudad de Dios* of the letter, proved not to be exhaustive, however.<sup>5</sup> Fita touched only very briefly on what the letter reveals concerning the relationship of the Iberian bishops and the See of Rome. To his credit he provides abundant conciliar background and delves into questions of textual transmission of the letter that is of interest to philologists and paleographers.

Angel Custodio Vega in his comprehensive overview of the Iberian bishops and the papacy for the entire period leading up to the Muslim Invasion is still instructive. What it lacks, however, is an in depth analysis. It is mainly a chronological survey accompanied with many full translations into Spanish from the PL. Even so, it is a most useful introduction for anyone exploring the topic. What is amazing is that no one since then followed up with a detailed critical study based on the much improved editions that we have at our disposal (CSEL and CCL). His findings were published as individual articles in *La Ciudad de Dios* and later gathered together in book form

<sup>4</sup> C. CODOÑER MERINO, *El 'De Viris Illustribus' de Ildefonso de Toledo Estudio y edición crítica* (Acta Salmanticensia, Filosofía y Letras, 65), Salamanca, 1972, p. 131.

<sup>5</sup> F. FITA, "El Papa Honorio I y San Braulio de Zaragoza," *La Ciudad de Dios*, 6 (1870-1871), p. 49-60, 101-107, 192-200, 252-260, 336-346, 403-432 and 186-204, 260-278, 271-279, 358-365.

by the same publisher.<sup>6</sup> What follows is a summary of his reflections on the correspondence between Braulio and the pope.

He characterized the papal content of the letter as hard, acrimonious and indignant.<sup>7</sup> The anonymous persons who wrote to the pope had bad intentions. Their accusations were baseless rumors intended to discredit certain Iberian bishops and was maybe even a personal attack on Braulio.<sup>8</sup> The pope accused the bishops of excessive weakness, misguided tolerance, and lacking in apostolic zeal against baptized Jews who allegedly were allowed to revert unopposed to Judaism.<sup>9</sup> Custodio Vega maintained that the pope and the hard-line anti-Jewish accusers were reacting to the moderate toleration policy promulgated at the Fourth Council of Toledo, (canon 57+) that is more tempered and which rejected King Sisebut's excessive anti-Jewish policy.<sup>10</sup> He does note, however, that the bishops although they were in theory at odds with Sisebut, they were in practice not very tolerant either.<sup>11</sup> No one in Iberia was advocating a complete open toleration of Jews. This attitude was consistent with policy to be found in all Christendom. In fact, at one level Braulio was intent on correcting the pope by convincing him that he had not given enough credit to all that the bishops had indeed done to convert Jews. Braulio and the bishops even sent to the pontiff the acts of the council of Toledo VI, which had just convened, including previous conciliar evidence to prove their

<sup>6</sup> A. CUSTODIO VEGA, "El primado romano y la iglesia Española en los primeros siglos," *La Ciudad de Dios*, 154, 1 (1942), p. 23-56, 237-284, 501-524. The complete collection of his articles on the papacy and Iberia was published as *El Pontificado y la Iglesia Española en los siete primeros siglos*. Escorial: Imprenta del Monasterio, 1942. Also, consult, A. CUSTODIO VEGA, "El primado romano en la iglesia española desde sus orígenes hasta el siglo VII," *Revista Española de Teología*, 2 (1941), p. 63-99.

<sup>7</sup> "El primado romano y la iglesia Española en los primeros siglos," p. 511.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 512.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 513.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, note 5 in the same article.

apostolic zeal.<sup>12</sup> Custodio Vega, moreover, argued that in Rome and Byzantium there existed a much more militant policy against Jews in comparison to the one in Iberia. Stated another way Jews were better off in Iberia.<sup>13</sup> Custodio Vega believed it was a false accusation that the bishops permitted reversions of faith by Jews without any consequences. Magnates or bishops who helped Jews were even threatened with severe penalties as evidenced by the councils. I would add it does nevertheless expose a tension of policy and ecclesial jurisdiction between moderate and hard-line Iberian bishops and a pope in this case.<sup>14</sup> While we are not certain that the letter was ever read at the council we know for sure that it was not appended to the acts.<sup>15</sup>

Regarding the tone of the exchange between Braulio and Pope Honorius Custodio Vega questioned how this letter could be interpreted as expressing some form of autonomous episcopate in opposition to the See of Rome.<sup>16</sup> At every opportunity Braulio showed respect to and acknowledged the authority of the pontiff even when he corrected him.<sup>17</sup> Never is there expression of defiant protest against Rome.<sup>18</sup> Two themes that Custodio Vega did not or anyone since then considered are: the biblical typological images and language presented by Braulio and what this epistle reveals to us about the papal and Iberian episcopal ecclesiology.

Luis A. García Moreno believes that the Sixth Council of Toledo's call for the exile of non-Catholics was a response by the bishops to Pope Honorius who had criticized them for being too lenient on Jews.<sup>19</sup> Regarding Braulio, he was against a severe crackdown which he considered an extreme meas-

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 513-514.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 514. See also his "Una herejía judaizante del siglo VIII en España," *La Ciudad de Dios*, 153 (1941), p. 57-100, offers more background beyond Braulio's time.

<sup>14</sup> "El primado romano y la iglesia Española en los primeros siglos," p. 514.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 512.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 521.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 522.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 523.

<sup>19</sup> *Los judíos de la España Antigua*, p. 119.

ure.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, at the Fifth Council of Toledo (636) under the guidance and influence of Braulio the bishops did not single out Jews for repression.<sup>21</sup> García Moreno is of the opinion that Honorius' letter was prompted by the less moderate/intolerant opponents of Braulio's faction.<sup>22</sup> It reveals a struggle between hard-line bishops and the more moderate ones regarding the Jewish problem. He sees the outcome of Braulio's intervention causing a shift from a 'conversion or death/exile' to one of 'baptism or loss of property' and is thus a victory of sorts for the moderates whom Braulio represented.

As for the actual implementation of this harsh anti-Jewish policy we are on very tenuous ground. It is evident that after Sisebut's death his legislation was simply ignored and even opposed by formidable churchmen like Isidore of Seville. In fact, it was this laxity that Pope Honorius was so critical of and which reflected the sentiment of certain ecclesiastics in Iberia who were in accord with him. Things went from bad to worse for Jews later under Ervigius and Egica for multivariate reasons. But in the end we are still faced with the inability to know how long the vindictive anti-Jewish policies persisted and to what degree they were even carried out by the Church or the monarchy. What raises suspicions is that a generation after the invasion of 711 the Jewish communities flourished and nowhere can we find any mention of a mass repatriation of Jews that had been forced into exile under the last of the Visigothic rulers. Braulio's letter is of little help on the question of implementation of anti-Jewish policy but it does reveal a deep divide between the Iberian bishops and Pope Honorius on what to do with lapsed baptized Jews.

Raúl González Salinero has emerged in recent years as one of the leading active scholars on Jews in Visigothic Iberia. His views about Braulio and Pope Honorius can be summarized in the following manner. He reminds us that all baptized

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 120.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 151.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 152.

Jews had to attend the council.<sup>23</sup> The hardliners' policy was obviously to appease Pope Honorius. Braulio rejected the pope's harsh measures and tone in his response,<sup>24</sup> but he also assured the pontiff that the bishops were not neglecting the Jews even though their approach may not be to his liking.<sup>25</sup> Braulio was in harmony with the policy of the Fourth Council of Toledo (633), under Isidore's leadership that rejected forced conversions.<sup>26</sup> He rightly reminds us, however, that although Fourth Toledo (633) rejected forced conversions, it still allowed for the use of force to keep baptized Jews in the faith.<sup>27</sup> From the bishops' perspective baptism was a sacramental/oath that could not be retracted- it is a changeless sacrament.<sup>28</sup> González Salinero is of the opinion that the *Placitum* was likely written by Braulio that called for Jews to publicly repudiate their religion. Also, that Braulio likely supported the demands that non-Catholics leave Iberia, that breaking the baptismal oath required stoning to death, and the confiscation of wealth of any accomplices.<sup>29</sup> Again, we have no way of knowing if ever or to what extent this policy ever saw the

<sup>23</sup> *Las conversiones forzosas*, p. 43-51. The recent general overview of Jews in Visigothic Iberia by C. CORDERO NAVARRO, "El problema judío como visión del 'otro' en el reino visigodo de Toledo: Revisiones historiográficas," *En la España Medieval*, 23 (2000), p. 9-40, is mostly descriptive and does not advance our understanding of the internal content of Braulio's letter. The commentary by C. H. LYNCH and P. GALINDO in *San Braulio Obispo de Zaragoza (631-651). Su vida y sus obras*, Madrid, 1950, p. 153-157 focuses only the councils and the Jews. The letter is not analyzed at all and yet they reach the dubious conclusion that Braulio was a leader in the persecution of Jews, as such it is of little value in understanding the letter. Lastly A. RIESCO TERCERO, "El problema judío en la mente de tres importantes personajes del siglo VII: un papa, un obispo español y un rey visigodo," *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma. H. Antigua*, 6 (1993), p. 585-604, in his general overview simply summarizes the letter and expresses for the most part the views that are found in A. Custodio Vega.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50.

<sup>25</sup> "Catholic Anti-Judaism in Visigothic Spain," in *The Visigoths. Studies in Culture and Society*, ed. by A. FERREIRO (The Medieval Mediterranean, 20), Leiden, 1990, p. 127.

<sup>26</sup> *Las conversiones forzosas*, p. 38, and "Catholic Anti-Judaism," p. 127.

<sup>27</sup> "Catholic Anti-Judaism," p. 143.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 144, note 137.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 145.



light of day. What the letter instructs is that divergent policy views were at work in the Iberian episcopate. Braulio on the other hand was hardly the beacon of toleration in the modern sense and did sternly oppose Christian conversions to Judaism.<sup>30</sup> He flat out rejects the position of those who believe the Pope was relying entirely on unfounded rumors, excessive credulity, and superficiality.<sup>31</sup> When all is said and done for González Salinero, bishops and monarchs worked together to persecute Jews even though there remained some disagreement on the methods that were to be employed.<sup>32</sup> Even so, we should give some credit to those like Braulio who did seek a milder patient policy even if by our own standards it does not rise to toleration as found in some modern cultures. I think the fact that large Jewish communities were present on the eve of the Muslim Invasion of Iberia and then flourished once again in post-711 suggests that the moderates did indeed prevail in the long term. With this brief historiographical reflection completed we can now turn specifically to the content of the letter.

## 2. *Accusations*

The accusations leveled at the Iberian bishops were presented through a letter delivered by an emissary named Turninus at the Sixth Council of Toledo (9 January 638) which brought together bishops from Gallia Narbonensis and Iberia. The pope had firmly ordered the bishops to be more aggressive in removing heretics and the unfaithful from the Church. At the outset Braulio praised the pope for desiring to cleanse the sacred House of God – our Mother – of transgressors and the ‘accursed deserters,’ (*diuini gladio uerbi et superni telo xeli confoditis adque sanctam domum Dei, matrem nostrum, studio uestro uel uigilantia a nefandis preuaricatoribus et execrandis desertoribus*). The ‘deserters’ is in reference to baptized Jews who reverted to their Judaism. Braulio then contested the ac-

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 133 and 138.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 138.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 149-150.

cusations that the pope leveled upon the Iberian bishops based on information the pope had received from anonymous accusers, likely bishops and priests who disagreed with those who supported Braulio. He rejected the charge that they had been slothful and negligent of their episcopal duties. He informed the pontiff that they had been using speakers- sermons Jews were compelled to attend- to address the Jews. Furthermore, Braulio maintained that just because the issues had not been resolved – lapsed Jewish converts – it was not directly the result of their own negligence or timidity. He argued, however, for a more patient and less coercive approach in dealing with lapsed Jews by citing St. Paul, “With modesty admonishing those that follow a different wisdom: in case God should give them repentance to know the truth, and they recover themselves from the snares of the devil,” (2 Timothy 2:25-26). His said that their restraint was to avoid alienating those who would be further driven from the faith through rigid discipline. Braulio argued also that their ‘authentic severity – *genuinam duritiam*’ was tempered by incessant preaching. As long as full permanent conversion was attained in the long run the so-called delay was worth it. Braulio told the pope his accusations leveled at the bishops were unjustified since they did not actually reflect the ecclesial situation in Iberia. Braulio informed the pope that at every opportunity he and the clergy censured the transgressors and were always diligent to preach thus never keeping silent. Jews let us recall were subjected to preaching at venues they were required to attend. Braulio next turned to undermine the testimony of the accusers. They are called ‘speakers of falsehood’ who gave the pontiff ‘wrong opinions’ ‘false words’ ‘lies and stories’ that have no connection with the truth (*Arbitramus enim putasse falsiloquos facile aures mansuetudinis uestre opinioni patere sinistre, quum sepe soleat sine auctore falsa dictio euagare adque leuitate sui mentes instabiles penetrare, ut gremio fobeantur mendacii infidi ueritatis et nescii, ac sic, quia nulla eos aperta, consolatur ueritas, fucata saltem tutet iniquitas*). The false accusers spoke to the pontiff with the ‘serpent’s deceit-*ficmentum colubri*.’ Braulio said that he was sure that none of this left any impression upon Pope Honorius. Braulio made several attempts here to drive a wedge between the testimony

of the accusers and what the pontiff actually believed about the situation of Jews in Iberia. Braulio a second time said emphatically that he and the bishops did not believe that the 'poisonous dreadful lie' had found any room in the pope's heart because he possessed such a refined mind (*tamen non credimus tam funesti uenenum mendacii in pectoris uestri placiditate locum patulum inuenisse. Scimus enim obtime esse mentis indicium praua difficiliter credere*). Then Braulio debunked the story that circulated in Iberia alleging that Pope Honorius had allowed baptized Jews to return to their Jewish faith. Braulio rejected it as a falsehood that the pope knew so to be. He indulged the pope even more by stating that he knew that the pontiff had not embraced the lies perpetrated by those in league with the devil whose hearts were damned.

Moreover, Braulio expressed his admiration of Pope Honorius because he used his apostolic zeal to bring into the Mother Church the enemies of the cross of Christ who were worshipers of demons of the Antichrist (*Sed tu, reuerentissime uirorum et sanctissime partum, insta, insta uirtute qua in Domino uales, predicatione qua polles, industria qua ferues et inimicos crucis Christi hac demoniculas Anticristi uariam quantocius per uocacionem transduc in sinum matris ecclesie*). He consoled the pope by saying that he was not like the lone Elias over and against the prophets of Baal. Braulio further encouraged the pope by noting that there were many [clergy in Iberia] who had not bowed the knee to Baal. Braulio said that his boasting about the Iberian clergy was not an expression of misplaced pride but rather of love for the truth. Braulio humbly requested of the pontiff his prayers for the Iberian clergy. Braulio closed the letter with a final comment which he identified as 'special- *peculiari modo*.' He was astute to call him the 'head of the church- *capiti nostre*.' coupled with 'apostolic highness' (*grauissimo examinis pondere apostolatus uestri eligantia pensitet*) as he moved to close the letter to admonish him to reflect seriously on what he was about to say. Braulio questioned whether the severe punishment that the pontiff desired to be imposed upon the 'apostates' was prudent. He added rather forcefully that neither the 'decrees' of his forefathers or the New Testament ever endorsed such a course of action (*nam hoc numquam et nusquam aut maiorum nostrorum*

*gestis peractum aut eloquiis diuinis in noui Testamenti paginis repperimus insertum*). In short, Braulio was telling the pope that the Iberian bishops were not going to implement his proposed harsher policy, rather they would continue with their own firm yet more patient course of action against lapsed baptized Jewish.

### 3. *Petrine Primacy*

Braulio throughout the letter not only showed great respect for Pope Honorius he also emphasized in various ways the unique ecclesial position of the See of Rome in relation to himself and the bishops he represented in Iberia. At the outset in the opening paragraph he acknowledged the pontiff's universal ecclesial jurisdiction by glowingly referring to his 'care for all of the churches' and to the 'guardianship' that he exercised over the Church of Christ. The pontiff, so Braulio, was brandishing the sword of the divine word in order to cleanse the House of God (our Mother – *matrem nostram*). (*Obtime satis ualdeque congrue catedre uestre a Deo uobis conlate munus persolbitis, cum sancta sollicitudine omnium ecclesiarum, prenitente doctrine lumine et in speculis constitute ecclesie Cristi digna tutamina prouidetis et dominice tunice derisores diuini gladio uerbi et superni telo xeni confoditis adque sanctam domum Dei, matrem nostram*). Pope Honorius was likened to Christ who cleansed the Temple of its desecrators, from wicked transgressors, and deserters of the faith (lapsed Jewish converts). Furthermore, the pope and King Chinthila were inspired by the Holy Spirit who made them one mind for the good of the faith (*et rector animarum corda principis simul et uestra conformiter pro religione commoberit... Illut utrubique diuinitus inspirasse, quod in sapientia eternitatis sue ca[ht]olice prodesse preuidit eglesie*). Braulio requested that the pope pray for the serenity of King Chinthila- whom he called the pontiff's son as well as the bishop's prince (*Oc quidem iam olim altissimo inspiramine et sacra meditatione gloriosissimi et clementissimi filii uestri, principis nostri, Chintilanis regis insederat animis*). Braulio wisely wanted to impress upon Pope Honorius that he, the clergy who agreed with him, the pope and King Chinthila were not at odds; rather it was the false accusers who were not in harmony. As Braulio

defended the Iberian Jewish policy that he represented he spoke of the 'veneration' owed by them [the bishops] to the Apostolic See. Furthermore, the false accusations leveled at the Iberian bishops which were the product of the 'serpent's deceit – *ficmentum colubri*' had wrongly misinformed the 'rock of Peter – *petra Petri*' that was founded by the Lord Jesus Christ (*Sed, quoniam destruit Deus hos loquentium iniqua, ideo ficmentum colubri non credimus fecisse uestigium in petra Petri, quam fundatam esse nobimus stabilitate Domini Ihesu Cristi*). Clearly the Petrine passages of Matthew 16 were in the mind of Braulio. Pope Honorius was recognized by Braulio 'Prince of Rome – *benerabilis Romani principis*,' who was driven by the kindness of his heart to inquire about the alleged pastoral lapses of the Iberian bishops. The pope was also to be counted as one of the most reverend of men and a most holy father (*Sed tu, reuerentissime uirorum et sanctissime patrum*). His universal jurisdiction was most clearly enunciated a second time when Braulio proclaimed that Orient and Occident were to be instructed and supported by his divinely inspired voice (*Utraque pars, orientis scilicet et occidentis, uoce tua commonita et diuino presidio tuo sibimet inesse sentiat adiutorio*). Braulio begged of his 'honored holiness' prayers in the presence of the tombs of the Apostles (Peter and Paul) and all of the saints for the preservation of the 'entire' Church. He included in this request the bishops of Iberia and all of the peoples that had been placed under the pastoral care of the Iberian bishops (*Hoc autem potius et propensius quesumus honorificentiam Sanctitatis uestre ut ad beatorum Apostolorum memorias omniumque sanctorum, quum preces pro totius ecclesie statu in conspectus dirigis Domini*). As Braulio moved to close his letter he re-emphasized the unique nature of the See of Rome as represented by Pope Honorius. The pope is to be esteemed as the most excellent and outstanding of all bishops whom he beseeched for his intercessory prayers (*Ergo, precipue et excellentissime antestium, tam pro serenitate filii uestri principis nostri*). Lastly, in the closing paragraph Pope Honorius was proclaimed his 'apostolic highness, – *pondere apostolatus uestri*' and 'beatitude – *beatitudo*.' It needs to be noted that at one level, this form of laudatory language of respect heaped upon Pope Honorius was often used to address any bishop not just the popes. References to his universal juris-

diction that are central throughout the letter were reserved exclusively, at least in the Iberian Church, to address the See of Rome. In other words, this ecclesiology was hardly a novelty for seventh century Iberia or Braulio. It does, however, indicate in the larger ecclesial scheme of things that belief in the universal jurisdiction of the See of Rome was neither a later development nor an aberration.

#### 4. *Biblical-theological imagery*

One aspect of Braulios' letter to Pope Honorius that has not been adequately explored is the rich biblical-theological imagery that he utilized in his response. The ones that Braulio used that we will analyze are: the Lord's seamless tunic, Christ cleansing the Temple, Elijah and the prophets of Baal, dogs that do not bark, and the Church as the ship of faith.

When Braulio lauded the pontiff for his zeal to preserve the Church from 'corruption – those who cause schism or division' he resorted to the image of the seamless 'Lord's tunic.' In the sacred scriptures we are informed in the Gospel of John 19:23 – the only Gospel to report this detail – that Jesus' tunic was seamless. In patristic biblical exegesis, Cyprian of Carthage notably, invoked the seamless tunic typologically to defend that there was only one faith in Christ – one Lord, one faith, one baptism as St. Paul taught (Eph. 4:5). In other words, apostate Jews who rejected their baptism and reverted back to Judaism were dividing the one body of Christ.<sup>33</sup> From the perspective of the Church baptism could never be undone, apparently not even by apostasy. It seems to have been a policy of 'once in always in' at least for Jews. Although

<sup>33</sup> All quotes from the Church Fathers here and in notes 34 and 37 are from the series *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture*. Inter Varsity Press. Cyprian, *De ecclesiae catholicae unitate*, 7. "This sacrament of unity, this bond of a unity inseparably cohering, is set forth where in the Gospel the coat of the Lord Jesus Christ is not at all divided or cut. Rather, it is received as an entire garment, and it is possessed as an uninjured and undivided robe by those who cast lots for Christ's garment who should instead put on Christ... He cannot possess the garment of Christ who parts and divides the church of Christ," [ANF 5:423, CCL, 3].

in Catholic theology there was room for formal apostasy when it came to Jews the Church seems to have adopted a specific policy for them. Perhaps it was because they saw lapsed Jews as making a mockery of the Sacrament of Baptism coupled with embarrassing in a very public way the Church [clergy] for its apparent failure to produce permanent converts. Those guilty were to be expelled for sure or better yet brought back into full communion, but allowing them to switch unopposed between both faiths was clearly unacceptable. It seems to have been an attempt by the Church to try to save face. One thing is clear the body of Christ – the Church – must be unified: Christ founded only one Church, one in which its members are in full communion with the bishops the successors of the apostles united with Peter and his successor, Pope Honorius. The issue as we have seen between the Iberian bishops that Braulio represented and the pope was over how to attempt to bring them back.

The theme of conserving the unity of the Church is pursued when he noted the pope was cleansing the 'House of God.' The pontiff, so Braulio, was acting just as when Christ cleansed the Temple of the money changers (Mt. 21: 12-13; Mk. 11: 15-19; Luke 19: 45-48; and John 2: 13-22).<sup>34</sup> Here although the issue was not simony or the like, the Jews who were dividing the Body of Christ – the Church – had to be expunged not without some form of punishment, the severity of which was up for debate. The primary desire was to bring them back in.

The schismatic nature of these lapsed Jews and the bishops who allegedly allowed such reversions was compared by Braulio to Elijah and the prophets of Baal. This association on his part was quite severe and damning in its intent. The lapsed Jews, like the prophets of Baal (I Kings 18: 1-46),

<sup>34</sup> Augustine offered the following interpretation in his, *Explanation of Psalm*, 130. 2-3. Our Lord's driving out of the temple people who were seeking their own ends, who came to the temple to buy and sell, is symbolic (...) But the temple was not destroyed by the people who wanted to turn the house of God into a den of thieves, and neither will those who live evil lives in the Catholic church and do all they can to convert God's house into a robber's den succeed in destroying the temple [CCL 40: 1899-1900].

were seen as not even worshipping the same God; put another way they have not only separated themselves from the Church but even from God himself even though they have returned to their original Jewish faith that shares the same God. It is clear there were some inconsistencies here regarding Jews and Christians – both children of Abraham – that Braulio took no time in this brief missive to work out. Braulio defended himself and the bishops whom he represented to the pope as being faithful and uncompromising as Elijah had been against the prophets of Baal. The charge of laxity and appeasement by Braulio and his fellow bishops would be akin to accusing Elijah of the same with the prophets of Baal.

Apparently when Pope Honorius reprimanded the Iberian bishops of being remiss in their pastoral obligations towards the Jews, he likened them to ‘dumb dogs that did not bark,’ (*Canes muti non ualentes latrare*). This image of dumb or barking dogs is not directly rooted in the sacred scripture. It is, however, a prominent image that has a long trajectory in the exegesis of the Church Fathers and in fact throughout the entire Middle Ages. In another place I carried out an in-depth analysis of the ‘dog’ image that I will only summarize for our purposes here.<sup>35</sup> Clergy who do not proclaim the apostolic faith are compared to dogs who do not bark to warn their flock of intruders [heretics-schismatics] or any other danger that threatens their well being. Braulio refuted this image as correctly reflecting the Iberian bishops and himself who have been accused of being silent. Braulio was making the point that they had not been silent while at the same time disagreeing with the course of action the pontiff encouraged them to adopt. Braulio’s position was that they did indeed ‘bark-preach.’ Recall, Braulio informed the pope early on about the preaching that Jews were subjected to. Lastly, the bishop of Zaragoza requested of Pope Honorius his prayers which he described in familiar biblical imagery as ‘aromatic spices of

<sup>35</sup> FERREIRO, ‘Simon Magus, Dogs, and Simon Peter,’ *Simon Magus in Patristic, Medieval, and Early Modern Traditions*, (Studies in the History of Christian Traditions, 125), Leiden, 2005, p. 147-200.



myrrh and frankincense,' (*ut fumo uestre supplicationis ex aromatibus myrre et turis peccaminum nostrorum* – Mt. 2:1 and Cant. 3:6).

The last major biblical-typological imagery in the letter comes at the end when once again Braulio lavished the pope with positive attributes of leadership for the Church. Braulio offered the pope the full assistance of the bishops in his task to guide the Church. Here Braulio described the Church in its present course as the 'ship of faith' that Braulio prayed that he, the bishops, the pontiff and King Chinthila would guide together as it was threatened by the 'rocks' of temptation, the Chrybdis of pleasure, waves of persecutions, the barking of the Scylla, and madness of the Gentiles (*ut navis fidei, que inter scopulos temptationum et Caribdem uoluptatum adque fluctus persecutionum uel Scille latrans rabiemque gentilium adsidue conuexatur*).<sup>36</sup> The relapsed Jews in this scheme are the Chrybdis who threaten to cause the ship [the Church] to wreck and sink by creating confusion, like a storm at sea. The Scylla mirror the anonymous accusers who were sowing confusion between the pontiff and the Iberian bishops whom Braulio represented and by extension were threatening to capsize the ship, the Church. Here once again we have from classical mythology a 'barking' creature whose sole aim was to destroy. Apparently the lapsed Jews were 'barking' a message of apostasy. Braulio prayed that the pontiff's intercession would move the Almighty to bring the 'ship of faith' – [barque of Peter] gently to a safe harbor as the [tempestuous] sea and winds were calmed through prayer and no doubt effective diligent preaching (*sua gubernatione hac moderatione ad salutis portum quietissime deducatur, ut increpato mari et uentis cuncta ei prospero successu proueniant ex uoto felicitates*). The calming of the sea and wind evokes Christ rebuking and calming the storm (Mt. 8:23-26; Luke 8:22-25; Mark 4:35-41). Again, there was a well established patristic interpretation of these biblical passages.<sup>37</sup> Braulio expected

<sup>36</sup> See, Homer, *Odyssey*, XII.

<sup>37</sup> For example, Origen, *Matthew, Homily*, 6. "For as many as are in the little ship of faith are sailing with the Lord; as many as are in the bark of holy church will voyage with the Lord across this wave-tossed life; though the Lord himself may sleep in holy quiet, he is but watching your patience and endurance..." [SSGF 1: 320]. John Chrysostom, *Commentary on St. John*,

that all things would turn out well – notwithstanding their policy differences – that entailed the conversion of Jews, preventing their reversion to Judaism, or bring back those who had relapsed. In this letter harsh measures against Jews have no place or value for Braulio.

### 5. *Ecclesiology*

The epistolary exchange between Bishop Braulio – and his partisan Iberian clergy – and Pope Honorius I also gives us a glimpse into ecclesiology not just in theory but in practice. Both episcopal factions appealed to the papacy for an apostolic intervention. It is reminiscent of Priscillian and his detractors who likewise sought out the papacy to support their respective positions. The See of Rome was seen as possessing the universal jurisdiction to intervene directly into Iberian ecclesial affairs. There is nothing herein to suggest that this was in any way novel or even in any way as an intrusion by the papacy. In fact, there are abundant examples before and during Braulio's time of papal involvement in Iberian ecclesial affairs. That is, Pope Honorius I am sure was clueless about the situation in Iberia until he received a negative report which he had an obligation to respond to and it is obvious that he gave cre-

1. "We are also sailing on a voyage, not from one land to another but from earth to heaven. Let us prepare our power of reasoning as a pilot able to conduct us on high, and let us gather a crew obedient to it. Let us prepare a strong ship, the kind that the buffeting and discouragements of this life will not submerge, or the wind of false pretense raise up, but will be sleek and swift. If we prepare the ship, pilot and the crew in this way, we will sail with a favoring wind and draw to ourselves the Son of God, the true Pilot. He will not permit our ship to be overwhelmed, even if countless winds blow. He will rebuke the winds and the sea and will bring about a great calm in place of the tempest." [FC 33: 10; PG 59]. Peter Chrysologus, *Sermons*, 50.2. "Christ gets into the vessel of his church, always ready to calm the waves of the world. He leads those who believe in him through safe sailing to the heavenly homeland and makes those whom he made to share in his humanity citizens of his land. Christ does not need the vessel, therefore, but the vessel needs Christ. Without the heavenly helmsman the vessel of the church is unable to sail over the sea of the world and, against critical odds, arrive at the heavenly harbor." [CCL 24: 277-278]

dence to it. Pope Honorius's policy towards Jews was a regressive one of sorts in comparison to the one Pope Gregory the Great had toward Jews. In fact, Pope Gregory the Great adopted a reasonable policy towards Jews advocating their right to worship unimpeded and certainly opposing harsh measures against them. Pope Honorius then represents a regressive policy and Pope Gregory the Great who was his model in other ways was not so regarding Jews.<sup>38</sup> Never is there an appeal from Iberia to any of the other apostolic patriarchal Sees – Jerusalem, Antioch, Ephesus or Alexandria and certainly not Constantinople which lacked direct apostolic foundation unlike the others. Appeals to Constantinople were directed at the Emperors for a wide array of political matters but never to the Patriarch to seek out apostolic guidance or reception of the *pallium*, the latter of which could be obtained only from Rome.<sup>39</sup>

In this polemic it was obviously certain anonymous clerics in Iberia who approached Pope Honorius. It was not the case that the pope took the initiative so to speak to make the rounds to assess how the Iberian bishops were conducting themselves regarding lapsed baptized Jews. Popes had the means locally throughout the West to conduct themselves in such manner, but it appears to be really exceptional. The norm instead was for the pope in Rome to receive letters from regional bishops soliciting his opinion on almost every topic imaginable. This is precisely what occurred in this instance, but with some interesting nuances. Braulio, for example, felt completely at liberty not only to express his views but to take issue and reject what he perceived to be unacceptable policy positions that Pope Honorius was advocating. All of this Braulio accomplished with great respect and diplo-

<sup>38</sup> Gregory the Great, *Letters*, book 1, letter 10 to Bacauda. See also the still useful study by S. KATZ, "Pope Gregory the Great and the Jews," *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 24 (1933), p. 113-136.

<sup>39</sup> When Martin of Braga in his *De trina mersione* appealed to the baptismal practice in Constantinople to defend his formula for baptism, it was one of several sources of authority he appealed to. Noteworthy, the most authoritative source for Martin of Braga was that of the See of Rome, see FERREIRO, "Martin of Braga, *De trina mersione* and the See of Rome," p. 193-207.

macy. It is unfortunate that we do not have a counter response by Pope Honorius. It may be that the pope was satisfied with what Braulio said and decided not to pursue matters with him and his constituency. The pope certainly had it in his power to follow up especially in view that he had people 'on the ground' in Iberia who could have assisted him and undoubtedly seemed to have been so inclined. We have no detailed rebuttal from the pontiff to Braulio's self-defense as we have for example in the case of Priscillian and Pope Leo the Great's detailed point by point refutation of Priscillianism as he understood it.<sup>40</sup>

From the evidence, it is obvious that Pope Honorius decided to dedicate his energies elsewhere. The problem of lapsed baptized Jews was allowed to play out locally between the Iberian bishops and the Visigothic monarchy. This is the normative pattern of the See of Rome and its relationship with the regional bishops in Iberia and neighboring Gaul. The popes obviously relied on the local Church to bring to their attention their concerns whatever they might have been and did receive them in abundance. It provided the See of Rome numerous opportunities to extend its influence and authority throughout the whole of western Christendom. They did so effectively but never unilaterally disregarding the regional autonomy that bishops enjoyed in Iberia and Gaul. The case of Bishop Braulio and Pope Honorius is yet another example of two ecclesial parties agreeing to disagree while at the same time maintaining mutual respect and above all else without threatening the ecclesial unity of the Church.

<sup>40</sup> Consult, A. FERREIRO, "Petrine Primacy, Conciliar Authority, and Priscillian," p. 631-645.

*Summary*

Braulio of Zaragoza's *Letter 21*, a response to a now lost letter from Pope Honorius I, is most important for our understanding of the question of lapsed baptized Jews in Visigothic Spain. The letter addresses a series of very serious and harsh criticisms that the pope expressed against some bishops in Iberia and their alleged lack of proper ministry towards baptized Jews who had relapsed into their Judaism supposedly without any consequences. Braulio not only respectfully denied all of the charges he also expressed firm rejection of the pope's harsh policy that he wanted them to adopt. The letter, however, has never been thoroughly studied as this article does. After setting forth the modern historiography of the letter and the divergent policies regarding lapsed baptized Jews it explores the biblical-theological imagery, its ecclesiology, the Petrine primacy, and lastly what this letter reveals about the relationship between the Iberian bishops and the See of Rome.

# Développements récents des recherches sur Maxime le Confesseur (1998-2009)\*

par  
Peter VAN DEUN  
(*Leuven*)

Il y a dix ans, nous avons fait paraître une bibliographie exhaustive consacrée au théologien byzantin Maxime le Confesseur (580-662), auteur dans lequel notre centre louvaniste s'est spécialisé et dont nous préparons, dans la *Série grecque* du *Corpus Christianorum*, l'édition des *opera omnia*. Cela a été pour moi un sujet de satisfaction de me rendre compte que, pour tous ceux qui s'engagent dans les recherches sur cet auteur, ma contribution est devenue un instrument de travail indispensable; en 1998, je pouvais dresser un inventaire, déjà impressionnant, d'à peu près 1120 titres, consultés personnellement, sauf pour un petit nombre d'études qui m'étaient restées inaccessibleles; un index analytique visait à faciliter la consultation de cette bibliographie.

Dix années sont maintenant passées, et de ce qui suit ci-dessous, il ressort clairement que les chercheurs maximiens ne sont pas restés les bras croisés, ce qui m'invite à dresser un état de la question pour la dernière décennie, présentant à peu près 450 titres nouveaux.

Quels sont les résultats les plus importants de la recherche récente? Maxime nous a laissé une œuvre littéraire importante, mais il passe pour un auteur très difficile. Les recherches se situent sur ces deux terrains: l'établissement d'un texte fiable et

\* La bibliographie antérieure à 1999 a paru dans *Sacris Erudiri* 38 (1998-1999), p. 485-573, sous le titre: *Maxime le Confesseur. État de la question et bibliographie exhaustive*. Le présent article doit beaucoup à ma collègue Caroline Macé; qu'elle sache ma gratitude.

la présentation d'une traduction moderne d'un côté, et l'étude de la pensée du Confesseur de l'autre.

On connaît très bien notre conviction que toute étude sur la pensée d'un auteur doit se baser sur des éditions critiques fiables. Bien que, dans la *Series Graeca* du *Corpus Christianorum*, les œuvres de Maxime le Confesseur occupent une place d'honneur, trop souvent, malheureusement, des études et des traductions en langues modernes ont encore été faites, pendant ces dix dernières années, sur base de l'ancienne édition de la *Patrologia Graeca* (volumes 90 et 91), même quand une édition critique existait déjà. Cette remarque générale n'enlève rien à la masse considérable de travail réalisé pendant cette période.

Commençons par les collections d'*ambigua*. On sait aujourd'hui qu'il s'agit de deux séries d'*ambigua* ou « passages difficiles » (voir par exemple l'article de Bart Janssens, le n° 1434 de notre liste), dont la première et la plus longue, les *Ambigua ad Ioannem* (66 chapitres), daterait de 628-630, tandis que la rédaction de la seconde, les *Ambigua ad Thomam* (5 chapitres), devrait être située en 634 ou peu après ; il faut ajouter à ces deux collections d'*ambigua* une troisième, connue sous le nom d'*Epistula secunda ad Thomam*, où Maxime revient sur trois passages de Grégoire de Nazianze, déjà étudiés dans les *Ambigua ad Thomam*. Les *Ambigua ad Ioannem* sont adressés à l'évêque Jean de Cyzique, qui avait prié Maxime de mettre par écrit une discussion qu'il avait eue avec lui concernant des difficultés soulevées par 66 passages de Grégoire de Nazianze ; les principaux thèmes abordés sont les suivants : la Trinité, la christologie, l'anthropologie, l'Économie, la prophétie, la théologie apophatique et cataphatique, la réfutation de l'origénisme, la réfutation d'autres hérésies, questions exégétiques, questions philologiques. Il semble que les textes difficiles soumis par Jean aux éclaircissements de Maxime n'ont pas été choisis de manière aléatoire. Il apparaît clairement en effet que plusieurs *ambigua* sont dirigés contre des erreurs origénistes qui se perpétuaient encore dans quelques cercles monastiques contemporains du Confesseur. Ainsi, l'on y trouve une réfutation des doctrines de l'hénade, de la préexistence des âmes, de l'abolition complète des corps dans le monde à venir et de

l'apocatastase, ainsi qu'une critique de l'affirmation de l'éternité, de l'infinité et de l'immobilité de la matière. Dans les *Ambigua ad Thomam*, Maxime explique cinq passages obscurs de Grégoire de Nazianze, ainsi qu'un de Denys l'Aréopagite. Le premier *ambiguum* concerne Dieu comme Monade et comme Triade, les quatre *ambigua* suivants sont consacrés à des problèmes christologiques, particulièrement à la dualité des natures et des énergies du Verbe incarné; dans le cinquième *ambiguum* notamment, Maxime donne une interprétation orthodoxe de la fameuse formule de Denys, « une nouvelle énergie théandrique » (καινή θεανδρική ἐνέργεια), qui était utilisée par les monoénergistes et les monothélites à l'appui de leurs thèses. La discussion des *Ambigua ad Thomam* 1, 3 et 5 se poursuit également dans l'*Epistula secunda ad Thomam*. Surtout les *Ambigua ad Ioannem* ont connu beaucoup de succès à Byzance; de cela témoignent les multiples fragments qui en ont été cités dans les florilèges et les chaînes, ainsi que chez des théologiens byzantins.

Aujourd'hui, on dispose heureusement d'une édition critique des *Ambigua ad Thomam* (CPG 7705 [1]), ainsi que de la *Seconde Épître à Thomas* (CPG 7700), grâce aux soins de Bart Janssens qui a défendu sa thèse de doctorat sous notre direction (n° 1296); cette dissertation, plus particulièrement la partie de la thèse contenant l'édition critique de ces deux textes, a été publiée en 2002 (n° 1397). L'édition critique du texte grec de l'autre collection d'*ambigua*, celle dédiée à Jean de Cyzique (CPG 7705 [2]), sera donnée à l'imprimeur dans un futur proche, pour la *Series Graeca* du *Corpus Christianorum*; c'est le Professeur Carl Laga, notre vénérable maître louvaniste, qui est responsable de ce large projet éditorial.

Passons au *Liber Asceticus* (CPG 7692), l'une des œuvres les plus lues et transcrites de Maxime; nous en avons établi l'édition critique (le n° 1314A de la bibliographie). Il s'agit d'un dialogue entre un γέρων et un jeune moine qui discutent de l'importance de l'Incarnation du Christ pour la vie ascétique et le salut de l'homme. Cet ouvrage, d'un équilibre et d'une plénitude remarquables, se caractérise par un langage très simple et par de nombreuses citations bibliques. En effet, presque un tiers du texte reprend des passages de l'Ancien ou du Nou-



veau Testament, qui constituent, depuis Évagre le Pontique, l'arsenal habituel des moines dans leur combat contre les péchés et les tentations des démons. La tradition directe du texte comprend 90 manuscrits environ; le texte est mentionné dans le *codex* 193 de la *Bibliotheca* de Photius et des fragments en ont été cités dans des anthologies spirituelles et des chaînes. On notera encore que P. Argárate (n° 1548) a relevé tout récemment la richesse de cet ouvrage.

Quant à nous, nous nous sommes également concentré sur plusieurs opuscules dont l'authenticité pose parfois des problèmes; il n'est toutefois pas exclu qu'ils reviennent au Confesseur: l'*Unionum definitiones* (CPG 7697 [18]) (pour l'édition, voir le n° 1314), dont la paternité maximienne est probable; les questions et réponses d'un opuscule portant sur le Trithéisme, lesquelles s'éloignent clairement de la pensée de Maxime (n° 1376); un petit texte centré sur les quatre vertus cardinales (n° 1498A); les *Quaestiones ad Theopemptum* (CPG 7696), dont l'authenticité ne fait aucun doute et dont la tradition manuscrite est très pauvre (n° 1456); un recueil de définitions de quelques notions qui ont joué un rôle dans l'enseignement (homonymon, synonymon, paronymon, heteronymon et polyonymon) et que seule la tradition indirecte attribue à Maxime, bien que dans les témoins directs le texte soit resté anonyme (voir les n°s 1377 et 1540A).

Passons à la *Mystagogia* de Maxime (CPG 7704). En 2001, Charalampos Sotèropoulos a publié une édition revue et augmentée du texte, accompagnée d'une traduction en français et en grec moderne (n° 1370); malheureusement, cette édition, qu'on trouve rarement dans nos bibliothèques, est provisoire et contient beaucoup de fautes; une édition critique du texte établie par notre ami Christian Boudignon de l'Université d'Aix-en-Provence, est sous presse pour la *Series Graeca* du *Corpus Christianorum*; cette édition tiendra compte de tous les témoins grecs, directs et indirects, ainsi que de la traduction latine, partielle, d'Anastase le Bibliothécaire. Dans cette œuvre, qui a été écrite dans les années 630 à Carthage, Maxime dit reprendre les enseignements d'un mystérieux vieillard (un γέρων), qu'on a identifié avec le Pseudo-Denys, une identification mise en cause par Christian Boudignon dans un article

de 2002 (n° 1383 de notre liste), ou avec Sophrone de Jérusalem ; dans son édition critique à paraître, Monsieur Boudignon défendra la thèse nouvelle que ce serait plutôt Macaire d'Égypte, un auteur bien connu de Maxime, qui se cacherait sous ce nom du « bienheureux vieillard ». Loin d'être un commentaire systématique de la liturgie byzantine – de la liturgie eucharistique proprement dite, par exemple, il ne contient que quelques éléments –, l'ouvrage prend pour point de départ la disposition de l'édifice cultuel comme image de Dieu et du monde, pour traiter longuement des thèmes d'anthropologie monastique si caractéristiques du Confesseur. L'ouvrage se divise en deux parties bien nettes : la première traite de la signification symbolique de l'église, la seconde donne l'interprétation spirituelle des cérémonies de la liturgie eucharistique (par exemple la première entrée, l'entrée des saintes offrandes, les lectures et les chants, tels le Trisagion). On notera ici tout spécialement les deux traductions françaises récentes de la *Mystagogie*, accompagnées d'un commentaire approfondi ; c'est à Marie-Lucie Charpin-Ploix (voir les n°s 1289 et 1508 de notre liste) et à Pascal Mueller-Jourdan (n° 1515) que revient le mérite d'avoir étudié en détail la pensée de cet écrit difficile.

Pour ce qui est de la *Disputatio cum Pyrrho* (CPG 7698), une des œuvres dogmatiques majeures de Maxime, on ne dispose jusqu'ici que de l'édition de la *Patrologia Graeca* et de celle de Marcel Doucet faisant partie de sa thèse de doctorat de 1972 (n° 452a de notre bibliographie) ; en 2004, une nouvelle édition a paru à Moscou (n° 1496), mais de nombreuses fautes déparent cette publication ; nous préparons une édition critique de ce texte pour la *Series Graeca* du *Corpus Christianorum*. Dans un article paru en 1999 (n° 1264 de notre liste), notre ami Jacques Noret a montré, de manière tout à fait convaincante, que la *Disputatio cum Pyrrho*, telle qu'on la connaît aujourd'hui, n'a été rédigée qu'en 655 au plus tôt et que la paternité de Maxime est douteuse. Dans cet écrit rédigé sous forme de dialogue, on peut suivre les débats de Maxime avec Pyrrhus, l'ex-patriarche de Constantinople (de 638 à 641 et de nouveau, pour quelques mois, en 654), débats qui portent sur la question monothélite et qui ont eu lieu en juillet 645, pro-

bablement à Carthage; l'œuvre se divise en deux parties: la première – la plus longue – traite du problème des deux volontés du Christ, la seconde examine la question de ses deux activités. Maxime démontre que le Christ avait deux opérations et deux volontés, comme il avait deux natures; en effet, l'opération et la volonté relèvent de la nature plutôt que de la personne; à la fin de la discussion Pyrrhus s'avoue vaincu. Le dialogue a été lu par Photius et a été souvent utilisé dans les traités et florilèges dogmatiques byzantins.

Il faut également mentionner 27 opuscules doctrinaux, répertoriés dans la *CPG* sous le numéro 7697; la plupart de ces opuscules sont dirigés soit contre les monophysites (par ex., le n° 13: *De duabus Christi naturis*), soit contre les monoenergistes (par ex., les n° 5 et 8: *Adversus eos qui dicunt dicendam unam Christi operationem*, et *Exemplum epistulae ad episcopum Nicandrum*), soit contre les monothélètes, tels l'*Ad Marinum presbyterum* (n° 1), l'important *De eo quod scriptum est: Pater si fieri potest transeat a me calix* (n° 6), un texte fondamental du débat monothélète, le *De duabus unius Christi nostri voluntatibus* (n° 16), le *Tomus dogmaticus ad Marinum presbyterum* (n° 20); sur l'authenticité de quelques-uns de ces opuscules, on a soulevé des doutes, et la chronologie de ces *Opuscula theologica et polemica* est souvent très difficile à établir. Depuis des années, notre collègue louvaniste Basile Markesinis prépare une édition critique des opuscules 1 à 11 pour la *Series Graeca* du *Corpus Christianorum*, une édition monumentale qui est actuellement sous presse; Markesinis s'est basé sur tous les témoins manuscrits, plusieurs dizaines pour certains opuscules, un nombre très limité pour d'autres. L'édition critique d'un autre de ces opuscules, qui s'intitule *Capita X de duplici voluntate domini* (*CPG* 7697 [25]), dont l'authenticité semble être assurée, a été publiée par nos soins dans les mélanges en l'honneur du Professeur Adelbert Davids (voir n° 1566 de la liste).

Il est important aussi de signaler qu'une édition critique du *Computus Ecclesiasticus* (*CPG* 7706) est actuellement en chantier et paraîtra prochainement dans la *Series Graeca*; cette édition définitive, préparée par les soins de Jean Lempire, de l'Université Catholique de Louvain, et de Basile Markesinis, de la Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, remplacera l'édition provi-

soire que Lempire en avait faite il y a quelques années (n° 1487A de notre liste); dans une contribution parue en 2007 (n° 1544B de notre inventaire), le même chercheur a entrepris une étude du *Comput* de Maxime, qui se divise en trois parties présentant chaque fois une table chronologique très détaillée, ainsi qu'une série de méthodes d'utilisation de celle-ci; il s'agit d'une œuvre achevée, bien réfléchie; il est remarquable que Maxime a intégré dans son traité le calcul de la date du Iôm Kippûr juif, ce qui permet de proposer l'hypothèse que Maxime a étudié la chronologie chez des Juifs ou dans un milieu monastique palestinien, où les querelles avec les Juifs concernant leurs fêtes jouent un rôle très important.

Dans sa thèse de doctorat monumentale, préparée sous notre direction et défendue en 2001 (n° 1366), Bram Roosen a établi l'édition critique d'un bon nombre de petits ouvrages qui circulent sous le nom de Maxime, mais dont la paternité est parfois douteuse; la plupart du temps, la tradition manuscrite en est très pauvre; malheureusement, cette dissertation tellement riche est restée inédite jusqu'ici. Il s'agit des textes suivants dont les relations complexes, la tradition directe et indirecte et les problèmes difficiles de datation et d'authenticité ont été relevés de manière convaincante par le Dr. Roosen: CPG 7697 (23a, 23b, 23c, 24, 26a, 26b et 27) et 7707 (8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19, 20, 22, 24, 25, 26, 28, 32, 33, 34 et 38). À ces opuscules, on ajoutera encore quelques autres, découverts par Basile Markesinis, qui restent inédits: un *Syllogisticum*, un petit texte présent dans un florilège dyothélite; les *Responsiones ad Theodosium Gangrensem* et les *Capita V spiritualia* (Supplément à la CPG 7707 [37, 38 et 39]); finalement, nous avons nous-même trouvé un petit fragment centré sur la double *δειλία* et attribué à Maxime dans le *Florentinus, Mediceus-Laurentianus, plut. VIII, 20*, du x<sup>e</sup> siècle (Supplément à la CPG 7707 [40]).

Depuis longtemps, on savait que la paternité maximienne d'un florilège byzantin généralement connu sous le nom de *Loci Communes* (CPG 7718), doit être rejetée; aujourd'hui, on a le luxe de disposer de deux éditions critiques de cette anthologie: celle du Père Étienne Sargologos (n° 1369) et celle, monumentale, de Sibylle Ihm (n° 1345), qui a également préparé

un bon nombre d'études de détail sur ce florilège, qui semble être transmis dans trois rédactions différentes, l'une courte (I), l'autre longue (II) et la troisième à l'ordre altéré (III), laquelle dépend de la version II et est compilée à la fin du <sup>x</sup><sup>e</sup> ou au début du <sup>xi</sup><sup>e</sup> siècle. Malheureusement, dans ces deux éditions, l'identification des fragments cités laisse parfois à désirer; donc, dans ce domaine, il reste encore beaucoup à faire.

En 1986, feu le Père Michel-Jean van Esbroeck a publié une *Vie de la Vierge*, uniquement conservée dans 12 manuscrits géorgiens et constituant un traité mariologique (n° 802); cette Vie a été traduite du grec vers 980 par Euthyme l'Hagiorite; l'attribution de cette œuvre à Maxime, défendue par l'éditeur, a été critiquée par d'autres érudits, tels E. M. Toniolo (n° 930; voir également l'état de la question fait par A. Nichols [n° 1006, p. 111-119]); plus récemment, Simon C. Mimouni (n° 1180A) et Stephen J. Shoemaker (les n°s 1517A et 1541) ont repris la question de l'authenticité sans toutefois pouvoir porter un jugement définitif; une étude approfondie du vocabulaire de cet ouvrage s'impose nettement; elle permettra peut-être de prendre une décision à ce sujet.

À la fin de ce survol des œuvres attribuées à Maxime, il est nécessaire de s'arrêter brièvement sur les scholies au *Corpus Areopagiticum*. Jadis, on attribuait l'intégralité de ces scholies à Maxime et on avait tendance à surévaluer l'influence dionysienne sur notre auteur. Mais cette thèse est aujourd'hui abandonnée: certains érudits ne lui attribuent plus qu'une toute petite partie des scholies, tandis que d'autres lui en refusent entièrement la paternité. La tradition manuscrite grecque de cette œuvre disparate est abondante – nous avons dressé une liste d'une centaine de témoins grecs –; heureusement, un travail détaillé sur l'ensemble des scholies en général et sur l'apport de Jean de Scythopolis en particulier, est à signaler aujourd'hui: ce livre est dû à Paul Rorem et à John C. Lamoireaux, qui donnent également une traduction, partielle il est vrai (n° 1241). Les scholies reviennent à plusieurs auteurs, dont le plus important est sans aucun doute Jean de Scythopolis (première moitié du <sup>vi</sup><sup>e</sup> siècle; *CPG* 6852); ces scholies de Jean datent d'entre 537 et 543. Il s'agit de l'œuvre à laquelle

Maxime doit sa popularité dans l'Occident médiéval et moderne. Beate Regina Suchla à qui on doit également une étude récente (n° 1564), prépare l'édition de l'ensemble des scholies, à paraître dans la belle série *Patristische Texte und Studien*.

Laissons maintenant derrière nous les ouvrages maximiens et pseudo-maximiens, et passons aux documents qui nous informent sur la vie de l'auteur. La chronologie traditionnelle de la vie de Maxime le Confesseur est basée sur ses œuvres – surtout sa correspondance – et sur une recension de la Vie grecque du saint (*BHG* 1234), laquelle daterait du milieu du x<sup>e</sup> siècle, puisqu'il semble qu'elle ait puisé à une vie de Théodore Stoudite (759-826; *BHG* 1755). La Vie syriaque de Maxime, écrite par Georges de Reshaina – ce contemporain de Maxime était un monoénergiste convaincu – et éditée par S. Brock, en 1973, d'après un manuscrit du vii<sup>e</sup> siècle, a radicalement mis en doute cette chronologie. En raison de l'antériorité de cette seconde Vie, un bon nombre de spécialistes contemporains étaient plutôt tentés de faire confiance aux données qu'on lit dans cette Vie et qui portent surtout sur l'enfance et l'éducation de Maxime, et ceci malgré le caractère fondamentalement anti-maximien de cette source. Dans ses publications multiples (voir, par exemple, le n° 1439), Jean-Claude Larchet, grand connaisseur de saint Maxime, a formulé un bon nombre de réserves à propos de la Vie syriaque. Récemment, nos connaissances ont progressé de manière considérable; en effet, on avait attendu avec impatience l'édition critique de tous les documents relatifs à la vie de Maxime; en 1999, enfin, a paru l'édition critique de ces textes, établie par une équipe australienne (Pauline Allen et Bronwen Neil; cf. le n° 1253A de notre bibliographie), ce qui a permis de préciser un bon nombre de données biographiques; quelques années plus tard, en 2002, le texte grec de cette édition a été repris, par les mêmes auteurs, accompagné d'une traduction anglaise (n° 1381); dans deux articles (les n°s 1367 et 1498 de notre liste), Bram Roosen a apporté des précisions et relevé de nouveaux témoins, très partiels il est vrai, de la *Disputatio cum Theodosio* et de la *Relatio motionis*. À ce dossier appartiennent les textes suivants: la *Lettre de Maxime à son disciple*

*Anastase, dit le Moine* (CPG 7701); la *Lettre envoyée par Anastase le Moine aux moines de Cagliari* et conservée seulement dans la traduction latine d'Anastase le Bibliothécaire (CPG 7725); l'*Adversus Constantinopolitanos* (CPG 7740); l'*Epistula ad Theodosium Gangrensem* d'Anastase l'Apocrisiaire, où sont racontées les dernières souffrances de Maxime et d'Anastase le Moine (CPG 7733); la *Relatio motionis* (CPG 7736) et la *Disputatio cum Theodosio* (CPG 7735), comptes rendus pris sur le vif par Anastase l'Apocrisiaire des interrogatoires qu'a subis Maxime le Confesseur respectivement à Constantinople devant le tribunal impérial, vers 655-656, et à Bizya, en Thrace, non loin de Constantinople, en 656 (l'actuelle Vize, sur la frontière bulgaro-turque); l'*Hypomnesticum*, attribué à Théodore Spoudée, l'ami du pape Martin I<sup>er</sup> (CPG 7968). C'est à Bronwen Neil que reviennent plusieurs contributions relevant l'importance de quelques éléments biographiques (voir les n<sup>os</sup> 1263 et 1538, ainsi que les publications 1360, 1537 et 1537A).

Il y a ensuite les différentes recensions de la Vie grecque; voici les versions les plus importantes: la *recensio prima*, inédite, qui semble être la version originale de l'œuvre (BHG 1234); la *recensio secunda* (également BHG 1234; pour l'édition, voir la PG 90, 68-109, ainsi que les quelques lignes supplémentaires éditées par Robert Devreesse [voir n<sup>o</sup> 132 de notre bibliographie]); la *recensio tertia* (également BHG 1234) contenant la *Relatio motionis* et la *Disputatio cum Theodosio*, et éditée, provisoirement il est vrai, par Pauline Allen et Bronwein Neil en 2003 (n<sup>o</sup> 1446 de notre bibliographie); la *recensio Mosquensis* (BHG 1233m), éditée, à deux reprises, au début du 20<sup>e</sup> siècle; la *recensio Atheniensis* (BHG 1233n), inédite. On prépare une édition critique de toutes ces versions pour la *Series Graeca* du *Corpus Christianorum*; de plus, le Dr. Bram Roosen a préparé une longue contribution permettant de voir clair dans les liens qui unissent toutes ces recensions de la vie grecque de Maxime (à paraître dans *Byzantion* 80 [2010]).

L'importance des sources géorgiennes pour la vie de Maxime, a été étudiée, à plusieurs reprises, par Lea Khoperia; on lira tout particulièrement son article paru en 2003 (n<sup>o</sup> 1437).

On croyait ainsi avoir pu tirer tout ce qu'on pouvait de ces documents, pour esquisser la vie de Maxime ; on se trompait, comme l'a démontré notre collègue Christian Boudignon qui, dans son article de 2004 (n° 1466 de notre liste), fait l'étude de toutes les personnes qui se trouvent dans les *Lettres* de Maxime, dans les documents biographiques mentionnés ci-dessus, et dans la section des signataires des Actes du Concile de Latran (649) ; de tous ces témoins ressort clairement que Maxime est étroitement lié à la Palestine, à Alexandrie et à l'Afrique byzantine, bien plus qu'à la capitale et à sa région, ce qui confirme les données fournies par la Vie syriaque ; cette orientation semble être corroborée par le fait que son *Computus Ecclesiasticus* défend le système chronologique d'Alexandrie, considéré comme la chronologie ecclésiastique traditionnelle (voir ci-dessus).

Jusqu'ici, on a surtout parlé des textes dans leur état original. Mais les traductions modernes, qui ont paru ces dernières années, deviennent de plus en plus importantes dans ce monde où la maîtrise des langues anciennes ne va plus de soi. Beaucoup de chercheurs se sont aventurés dans la traduction de tel ou tel ouvrage maximien, ce qui n'est pas chose facile. La plupart de ces traductions ont été faites sur la version de la *Patrologia Graeca*, malheureusement, et très rarement sur base d'une édition critique existante. Parmi les traductions, on relèvera tout spécialement celles, nombreuses, qui ont été faites dans une des langues des Balkans ou en russe, ce qui témoigne de l'intérêt pour la pensée de Maxime dans le monde orthodoxe actuel. Pour tous les détails, consulter notre liste bibliographique. On notera également que, dans la nouvelle série *Corpus Christianorum in Translation*, paraîtra la traduction de quelques œuvres maximiennes (par exemples celle des *Ambigua ad Thomam* par les soins de J. Lollar).

L'œuvre de Maxime le Confesseur est d'une richesse et d'une complexité si grandes qu'on comprend facilement que les jugements les plus divers aient pu être portés sur elle. Impressionné par les genres littéraires de ses ouvrages, gloses, sentences, chapitres, questions et réponses, commentaires fourmillant de réminiscences diverses, on a réduit Maxime,



jusqu'au milieu du siècle dernier, à un théologien peu original, un compilateur. À partir des publications de Hans Urs von Balthasar (voir surtout sa *Kosmische Liturgie*, n° 319 de notre bibliographie), on a abandonné cette opinion dépréciative. D'une part, on admet qu'il se trouve au confluent de plusieurs courants et qu'il a subi des influences diverses; mais, en même temps, on se rend compte de l'originalité et de la profondeur de sa pensée, qui s'avère être une synthèse de courants divers, une somme remarquable. L'importance de von Balthasar pour l'appréciation de la pensée maximienne s'est traduite par la réédition, en anglais, de son chef-d'œuvre, malgré les défauts qu'il contient (*Cosmic Liturgy* [n° 1461 de notre bibliographie]); plusieurs érudits ont étudié récemment les liens qui unissent von Balthasar et Maxime (voir les n°s 1196, 1336 et 1470).

Les thèmes fondamentaux de la théologie maximienne, qui n'a pas encore livré tous ses secrets, ont fait l'objet de plusieurs études qui ont paru ces dernières années; on ne citera ici que quelques monographies importantes, celle d'Assad E. Kattan (sur la méthode exégétique de Maxime), d'Adam G. Cooper (sur la notion du corps), de Melchisedec Törönen (sur les notions d'union et différence), de Demetrios Bathrellos (la christologie) et de Philipp Gabriel Renczes (la liberté de l'homme et l'agir de Dieu). On notera également la masse de dissertations et de livres parus en Grèce.

Tous ceux qui désirent disposer d'une introduction générale à la vie et à la pensée maximiennes, peuvent consulter avec profit les n°s 1165, 1249, 1294, 1316, 1417, 1419, 1439, 1513 et 1529.

#### CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA

##### À LA BIBLIOGRAPHIE PUBLIÉE EN 1998-1999

16: lire p. 1-112 et non p. 1-110.

99: de ce livre il existe une réimpression anastatique, parue à Moscou en 1996 et reprise en 2003.

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### *Summary*

This article, which continues a previous overview published in *Sacris Erudiri* 38 (1998-1999), p. 485-573 (*Maxime le Confesseur. État de la question et bibliographie exhaustive*), presents the recent developments for the research into the works and the theology of Maximus the Confessor (580-662).

# Der Kommentar des „Erkanbert“ zum Johannes-Evangelium Ein Beitrag zur Verfasserschaft, Quellenfrage und Textkritik

von  
Petrus W. TAX  
(Durham, NC)

## 1. Einleitendes

Die Erforschung der Bibelexegese der Karolingerzeit zeigt mehrere Zeichen eines neuen Aufschwungs. Bislang unedierte Texte werden veröffentlicht<sup>1</sup>, alte Ausgaben erscheinen in neuer, oft kritischer Gestalt<sup>2</sup> und umfassende Quellenstudien<sup>3</sup> sowie Übersichten über exegetische Werke zu einem gewissen

<sup>1</sup> Z.B. die *Expositio super Genesim*, Turnhout, 1999 (CCCM, 136), die der Herausgeber, Burton Van Name Edwards, Remigius von Auxerre zuschreibt, wie auch ein anonymes Kommentar *In Matthaum*, hg. von B. Löfstedt, ebenda, 2003 (CCCM, 159) und die *Expositio super Librum generationis* des Christianus dictus Stabulensis, hg. von R. B. C. Huygens, ebenda 2008 (CCCM, 224); mehrere neue Ausgaben exegetischer Werke, z.B. von Haimo und Remigius von Auxerre sowie von Walafrid Strabo, sind in Vorbereitung.

<sup>2</sup> Etwa Ambrosius Autpertus, *Expositionis in Apocalypsin libri X*, hg. von R. WEBER, Turnhout, 1975 (CCCM, 27 und 27A) und Pascasius Radbertus, *Expositio in Lamentationes Hieremiae libri V*, hg. von B. PAULUS, ebenda, 1988 (CCCM, 85).

<sup>3</sup> So Silvia CANTELLI BERARUCCI: *Hrabani Mauri opera exegetica: Repertorium fontium* (3 Bände, Turnhout, 2006). Ein Quellenkommentar zu Otfrids von Weissenburg muttersprachlichem *Evangelienbuch* (vollendet um 870) wird von Ernst Hellgardt (München) vorbereitet.

Buch der Bibel<sup>4</sup> sehen das Licht der Welt. Auch Teilveröffentlichungen<sup>5</sup> auf dem Gebiet der Bibelexege bringen Übersehenes und Vernachlässigtes ans Licht.

Von vornherein ist festzustellen, daß das karolingische Zeitalter im allgemeinen kaum an Originalität und daher an originaler Bibelexegese interessiert war; kam es doch dieser eminent rückgewandten Epoche vor allem darauf an, das „alte Wahre“ der biblischen und patristischen Lehre und Exegese hinüberzuretten und zu bewahren, teilweise auch, um es dann neu, etwa gegen Ketzerströmungen oder in dogmatischen Anliegen und für eine „Renaissance“, auch im christlichen Glauben, einzusetzen. Dabei konnte – schon aus pädagogischen, aber auch aus wirtschaftlichen Gründen, man denke nur an die Kosten des Pergaments – nicht vermieden werden, daß gewisse, sehr umfangreiche Werke wie etwa Augustins *Enarrationes in Psalmos* oder sein Johannes-Kommentar verkürzt und vereinfacht wurden; andere exegetische, einen gegebenen Text nicht durchgehend kommentierende Werke wie die *Commentariorum in Mattheum libri IV* des Hieronymus<sup>6</sup> wurden aus anderen Quellen oder aus Eigenem ergänzt, z.B. durch Hrabanus Maurus in seinem Matthäus-Kommentar<sup>7</sup>; noch andere wurden aus Anleihen aus mehreren einschlägigen Texten sehr unselbständig kompiliert<sup>8</sup>. Oft gab es eine Ten-

<sup>4</sup> Etwa Gérard DE MARTEL: *Répertoire des textes Latins relatifs au livre de Ruth* (VII-XV<sup>e</sup> s.), Steenbrugge, 1990 (*Instrumenta patristica*, 18). Michael M. Gormans Übersicht über die Kommentare zum Buch Genesis von Isidor von Sevilla bis Hrabanus Maurus ist im Erscheinen.

<sup>5</sup> Michael M. Gorman hat in den letzten Jahren mehrere Teileditionen vorgelegt, z.B.: „Wigbod, Charlemagne’s Commentator: The *Quaestiuunculae super Euangelium*“, *Revue Bénédictine*, 114 (2004), S. 5-74, „The Commentary on the Gospel of John by Haimo of Auxerre“, ebenda, 115 (2005), S. 61-111, und „The Commentary on the Gospel of Mark by Haimo of Auxerre in Vat. lat. 651“, in *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Vaticanae* 13, Vatikanstadt, 2006 (*Studi et Testi*, 433), S. 195-239; siehe auch seinen unten in Teil 2 genannten Aufsatz, den ich kritisch unter die Lupe nehmen werde.

<sup>6</sup> Hg. von D. HURST und M. ADRIAEN, Turnhout, 1958 (*CCSL*, 77).

<sup>7</sup> Hg. von B. LÖFSTEDT, Turnhout, 2001 (*CCCM*, 174-174A).

<sup>8</sup> Zu denken ist hier z.B. an die *Glossae in Matthaeum*, hg. von C. GRIFONI, Turnhout, 2003 (*CCCM*, 200), die von der Herausgeberin Otfrid von Weidenburg zugeschrieben werden.

denz, den Quellen entnommene Passagen, aber auch weite Textpartien zu paraphrasieren oder umzuformulieren und zu vereinheitlichen, so z.B. im Kommentar zum Evangelium des Matthäus des Sedulius Scottus<sup>9</sup>. Insgesamt steigt die Technik der Kompilation selten genug zu einer verfeinerten und originellen *ars combinatoria* hinauf; zu denken wäre an die sehr umfangreiche *Expositio in Matheo libri XII* des Pascasius Radbertus<sup>10</sup> und später an das dichterische, in einem althochdeutschen (südrheinfränkischen) Dialekt verfaßte *Evangelienbuch* Otfrids von Weißenburg († um 870), der seine Quellen sehr frei verwendet, dann auch an mehrere Werke Notkers des Deutschen (III. oder Labeo; † 1022), der in seinem Psalter (aber auch in seiner Bearbeitung von Boethius' *De consolatione Philosophiae* und seiner Erklärung der *Nuptiae Philologiae et Mercurii* des Martianus Capella) nicht nur die Übernahmen aus mehreren Quellen oft schöpferisch kombiniert und erweitert, sondern seine Exegese auch zum großen Teil auf eine pädagogisch gut durchdachte Weise in einer lateinisch-alemanischen Mischsprache darbietet.

All diese Texte beruhen mehr oder weniger auf früheren Quellen. Die Eruierung der Quellen gehört zu den Erfordernissen einer guten Textausgabe, denn der Leser hat ein Recht zu wissen, auf welchen Grundlagen ein jeder Text aufgebaut wurde. Deren Studium kann wenig interessant sein in den Fällen, wo Worte, Sätze, Passagen oder gar ganz Abschnitte wörtlich übernommen und aneinandergereiht werden; es wird aber meistens faszinierend, wenn ein Exeget freier und teilweise selbständig mit seinem Material umgeht. Das Maß an Selbständigkeit ist jeweils ein wichtiges Kriterium zur Beurteilung der exegetischen Leistung. Es ist aber ein Unterschied zwischen einer gewissen Selbständigkeit und Originalität.

Das karolingische Zeitalter war auch auf vielen Gebieten stark pädagogisch veranlagt; im Hinblick auf exegetische Werke bedeutet das, daß man beachtete, eine so deutliche und einprägsame Prosa wie möglich zu schreiben; das

<sup>9</sup> Hg. von B. LÖFSTEDT, 2 Bände, Freiburg i.Br., 1989-1991.

<sup>10</sup> Hg. von B. PAULUS, Turnhout, 1984 (CCCM, 56, 56A, 56B).

Geschriebene sollte optimal verstanden werden. Das hat Konsequenzen für die Herausgabe von Texten. Denn wo ein Passus oder eine Stelle, sogar wenn mehrere Handschriften zur Verfügung stehen, undeutlich, ja sinnlos bleibt oder eine syntaktische Fügung aufweist, die sehr hart ist, wird man zögern, das dem Autor zuzuschreiben. Man wird in solchen Fällen vielmehr an Überlieferungsfehler (Abschreibe-, Mitschrift- oder Diktierfehler) denken, die den nicht (ganz) richtigen Text verschuldet haben. Auch dies ist ein Grund, die Quellen zu den Kommentaren ausfindig zu machen, denn sie erlauben zumindest eine Kontrolle der von ihnen abhängigen karolingischen Texte und bieten mit etwas Glück auch eine Chance, sie besser zu verstehen oder gar einleuchtend zu emendieren. Obwohl die Ansetzung einer Emendation oder gar einer Crux bei schwer verständlichen oder gar fehlerhaften Texten in manchen neueren Textausgaben selten geworden ist, kann eine solche Angabe sehr nützlich sein, als Herausforderung wirken und – manchmal leicht – zu einem besseren Text führen. Es ist keine Schande, Konjekturealkritik zu treiben und eventuell auch mehr oder weniger einleuchtende Emendationen vorzuschlagen.

## 2. *Erkanbert und Rudolf. Die Frage nach den Quellen*

In seinem Aufsatz: „From the classroom at Fulda under Hrabanus Maurus: The Commentary on the Gospel of John Prepared by Ercanbertus for his *Praeceptor Ruodolfus*“, *Augustinianum*, 44 (2004), S. 471-502, hat Michael M. Gorman drei Teile eines bisher unedierten Johannes-Kommentars des Erkanbert († 846) abgedruckt.

Mit diesem Kommentar hat es eine besondere Bewandnis: Die etwas größere erste Hälfte besteht eigentlich aus Erkanberts Mitschrift der Vorlesung seiner Lehrers Rudolf von Fulda, die er dann (end)redigiert und veröffentlicht hat. „Up to John 13.34-35 it consists mainly of an student's transcript of what his teacher, Ruodolfus, said in the classroom, [...]. After John 13, 34-35 Ercanbertus completed the work with the help of Ruodolfus' notes and other material“ (Gorman,



S. 476f.). Da der erste Teil bloß eine anscheinend getreue<sup>11</sup> Redaktion von Rudolfs Werk durch Erkanbert ist, der zweite aber weit mehr eine mehr oder weniger umfassende Ausarbeitung von Rudolfs Notizen durch Erkanbert darstellt, wäre es zutreffender, den ersten Teil doch als den Johannes-Kommentar Rudolfs zu bezeichnen, nur den zweiten als den des Erkanbert(-Rudolf). Auch aus Raumgründen werde ich deshalb unten die beiden Teile als Rudolf-, bzw. Erkanbert-Kommentar bezeichnen.

Gorman druckt von dem ersten Teil des Johannes-Kommentars – nach einem eigenen, von Erkanbert stammenden Vorspann – Rudolfs Text zu Johannes, Kap. 1, 1-31 (S. 485-496), dann den zu Kap. 13, 31-38 mit dem Übergang am Schluß (S. 496f.), schließlich den Text zu dem Ende des Johannesevangeliums, Kap. 21, 15-25, nach der Fassung des Erkanbert (S. 498-502). Während er aber den Erkanbert-Kommentar zu Kap. 21 mit einem reichhaltigen *apparatus fontium* versieht, heißt es zum Rudolf-Teil: „The first portion of Ercanbertus’ commentary (up to John 13) seems to be a rare example of a commentary that is not dependent on sources. [...] The comments Ruodolfus made on John 1.1-31 are presented below (see Appendix, pp. 488-496) and I have read through the text up to John 13 without noting any verbatim citation from Augustin’s *Tractatus in euangelium Ioannis* or any other work. [...] In short, Ercanbertus’ commentary, at least up to John 13.35, seems to be an original work“ (S. 480f.).

Gormans Originalitätsthese im Hinblick auf Rudolfs Johannes-Kommentar ist prinzipiell zu befragen. Wie oben angedeutet wurde, ist von vornherein kaum zu erwarten, daß Rudolf, ein Zeitgenosse des Hrabanus Maurus im selben Fulda, wie frei er auch seinen Vorlagen gegenüberstehen mag, anders vorgegangen sein würde als fast alle Zeitgenossen, einschließlich des Erkanbert. Denn wenn Erkanbert seine Quellen nach den Angaben seines Lehrers benutzt, wird auch die-

<sup>11</sup> Erkanbert schreibt in der *Praefatio* ausdrücklich: *Scripsi autem, ut ab ore uestro (sc. Ruodolfi) accepi, nihil addendo uel minuendo, in quantum me emula non retardauit obliuio*, [...] (S. 485, Z. 27f.). Der auffällige Ausdruck *emula non retardauit obliuio* wirft die *memoria*-Frage auf: Was hat Erkanbert getan, um nichts zu vergessen bzw. sich genau zu erinnern?

ser sie herangezogen, studiert und für den eigenen Gebrauch exzerpiert und dann für seinen Kommentar verwendet haben. Auf jeden Fall wird es nötig sein, sorgfältig zu untersuchen, was für und welche Quellen der karolingische Exeget heranzog und, falls solche gefunden werden, sie eventuell auch für eine Erhellung von Stellen zu benutzen, falls diese nicht (ganz) in Ordnung zu sein scheinen; auch ein anderes Licht kann eine gewisse Deutung klarer sehen lassen, vor allem wenn die Vorgehensweisen verschieden sind. Da bislang vom Rudolf-Teil nur der von Gorman gedruckte Text vorliegt, wird in diesem Beitrag nur darauf eingegangen werden, d.h. auf den Kommentar zu Kap. 1, 1-31 und Kap. 13, 31-38.

### 3. *Die Homiliae über die Evangelien Gregors und Bedas als Quellen*

Es waren natürlich zu jener Zeit auch in Fulda die Standardkommentare zum ganzen Johannesevangeliums von Augustin und Alkuin vorhanden. Aber große Teile dieses Evangeliums wurden auch behandelt in den *Homiliae* zu den Evangelienperikopen Gregor des Großen (40 Predigten) und Bedas (50 Predigten); beide Sammlungen waren schon in karolingischer Zeit sehr beliebt und weit verbreitet<sup>12</sup>. Es trifft sich, daß der von Gorman abgedruckte Rudolf-Teil zu Kap. 1, 1-31 auch von Beda und Gregor in ihren *Homiliae* zu den Evangelien erklärt wird: Kap. 1, 1-14 in Beda, *Hom.* I, 8; Kap. 1, 15-18 in Beda, *Hom.* I, 2; Kap. 1, 19-28 in Gregor, *Hom.* 7 und Kap. 1, 29-34 in Beda, *Hom.* I, 15<sup>13</sup>. Wir werden also unser

<sup>12</sup> Raymond Étaix, der Herausgeber der mustergültigen neuen Edition von Gregors *Homiliae in Euangelia*, Turnhout, 1999 (CCSL, 141), stellt in der Einleitung fest: „Les Homélies sur l’Évangile du pape Grégoire le Grand ont été un best-seller durant tout le moyen âge“ (S. XIII). Dies gilt, wenn auch in geringerem Maße, auch für Bedas Evangelienpredigten. Zumindest Gregors Predigten wurden im Mittelalter auch bei der klösterlichen Tischlesung vorgetragen.

<sup>13</sup> Für Gregors Predigten benutze ich die CCSL-Ausgabe, für Beda die Edition *Homeliarum Euangelii libri II*, hg. von D. HURST, ebenda, 1955 (CCSL, 122). Da der Herausgeber die Interpunktion der Texte im Satzinneren weithin dem Leser überläßt, habe ich es für zweckdienlich gehalten, einige Male Interpunktionszeichen anzubringen.

Augenmerk besonders einerseits auf die Kommentare Augustins und Alkuins<sup>14</sup>, andererseits auf die einschlägigen Predigten Gregors und Bedas richten.

Eingangs sei darauf hingewiesen, daß Rudolf gleich zu Anfang zur Ketzerei des Arius folgenden, treffend formulierten Text bringt: Qui (Arius) ad confirmandam sui erroris dementia sic coniectus est: Si Christus natus est, erat tempus quando ille non erat (S. 488, Z. 128-130); diese Formulierung findet sich aber wörtlich schon in Bedas *Homilia* I, 8: Fuere namque heretici qui dicerent, si ergo natus est Christus, erat tempus quando ille non erat (S. 53, Z. 37f.). Etwas weiter sagt Rudolf über eine andere Ketzerei in einer gleichfalls einprägsamen Formulierung: *Et uerbum erat apud deum*. Haec dictio errorem destruit Sabellii [...] sic dicentis: Deus quando uult pater est, quando uult filius, quando uult spiritus sanctus (S. 489, Z. 138-141); auch dies steht genauso eingängig bereits bei Beda, und zwar zweimal, in den Predigten I, 8: Item fuere heretici qui tres sanctae trinitatis personas esse negantes dicerent, idem Deus quando uult pater est, quando uult filius est, quando uult spiritus sanctus est, ipse tamen unus est. Quorum destruens errorem subiungit: *Et uerbum erat apud Deum* (S. 53, Z. 46-50), und, wie bei Rudolf mit Namensnennung<sup>15</sup>, auch II, 24: Porro Sabellius, non sunt, inquit, duo

<sup>14</sup> Ich benutze Augustins *Tractatus in Iohannis Euangelium* CXXIV, hg. von R. WILLEMS, Turnhout, 1954 (CCSL, 36), die von Alkuins *Commentaria in S. Ioannis Euangelium* in PL 100, Sp. 733 (743)-1008. Wie schon lange bekannt (siehe die Anmerkungen in der PL-Ausgabe, etwa Sp. 743f., 749, 750, 753, 755, 929-931), ist Alkuins Kommentar vor allem einerseits eine verkürzende Bearbeitung von Augustins *Tractatus*, andererseits für die entsprechenden Perikopen auch eine Adaptierung der Homilien Gregors und Bedas, wobei regelmäßig ganze Passagen wörtlich übernommen werden. Wie unten deutlich werden wird, hat Rudolf die Werke all dieser vier Exegeten gekannt und herangezogen. Bei wörtlichen Entsprechungen läßt sich meistens nicht ausmachen, ob Rudolf z.B. Augustin oder Alkuin benutzt hat. In solchen Fällen gebe ich beide Quellen an, die zweite in Klammern mittels „=“. Falls die Übernahme aus einer Quelle gedanklich freier und bloß ähnlich ist, deute ich das durch das Tilde-Zeichen „~“ an.

<sup>15</sup> Die Namen der Häretiker Arius, Photinus und Sabellius mit ihren Hauptlehren waren auch leicht in Isidors *Etymologiae*, VIII.v.37, 42, 43 (hg. v. W. M. LINDSAY, 2 Bände, Oxford, 1911) zugänglich. Der Name Eutychius (S. 489, Z. 145) aber kommt weder in Bedas Predigt II, 24 noch in

personae patris et filii confitendae, sed ipse pater quando uult pater est, quando uult filius est, idem tamen unum est (S. 362, Z. 165-168). Und zur Ketzerei des Photinus sagt Rudolf: *Et deus erat uerbum*. In hoc Fotini uincitur uesania, qui ausus est dicere Christum non deum, sed purum hominem fuisse S. 489, Z. 142f.); wiederum bei Beda II, 24: Fotinus enim dicit, Christus homo est tantum, Deus non est. At cum ipse dicat, *Ego et pater unum sumus*, manifeste patet quia unum cum Deo patre substantialiter homo purus esse non potest (S. 362, Z. 154-157); vgl. auch ohne Namensnennung in I, 8: Item fuere quidam prauī dogmatis auctores qui Christum hominem tantum confitentes, Deum prorsus esse non crederent. Quos consequenter obprimit cum ait: *Et Deus erat uerbum* (S. 54, Z. 55-58).

Bereits aus diesen Stellen geht m.E. klar hervor, daß Rudolfs Kommentar wörtliche Zitate enthält, und solche Fälle legen den Gedanken nahe, daß schon Gormans Konzept der „*verbatim citation*“ – er hat nicht erklärt, was er als „*verbatim citation*“ betrachtet, wie ein solches Zitat aussehen und wie umfangreich es sein soll – irgendwie zu eng ist. Weiterhin dürfte schon aus diesen Beispielen deutlich geworden sein, daß Passagen zumindest aus dieser in Bedas Sammlung vorne stehenden Predigt I, 8 und der vorletzten II, 24 als Quellen für Rudolf in Betracht kommen und daß er höchstwahrscheinlich Bedas ganze Sammlung gekannt hat. Da man den Eindruck gewinnt, daß Gorman die Begriffe „*verbatim citation*“ und „*source*“ als praktisch identisch betrachtet, sei kurz ausgeführt, daß der herkömmliche Begriff „Quelle“ weit mehr umfassen kann als nur ein wörtliches Zitat. Was wird traditionell als eine Quelle betrachtet?

Alle handschriftlich überlieferte biblische Exegese ist Literatur; sie ist zum Lesen oder Vorlesen bestimmt. Diese Literatur kann von einfacher Gebrauchsprosa (wie z.B. in den Kommentaren, die sich als *glossae* verstehen) bis zu rhetori-

Isidors Enzyklopädie vor. Rudolf wird ihn in einem der vielen antiketzerischen Traktaten der Väterzeit gefunden haben; vgl. auch den Index alphabeticus s.v. Eunomiani, Eunomius in Heinrich DENZINGER, *Enchiridion symbolorum, definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum*. [...] Editio 31. Barcelona, Freiburg i.Br., usw., 1960, S. [61].

scher und hochstilisierter Kunstprosa (etwa bei Pascasius Radbertus), gelegentlich auch Poesie (Sedulius, Otfrid von Weidenburg) reichen. Bei einer literarischen Quelle handelt es sich auch in der Exegese um zwei Texte, einen früheren gebenden und einen späteren nehmenden. Falls der spätere Text ein auffälliges Wort, ein unerwartetes Bild, einen treffend formulierten Passus aufweist oder auch ein bemerkenswertes Zitat vor allem aus der Bibel bringt, die so – ganz oder weit hin – auch in dem früheren vorhanden sind, beruhen solche Übernahmen auf dem gebenden Text als deren Quelle, insofern natürlich angenommen werden kann, daß der Verfasser des späteren Textes den früheren gekannt hat. Eine solche Übernahme kann wörtlich sein („*verbatim citation*“), umformuliert wörtlich (mit deutlichen verbalen Entsprechungen), aber auch gedanklich, also mehr oder weniger frei und selbständig formuliert. Worauf es ankommt, ist der Befund, daß der ausformulierte spätere Text ohne den in Worten, Bildern, Zitaten und Gedanken ausgedrückten früheren (die Vorlage) nicht gut gedacht werden kann: Würde Rudolf in den obigen Beispielen gesagt haben was er sagt und wie er es sagt, ohne Rekurs auf Bedas Predigten?

Neben deutlichen Quellen kann es im späteren Text auch weitere Spuren aus dem früheren geben: Anklänge, Echos, Similien, usw.; sie können mit etwas Glück als weitere Argumente für den schon angenommenen Quellentext als Vorlage gelten oder man kann sie als nicht stringent genug verwerfen. Bei solchen Zweifels- und Grenzfällen sollte das Ja oder Nein dem Urteil der Forscher(innen) überlassen werden, was aber von den Editoren von Texten verlangt, daß sie alle sicheren und wahrscheinlichen, aber auch die bloß möglichen Übernahmen zumindest verzeichnen.

Im folgenden gebe ich noch einige weitere, charakteristische Beispiele für Rudolfs Rezeption von Stellen zunächst aus Bedas, dann auch aus Gregors Predigten über die Evangelien und (in einem weiteren Abschnitt) aus den Kommentaren des Augustin und Alkuin. Es ist nicht meine Absicht und auch nicht nötig, das Ganze aufzuarbeiten.

Zu Beda: Anläßlich Joh. 1, 4: *Et uita erat lux hominum*, formuliert Beda: *Homines namque [...] percipere sapientiam*

possunt, animalia non possunt. Sed et *animalis* quicumque est *homo non percipit ea quae sunt spiritus Dei*. Vnde bene [...] subiunxit et de his qui ab humanae conditionis honore procul recedentes, comparati sunt iumentis insipientibus et similes facti sunt illis [...]: *Et lux*, inquit, *in tenebris lucet*, [...] (S. 54f., S. 90-98). Bei Rudolf heißt es: *Et hominum lux* illa esse dicitur, quia illi solummodo inter omnia mortalia animantia sunt capaces sapientiae. Hic tamen homines ratione utentes intellegendi sunt, quia ut apostolus ait, *Animalis homo qui non percipit ea quae sunt spiritus* <deo> (so; lies <dei>), immo brutorum animalium more inhoneste uiuens inter illa numeratur, ut psalmista testatur, *Homo cum in honore esset non intellexit, comparatus est iumentis insipientibus et similis factus est illis* (S. 489f., Z. 161-168). Obwohl Rudolf hier mehrmals freier formuliert, ist sein Gedankengang deutlich bei Beda vorgeprägt; auch die Gemeinsamkeit der beiden Bibelzitate, bzw. -anspielungen (I Cor. 2, 14 und Ps. 48, 13) zeigt, daß Beda die Quelle für Rudolf war.

Im Zusammenhang mit dem *lux*-Motiv in Joh. 1, 5 fährt der Text fort: *Et tenebrae eam non comprehenderunt*; dazu Beda: *tenebrae autem stulti sunt et iniqui, quorum caeca praecordia lux aeternae sapientiae qualia sint manifeste cognoscit, quamuis ipsi radios eiusdem lucis nequaquam capere per intelligentiam possint, ueluti si quilibet caecus iubare solis obfundatur, nec tamen ipse solem cuius lumine perfunditur aspiciat* (S. 55, Z. 98-106; = Alkuin, Sp. 746C). Rudolfs Auslegung lautet: *Mundi amatores Christum nequaquam comprehenderunt, cum ipsi sint ab illo comprehensi, quorum facta atque consilia cordium, ut dixi, suo rimetur intuitu, ueluti caecus sub ardenti lumine solis ductus luce circumfunditur, ipsam tamen uidere minime ualet* (S. 490, Z. 172-176). Auch hier formuliert Rudolf recht frei, der Gedankengang ist aber wiederum weiterhin identisch: das Unverständnis (*tenebrae*) der sündigen Menschheit wird beide Male auffälligerweise kontrastiert mit dem Allwissen (*lux*) Christi bzw. der göttlichen *sapientia*. Merkwürdig ist aber in beiden Fällen vor allem das *caecus*-Motiv<sup>16</sup>; es wird *exaggerative* und fast paradoxal eingesetzt, da ein Blinder, der ja kein natürliches Licht sehen kann, schon

<sup>16</sup> Vgl. Augustin: Ergo, fratres, quomodo homo positus in sole caecus,

gar kein göttliches erblicken könnte, eigentlich also, wenn konfrontiert mit dem göttlichen Licht, doppelt blind ist. Rudolf hat das Motiv offensichtlich übernommen, dabei aber etwas vereinfacht, indem er das Moment des übernatürlichen Lichts: das Wissen Gottes als ewige Weisheit (*lux aeternae sapientiae*), ausläßt.

Zu Joh. 1, 11 bemerkt Rudolf: Et hoc nota, lector, quod prius dicitur *in mundo erat* ac postea infertur *in propria uenit*. Christus enim in mundo per diuinitatem erat, qui in tempore induere uoluit humanitatem. Venire namque et abire est humanitatis, manere et esse diuinitatis (S. 491, Z. 203-207). Die Quelle bei Beda ist evident: In propria uenit, quia in mundo, quem per diuinitatem fecit, per humanitatem natus apparuit; [...] In mundo ergo erat et in mundum uenit. In mundo erat per diuinitatem, in mundum uenit per incarnationem. Venire quippe uel abire humanitatis est, manere et esse diuinitatis (S. 56, Z. 159-166; = Alkuin, Sp. 747C-D).

Zu Gregor: Anlässlich Joh. 1, 20-22 heißt es über Johannes den Täufer bei Rudolf: Hic ostenditur illius beatissimi uiri magna humilitas mentis. [...] Christum se quod non erat negauit, uox quod erat confessus est. Inquisitus an esset Helias, respondit, *Non*. Et hic quoque nascitur inquisitio. Interrogatus a discipulis Dominus de Heliae aduentu dicit, *Helias iam uenit*, et *Si uultis recipere*, Iohannes *ipse est Helias*. Mirum est hoc quod ueritas dicit, praeco ueritatis contradicit, sed nulla erit contradictio, si Lucas ducatur in medium qui de hoc eodem Iohanne scribit dicens, *Ipse praecedet ante illum in spiritu et uirtute Heliae*. Ecce saluator discipulis Iohannem *in spiritu* Heliam esse testatur. Iohannes autem personae denegat unitatem (S. 493f., Z. 293-305). In Gregors 7. *Homilia* lautet die Exegese: Ex huius nobis lectionis uerbis, fratres carissimi, Iohannis humilitas commendatur, [...] *Nam confessus est et non negauit, confessus est quia non sum ego Christus*. Sed qui dixit *non sum*, negauit plane quod non erat, sed non negauit quod erat, ut ueri-

praesens est illi sol, sed ipse soli absens est; sic omnis stultus, omnis iniquus, omnis impius, caecus est corde. Praesens est sapientia, sed cum caeco praesens est, oculus eius absens est (S. 11, 19, Z. 6-10). Obschon hier schon das *caecus*-Motiv vorliegt, fehlt der Zug des göttlichen Verstehens.

tatem loquens eius membrum fieret, cuius sibi nomen fallaciter non usurparet<sup>17</sup>. [...] ex huius nobis lectionis uerbis quaestio ualde implexa generatur. Alio quippe in loco inquisitus a discipulis Dominus de Eliae aduentu respondit: *Elias iam uenit* [...] *Et si uultis scire, Iohannes ipse est Elias* (Matth. 17, 12). Requisitus autem Iohannes dicit: *Non sum Elias*. Quid est hoc, fratres carissimi, quia quod Veritas affirmat, hoc propheta Veritatis negat? Valde namque inter se diuersa sunt *Ipse est* et *Non sum*. [...] Sed [...] hoc quod inter se contrarium sonuit, quomodo contrarium non sit, inuenitur. Ad Zachariam namque de Iohanne angelus dicit: *Ipse praecedet ante illum in spiritu et uirtute Eliae* (Luc. 1, 17). [...] Iohannes igitur in spiritu Elias erat, in persona Elias non erat. Quod ergo Dominus fatetur de spiritu, hoc Iohannes denegat de persona (S. 46f., 1, Z. 1-8; 13-25; 29-31). Im Falle dieser von beiden erfolgreich gelösten Aporie ist es kaum denkbar, daß Rudolf unabhängig von Gregor auf denselben Beweisgang mit denselben Argumenten und denselben Bibelziten gekommen wäre. – Gregor formuliert gleich nach dem obigen Lukas-Zitat: Qui idcirco uenturus est in spiritu et uirtute Eliae dicitur, quia sicut Elias secundum Domini aduentum praeueniet, ita Iohannes praeuenit primum (ebenda, Z. 25-27). Bei Rudolf heißt es: *In spiritu* Iohannes Helias erat, quia sicut iste instruendo populos secundum, sic ille priorem officio simili Christi peruenit (so; lies: praeuenit) aduentum<sup>18</sup> (S. 494, Z. 306f.). Und etwas weiter sagt Gregor zu Joh. 1, 23 (S. 47, 2, Z. 46-49; = Alkuin, Sp. 753D): Qui etiam in deserto clamat, quia derelictae destitutaeque Iudaeae solacium redemptionis annuntiat. Quid autem clamat insinuat cum subiungit: *Dirigite uiam Domini, sicut dixit Isaias propheta* (40, 3). Rudolf: Clamauit Iohannes, hoc est, instanter praedicauit. *In deserto*, hoc est, in populo Iudaeorum, qui ob hoc nuncupatur desertum quod a deo sit in non custodiendo praecepta mosaica derelictus. Iussitque ut Esaias dixit, *Viam domini dirigere* (S. 494, Z. 316-320). Die verbalen

<sup>17</sup> Nur bis hierher = Alkuin, Sp. 753C.

<sup>18</sup> Die Lesart *peruenit* würde ein *ad* verlangen, aber *peruenire* paßt nicht in diesen Kontext. In beiden Fällen handelt es sich um die Auffassung, daß Elias (zusammen mit Enoch) noch vor dem Jüngsten Gericht (= *secundus Domini* bzw. *Christi aduentus*) erscheinen wird.



Entsprechungen sind deutlich genug, wenn auch Rudolf das Übernommene anpaßt und umformuliert.

Auch das auffällige Bild, das Gregor zu Joh. 1, 23 benutzt, um das Vorgehen des Täufers zu verdeutlichen: *Et ex ipsa uestra locutione cognoscitis quia prius uox sonat, ut uerbum postmodum possit audiri. Iohannes ergo uocem se esse asserit, quia Verbum praecedit* (S. 47, 2, Z. 41-44; = Alkuin, Sp. 753D), findet sich abgewandelt und erweitert auch bei Rudolf: *Omne uerbum ut uniuscuiusque loquela prodit, sonus uocis auditur, priusquam intellegatur. Et conuenienter Iohannes uocem se esse dixit, quia Christum qui uerbum patris est, nascendo, praedicando ac baptizando praecessit [...]* (S. 494, Z. 312-315). Was bei Gregor (und/oder Alkuin) primär als eine Sprech- und Hörfolge (*uox – uerbum*) erscheint, wird von Rudolf wohl vielmehr zunächst als eine Folge von Hören oder (lautem) Lesen, dann Verstehen aufgefaßt; anschließend wird die *uox* typologisch als Johannes selbst gedeutet, der durch sein Leben und Wirken dasjenige Christi, der das *uerbum patris* ist, als Erfüllung vorwegnimmt<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> Auch im Erkanbertschen Teil des Kommentars kann man den Text auf Grund der Quellen einige Male emendieren. Zu Joh. 21, 16 heißt es, daß es nicht abwegig ist, si quis nomine Iohannis domum (so) supernae gratiae mystice indicatum uelit accipere, denn die Etymologie des Namens Johannes ist *dei gratia* (S. 498, Z. 458-461). Doch paßt das Wort *domum*, 'Haus', nicht in den Kontext und ist auch grammatisch nicht gut möglich, da das Substantiv *domus* ja weiblich ist, so daß man auch ein *indicatam* bräuchte. Man wird also eher an einen Schreibfehler denken und eine Form *donum* ansetzen. Dieser ganze Passus findet sich fast wörtlich auch bei Alkuin, und zwar mit dem zu erwartenden *donum* (Sp. 1001A); Alkuin aber hat diese Stelle seinerseits genau so aus Bedas Predigt II, 22 übernommen, allerdings hat merkwürdigerweise auch die CSSL-Ausgabe hier das nicht passende *domum* (S. 342, Z. 21, und zwar ohne eine andere Lesart im Apparat, daher wohl kaum als *lectio difficilior*). – Etwas weiter wird ausgelegt, daß das *pascere oues* die Verpflichtung beinhaltet, den Glauben der *credentes* zu festigen und zu vermehren, *secularis quoque subsidiis eos quantum ualeat adiuuare* (S. 499, Z. 482-485; siehe auch S. 483, oben). Da die Form *secularis* (Nominativ oder Genitiv der Einzahl) syntaktisch in der Luft zu hängen scheint, ist wohl vielmehr *secularibus* zu lesen. Nun steht dieser Erkanbert-Passus genau so bei Alkuin in der PL-Ausgabe (Sp. 1002B); dort findet sich auch die Form *saecularibus*. Falls allerdings das *secularis* in allen Handschriften vorkommt, wäre es vielleicht doch als *lectio difficilior* beizubehalten, aber dann als Ablativ der Mehrzahl aufzufassen.

#### 4. Die Johanneskommentare Augustins und Alkuins als Quellen

Es wäre verwunderlich, wenn Rudolf nichts aus den Standardkommentaren Augustins und Alkuins zum Johannes-Evangelium rezipiert hätte, während Erkanbert diese Kommentare – wie Gormans Quellenapparat, S. 498-502, sorgfältig belegt – reichlich benutzt hat.

Zu Joh. 1, 12 heißt es bei Augustin: *Quotquot autem receperunt eum*: Quid eis praestitit? Magna beneuolentia. Magna misericordia. Vnicus natus est, et noluit manere unus. [...] Vnicum eumdem ipsum [...] misit in hunc mundum, ut non esset unus, sed fratres haberet adoptatos [...]: quos sibi fratres facere uolebat, ipse soluit, et fecit coheredes (S. 17, 13, Z. 1-16). Zu derselben Stelle erklärt Rudolf: Hic inmensa benignitas saluatoris exprimitur. Qui cum unicus filius esset, patri per omnia coaequalis semetipsum *exinaniuit*, *formam serui accipiens* (Phil. 2, 6), ut de terris plures sibi fratres congregaret, quos in caelesti patria coheredes habere potuisset (S. 491, Z. 212-216). Der grundlegende Gedankengang ist der gleiche, aber Rudolf verkürzt Augustins ausführliche Darlegung einerseits, andererseits verdeutlicht er sie, u.a. durch das Paulus-Zitat. Ähnlich verhält es sich bei der folgenden Stelle: Zu Joh. 1, 29 lautet die Auslegung bei Rudolf: Hic *agnus* dicitur, quia innocens, quia mitis, quia ab omni carnis pollutione extitit immunis. Et ideo solus aptus tollere peccata mundi (S. 495, Z. 367-369); bei Augustin: Si agnus innocens, et Iohannes innocens. [...] Sed quis innocens? quantum innocens? [...] Solus ergo ille Agnus, qui non sic uenit. Non enim in iniquitate conceptus est, [...] quem uirgo concepit, uirgo peperit. [...] Non habet iste traducem de Adam; carnem tantum sumsit de Adam, peccatum non assumsit. Qui non assumsit de nostra massa peccatum, ipse est qui tollit nostrum peccatum (S. 26, 10, Z. 9-21).

Rudolf sagt zu Joh. 13, 31f.: [...] ut statim exponendo subiunxit, dicens, *Si deus clarificatus est in eo*, hoc est, si deus clarificatus est in eo qui non uenit facere uoluntatem suam, sed qui misit illum. *Et deus clarificauit* (so) *eum in semetipso*, ut natura humana in qua est filius hominis quae a uerbo aeterno suscepta est etiam inmortali aeternitate donetur (S. 496, Z. 395-

400). Man vergleiche Augustin: Denique tamquam illa exponens, adiungit, et dicit: *Si Deus clarificatus est in eo*, [...] Hoc est: *Si Deus clarificatus est in eo*, quia non uenit facere uoluntatem suam, sed uoluntatem eius qui misit illum; *et Deus clarificabit eum in semetipso*, ut natura humana in qua est filius hominis, quae a Verbo aeterno suscepta est, etiam immortalis aeternitate donetur (S. 487, 3, Z. 5-12; = Alkuin, Sp. 930A).

Ein faszinierendes Beispiel von Rudolfs selbständiger Rezeption ist eine neue Etymologie. Etymologisches Denken war im Mittelalter weit verbreitet. Trotz der Kodifizierung sehr zahlreicher Etymologien durch Isidor von Sevilla behielten mehrere mittelalterliche Exegeten sich die Freiheit vor, andere Etymologien zu erdenken; die Absicht dabei war oft, einem Interpretament einen besonderen Nachdruck zu verleihen. Obwohl Isidor das Wort *lex* mit Recht von *legere* ableitet: Nam *lex* a legendo vocata, quia scripta est (V.iii.2), sagt Rudolf zu Joh. 1, 17: *Lex* a ligando dicitur quod magis reos facere quam poenis absoluere solita sit, [...] (S. 493, Z. 270f.). Obwohl die Verbindung zwischen *lex* und *ligare* einige Male belegt ist (z.B. Ambrosius, In Luc. 7, 1. 2046: *lex* enim ligauit sibi, ut absoluere cupiditatibus; Hrabanus, In Mat. 2, S. 139, Z. 86: *lex* ergo quodammodo ligatio est), findet sich, soweit ich sehe, nur bei Augustin die Kombination von *lex*/*ligare* und *reus*: *Missa lex est, ligauit eum* (den Kranken = Sünder); *inuenit se reum, iam clamat de ligatura. Venit Dominus, curat amaris aliquantum et acris medicamentis*; [...] *Expauescas quamuis ligatus; liber ille et non ligatus bibit quod tibi dabat* (S. 47, 14, Z. 7-13). Schon die Wortechos *ligare* und *reus* legen nahe, daß Augustins Text die Quelle für Rudolf war; auch ist das gedankliche Motiv der Sündenvergebung durch Christus bei beiden identisch. Und Rudolf als Lehrer war gewiß mit Isidors Standardetymologie von *lex* vertraut; Augustins Andeutung hat anscheinend seine eigene suggeriert.

Einige weitere Beispiele können zusammen mit dem Nachweis von Rudolfs Abhängigkeit auch zeigen, wie ein nicht ganz stimmender Text mit Hilfe einer Quelle verbessert werden kann. Zu derselben Stelle, Joh. 13, 31f., heißt es bei Ru-

dolf nach Gorman: *Sicut enim in mundo proditore exeunte mundi cum domino remanserunt, sic erit in illa clarificatione aduentus sui secundi, [...]* (S. 496, Z. 388-390). Augustin sagt zu derselben Stelle: *Ille (Judas) quippe exierat, propter quem dictum erat eis: Et uos mundi estis, sed non omnes. Exeunte itaque immundo, omnes mundi remanserunt, et cum suo mundatore manserunt* (S. 487, Z. 22-25; ~ Alkuin, Sp. 929C-D). Nun kommt es nicht selten in mittelalterlichen Handschriften vor, daß Kleinwörter wie etwa Präpositionen an ein folgendes Wort angeschrieben werden, umgekehrt dann kurze Vorsilben durch ein Spatium vom folgenden Wortteil getrennt erscheinen. Auch hier ist deutlich genug Augustins (und/oder Alkuins) Passus die Quelle für Rudolf. Es kann vor allem in diesem Kontext – man beachte bei Augustin wie auch Alkuin das auf dem biblischen *mundi* beruhende Wortspiel mit *mundus*, *immundus* und *mundator* – nicht bezweifelt werden, daß Rudolf *inmundo proditore exeunte* gemeint hat und nicht *in mundo*; denn von der „Welt“ ist hier nicht die Rede, abgesehen davon, daß der *magister* Rudolf wohl kaum den Ablativ bei *in mundo* (statt *in mundum*) *exire* benutzt hätte.

Weiter lautet der Rudolf-Text anläßlich Joh. 13, 34: *Mandatum nouum do uobis, quod est aperte dicere, post hoc mandatum innouari uos uolo, [...]* Non igitur putet aliquis maius praeceptum quod est dilectio dei. Hic est omnino praetermissum. Nam horum alterum in altero semper impletur (S. 497, Z. 419-423). Aber dieser Passus erscheint teilweise als undurchsichtig, denn der Sinn des Satzes: „Non ... dilectio dei“, ist unklar und „Hic est omnino praetermissum“ hängt bedeutungsmäßig und syntaktisch in der Luft. Augustin schreibt zu dieser Stelle: *Nolite itaque, fratres mei, putare in hoc quod ait Dominus: Mandatum nouum do uobis, ut uos inuicem diligatis, illud maius esse praetermissum mandatum, quo praecipitur, ut diligamus Dominum Deum nostrum ex toto corde, ex tota anima, ex tota mente, tamquam enim hoc praetermisso uidetur dictum: ut diligatis inuicem, uelut hoc ad illud alterum non pertineat, quo dictum est: Diliges proximum tuum tamquam teipsum* (S. 491, Z. 51-492, 9; nicht bei Alkuin). Das heißt, daß das Gebot der Liebe zum Mitmenschen von dem höheren und daher durchaus nicht zu übergehenden der Gottesliebe

eingeschlossen wird und beide sich gegenseitig ergänzen und erfüllen. Nicht nur ist dieser sehr christliche Gedanke identisch bei beiden Exegeten, sondern die Wortechos zeigen auch, daß Augustin die Quelle für Rudolf war. Im Lichte dieser Passage bei Augustin liest Rudolfs Text sich, bloß anders interpungiert, einwandfrei so: Non igitur putet aliquis: Maius praeceptum, quod est dilectio dei, hic (= *hic* ‘hier’) est omnino praetermissum.

Alkuins Johannes-Kommentar beruht für Kap. 1, 1-31 hauptsächlich auf den Predigten Bedas und Gregors, die wir oben schon auch als Rudolfs Quellen herangezogen haben<sup>20</sup>. Bei dem Übergangsteil zu Joh. 13, 31-38 basiert Alkuin auf Augustins *Tractatus*, die er aber stark verkürzt, dabei auch (aus Eigenem?) erweitert. Bei dieser Lage mehrerer möglichen Quellen für Rudolfs Text läßt sich nicht immer entscheiden, auf welchen Quellentext Rudolf sich bezieht. Ein gutes Kriterium ist die Anwesenheit von Plusstellen entweder in dem Quellentext, sagen wir im Falle Augustins<sup>21</sup>, Bedas oder Gregors im Vergleich mit Alkuin, oder in dem übernommenen Text, z.B. bei Alkuin im Vergleich mit Augustin, Beda oder Gregor. Wenn eine solche Plusstelle auch bei Rudolf vorhanden ist, lag der Text mit der Plusstelle sehr wahrscheinlich Rudolf vor. Wegen einiger Plusstellen, die soweit ich sehe, nur bei Alkuin vorkommen, dann aber auch bei Rudolf, unterliegt es kaum einem Zweifel, daß Rudolfs Quelle hier (auch) Alkuin war.

Zu Joh. 13, 31f. sagt Rudolf: *Cum ergo exisset usque clarificabit eum*. Praesenti<sup>22</sup> pro futuro uerbo usus est aliquid figuraliter ostendens. Sicut [...], sic erit in illa clarificatione aduentus sui

<sup>20</sup> Wenn Alkuin wörtlich Passagen aus Augustin übernimmt, kann jeder von beiden die Quelle für Rudolf sein oder auch beide. Ja, solche wörtlichen Entsprechungen in den Vorlagen stellten wohl in vielen Fällen für den karolingischen Exegeten eine Anregung dar, die Kette der Autoritäten um ein weiteres Gelenk, sein eigenes nämlich, zu verlängern.

<sup>21</sup> Eine solche – von Rudolf benutzte – Plusstelle findet sich schon bei Augustin im obigen Beispiel zu Joh. 13, 34: *Mandatum nouum do nobis*.

<sup>22</sup> Da hier weder in der Bibel noch bei Augustin oder Alkuin eine Praesenzform *clarificat* (oder *clarificatur*) vorkommt, ist (mit Alkuin) zu *Praeterito* zu emendieren.

secundi, quando separabitur ad comburendum zizania, et triticum in horreum, celeste<sup>23</sup> perpetualiter cum domino mansurum congregabitur, [...] (S. 496, Z. 387-392); Alkuin: Tale aliquid erit, [...] cum zizaniis a tritico separatis, *justi fulgebunt sicut sol in regno Patris sui* (Matth. 13, 45). De hac clarificatione futura sanctorum locuturus, verbo praeteriti temporis est usus (Sp. 929C-D; ~ Augustin S. 487, 2, Z. 25-31; die Angabe zum Tempuswechsel ist bei Augustin nur angedeutet). Und etwas weiter heißt es bei Alkuin: [...] tunc illum Deus in se clarificat. Denique tanquam ista exponens, adjungit et dicit: *Si Deus clarificatus est in eo, et Deus clarificabit eum in semetipso*. Hoc est, *si Deus clarificatus est in eo*, qui non venit facere voluntatem suam, sed voluntatem eius qui misit eum (Sp. 930A; = Augustin, S. 487, 3, Z. 3-9). Nicht viel anders drückt Rudolf sich aus: Si enim ipso<sup>24</sup> non in *semet ipso*, sed deus in illo clarificetur, tunc illum deus in se clarificat ut statim exponendo subiunxit, dicens, *Si deus clarificatus est in eo*, hoc est, si deus clarificatus est in eo qui non uenit facere uoluntatem suam, sed qui misit eum (S. 496, Z. 394-397). Die sechs Zeilen, die bei Rudolf folgen, sind wörtlich fast ganz identisch mit dem, was anschließend bei Alkuin (= Augustin) steht. Aber nur bei Alkuin findet sich zu Joh. 13, 38 über die angekündigte Verleugnung Christi durch Petrus – eine Plusstelle also: Hic admonere oportet, ne quis de suis viribus confidat, dum ad unius ancillae vocem tanta titubat columna; nec de suis desperare peccatis (Sp. 931D). Bei Rudolf (aber vielleicht ist es schon Erkanbert) heißt es sehr ähnlich, aber etwas persönlicher: Admonemur etiam in hoc ne aliquis nostrum de uiribus propriis aliquando confidat, cum meminerimus tam ualidam ad unius ancillae uocem titubasse columnam, nec de sua salute quisquam desperet (S. 497, Z. 437-440).

<sup>23</sup> Es ist natürlich *horreum celeste* (ohne Komma), ‘himmlische Vorrats-’ oder ‘Speisekammer’, zu lesen.

<sup>24</sup> Lies mit Augustin und Alkuin *ipse* (Subjekt).

5. *Ars combinatoria*

Ein schönes Beispiel dafür, daß Rudolf sowohl Worte wie Gedanken aus mehreren Quellen kombiniert, ist seine Auslegung von Joh. 1, 16, wo er auf eine biblische *uaria lectio* stieß. Die eine Version: *et de plenitudine eius nos omnes accepimus gratiam pro gratia*, die andere: [...] *accepimus et gratiam pro gratia*. Rudolf bevorzugt anscheinend die Fassung ohne *et*, aber er geht auch kurz auf die mit *et* ein. Bedas Auslegung beruht auf der Version ohne *et*, Augustins auf der mit *et*, Alkuins (wie Rudolfs) auf beiden.

Daß Rudolf hier Beda gekannt hat, geht aus mehreren Entsprechungen hervor, vor allem aber aus mindestens einem wörtlichen Zitat. Rudolf sagt: *In homine Christo habitat omnis plenitudo diuinitatis corporaliter* (S. 492, Z. 257f.); Beda: *Plenus quippe erat dominus spiritu sancto, plenus gratia et ueritate, quia sicut apostolus ait: In ipso habitat omnis plenitudo diuinitatis corporaliter* (S. 8, Z. 36-38)<sup>25</sup>. Da Beda das *et* nicht hat, handelt es sich bei ihm um zwei Gnaden, die aus der *plenitudine eius* (= Christi) hervorgehen: [...] euangelista [...] ait: *Gratiam pro gratia*. Geminam ergo nos gratiam accepisse testatur, unam uidelicet in praesenti, alteram in futuro; in praesenti quidem *fidem quae per dilectionem operatur*, in futuro autem uitam aeternam (S. 9, Z. 69-73). Auch Rudolf hat diese zwei Gnaden: den Glauben und das ewige Leben, wenn er auch anscheinend<sup>26</sup> etwas freier formuliert: *Ab illa plenitudine accepimus gratiam pro gratia*, hoc est, aeternae praemium retributionis pro accepto fidei dono quod etiam ab illo datur (S. 492, Z. 261-263).

<sup>25</sup> Beda zitiert also diese sehr zutreffende Bibelstelle aus dem Kolosserbrief (2, 9) als Argument für seine Auslegung – ein weiterer Grund, weshalb Rudolf das Zitat bei Beda übernommen hat, und zwar, da er es wohl als biblisch erkannt hat, wörtlich.

<sup>26</sup> Etwas weiter umschreibt Beda diese Gnade der *uita aeterna* als *mercedem uitae aeternae*, als *supernae beatitudinis praemia* und als *gratiam beatae remunerationis* (S. 9, Z. 90, 94, 97f.). Mit seinem *aeternae praemium retributionis* bietet Rudolf eine weitere, die anderen kombinierende Variante desselben Begriffs des ewigen Lebens.

Die Version mit *et*: *Et de plenitudine eius nos omnes accepimus, et gratiam pro gratia* führt bei Augustin zu einer dreifachen Gnade, zuerst: [...] id est, accepimus, ut nescio quid nos uoluerit intellegere de plenitudine eius accepisse, et insuper gratiam pro gratia. [...] Quam gratiam primo accepimus? Fidem (S. 24, 8, Z. 5-11). Die zweite und dritte: Quid est ergo: *gratiam pro gratia*? Fide promeremur Deum; et qui digni non eramus quibus peccata dimitterentur, ex eo quia tantum donum indigni accepimus, gratia uocatur. [...] Consecutus autem istam gratiam fidei, eris iustus ex fide. *Iustus enim ex fide uiuit* (Rom. 1, 17); et promereberis Deum uiuendo ex fide: cum promerueris Deum uiuendo ex fide, accipies praemium immortalitatem, et uitam aeternam (S. 24f., 9, Z. 1-3 und Z. 10-14). Und etwas weiter, aber auch etwas anders: Ergo, fratres, *omnes de plenitudine eius* accepimus: de plenitudine misericordiae eius, de abundantia bonitatis accepimus. Quid? Remissionem peccatorum, ut iustificaremur ex fide (S. 25, 10, Z. 18-21). Alkuin übernimmt zunächst Bedas Fassung ohne *et* und zitiert dann wörtlich seine Zweiteilung: *fides* und *uita aeterna*, das Zitat wie oben: Geminam [...] uitam aeternam (Sp. 751A). Anschließend legt er auch die Version mit *et* aus, wobei er Augustins Gedanken verknüpft übernimmt, aber auch anders kombiniert: Aliquid primo de plenitudine ejus accepimus; et postea gratiam pro gratia, id est, de plenitudine ejus accepimus remissionem peccatorum; et gratiam, id est, vitam aeternam, pro gratia fidei, quae per dilectionem operatur. [...] Quid ergo accepimus de plenitudine bonitatis illius? Scilicet remissionem peccatorum, ut iustificemur in fide. Insuper quid? Et gratiam pro gratia, id est pro gratia, in qua ex fide vivimus, recepturi sumus aliam. Quid tamen, nisi gratiam? hoc est, vitam aeternam (Sp. 751B-C). Während Augustin zunächst die Dreistufung hat: Glaube – Sündenvergebung – ewiges Leben, später aber: Sündenvergebung – Glaube – *ewiges Leben*, erscheint bei Alkuin nur Augustins spätere Reihenfolge: Sündenvergebung – Glaube – ewiges Leben<sup>27</sup>. Bei Rudolf findet sich für die Version mit *et* nur: Quidam codices habent, *et gratiam pro gratia*. Huic interpositae

<sup>27</sup> Vielleicht denkt Augustin zunächst vor allem an in einem relativ jun-



coniunctionis (= das Bindewort *et*) iste sensus aptatur. *De plenitudine accepimus*, subaudias remissionem peccatorum, et pro illa perpetuae uitae coronam<sup>28</sup> (S. 492, Z. 264-267). Hier haben wir also doch eine Zweiteilung. Das ist im Lichte der Exegese Augustins und Alkuins etwas überraschend. Vielleicht verstand Rudolf das *et* etwas unlogisch als ‘und zwar’. Er mag auch in Gedanken die *fides* unter der *remissio peccatorum* als deren Voraussetzung subsumiert haben. Oder Erkanbert hat seinen Lehrer nicht ganz richtig verstanden und beim Mitschreiben etwas ausgelassen oder verändert. – Im Rudolf-Text ist daher S. 492, Z. 257 das *et* auszulassen oder einzuklammern, und der letzte Abschnitt ebenda ist an den vorletzten anzuhängen, da er die Deutung (*sensus*) des *et gratiam pro gratia* enthält.

Obwohl die Exegese Rudolfs in seinem ersten Teil des Johannes-Kommentars nicht ohne wörtliche Zitate und andere Übernahmen aus den Quellen auskommt, ist sie im Vergleich mit mehreren anderen karolingischen Werken relativ selbständig. Der Exeget und *magister* Rudolf wird wohl seine ursprünglichen Exzerpte aus den ihm zur Verfügung stehenden Vorlagen regelmäßig angepaßt und umformuliert, vielleicht sogar, da er auch selber über die Texte des Evangeliums meditiert haben wird, etwas umstilisiert und uminterpretiert haben. Doch hat obige Untersuchung deutlich gezeigt, daß er, wie zu erwarten, die Predigten zu den Evangelien des Gregor und Beda wie auch die Standardkommentare Augustins und Alkuins nicht verschmäht hat. Es wird also nicht überraschen, wenn sich herausstellt, daß Rudolfs Exegese auch in der noch unedierten Partie seiner Johannes-Auslegung weiterhin auch auf den Gesamtkommentaren und den Predigten beider Kirchenväter basiert; bei letzteren handelt es sich um Gregors Homilien 28 zu Joh. 4, 46-53; 18 zu 8, 46-59 und 14 zu 10,

gen Alter getaufte Kinder, dann an bekehrte Erwachsene, Alkuin nur an letztere Gruppe.

<sup>28</sup> Im Hinblick auf das Substantiv *corona* sei erwähnt, daß sowohl Augustin (S. 25, 10, Z. 17 und 24) wie Beda (S. 9, Z. 91 und 92f.) in diesem Kontext des ewigen Lebens das Zeitwort *coronare* benutzen, wobei Beda auch Ps. 102, 4 zitiert: *Qui coronat te in miseratione et misericordia*.

11-16 sowie die Bedas I, 16 zu Joh. 1, 35-42; I, 17 zu 1, 43-51; I, 14 zu 2, 1-11; II, 1 zu 2, 12-22; II, 18 zu 3, 1-16; I, 23 zu 5, 1-18; II, 2 zu 6, 1-14; I, 25 zu 8, 1-12; II, 24 zu 10, 22-30; II, 4 zu 11, 55-12, 11 und II, 5 zu 13, 1-17.

Stichproben ergeben, daß Erkanbert in seinem Textteil seine Auslegungen weithin wörtlich aus den Quellen kompiliert hat. Da Rudolf anscheinend weit unabhängiger mit seinen Vorlagen umgeht, würde eine genaue Erforschung des Problems, wie er seine Quellen in seinem Textteil benutzt, vorrangig sein. Vor allem die Edition von Rudolfs ganzem Textanteil an diesem Johanneskommentar bleibt daher ein Desiderat der Forschung.

### *Summary*

The first half of "Erkanbert's" commentary on the Gospel of John consists of his classroom notes taken from lectures by his teacher Rudolf of Fulda, the second half of Erkanbert's own elaboration of materials provided by Rudolf. The recent partial edition of this commentary by Michael M. Gorman covers Rudolf's exegesis of John's Gospel, ch. 1. The editor claims that the Rudolf part doesn't show any "verbatim citations" from previous exegesis and is therefore to be considered an original work. A comparison with the *homiliae* devoted to John's gospel in the Gospel *homiliae* collections by Gregoy the Great and the Venerable Bede as well as with the standard commentaries on John's Gospel by Augustine and Alcuin shows that Rudolf relies on this previous exegesis, not only in several striking „verbatim citations“, but also in a number of paraphrases of passages from these exegetical sources. Since Rudolf apparently knew and used these materials, the edited text can also be corrected and improved at places. Although Rudolf's commentary uses his sources at several places relatively independently, his is not an original exegetical work.

# Eine moralische Tierdichtung des 12. Jahrhunderts

VON

Carsten WOLLIN

(*Buchholz in der Nordheide*)

Jede allgemeine Wahrheit verhält sich zu den speciellen wie Gold zu Silber; sofern man sie in eine beträchtliche Menge specieller Wahrheiten, die aus ihr folgen, umsetzen kann, wie eine Goldmünze in kleines Geld. ... Eben so werthvoll sind die allgemeinen Wahrheiten im Moralischen, im Psychologischen: wie golden ist doch auch hier jede allgemeine Regel, jede Sentenz der Art, ja, jedes Sprichwort. Denn sie sind die Quintessenz tausender von Vorgängen, die sich jeden Tag wiederholen und durch sie exemplificirt, illustriert werden.

Arthur Schopenhauer

*Parerga und Paralipomena* 2, 1, 2, § 22

In der Betrachtung der Natur, des Verhaltens der Tiere, der Weisheit der Bibel und des Volkes fand ein namenloser Mönch, vermutlich im 12. Jahrhundert, immer wieder Gemeinsamkeiten mit dem Verhalten der Menschen. Seine Gedanken formulierte er in kurzen rhythmischen Strophen, welche er sammelte und zu einem Gedicht von insgesamt 66 Strophen zusammenstellte. Dieses Gedicht sah er selbst wohl weniger als Kunstwerk denn als Weg zu Erkenntnis. Daher tritt er als Persönlichkeit ganz hinter seinem Werk zurück, indem er darauf verzichtet, seinen Namen zu nennen oder dem Gedicht einen klangvollen Titel zu verleihen. Herrenlos und ohne zureichende Edition ist das Gedicht der modernen Mediävistik so gut wie unbekannt geblieben. Selbst die von mir

vorgenommene Einordnung als „Tierdichtung“ ist eine Verlegenheitslösung und trifft nur eine Seite des bunten Inhalts.

Die hier vorgelegte Ausgabe der anonymen Dichtung *Absit suspicio* (WIC 196) ist keine Editio princeps, denn die Exzerpte der Handschrift *P* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 15155) im Umfang von 15 Strophen wurden schon zum Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts mehrmals abgedruckt und beinahe alle Strophen des Gedichts sind, allerdings durch die alphabetische Ordnung auseinandergerissen, in Hans Walthers *Proverbia sententiaeque Latinitatis medii aevi* verzeichnet. Trotzdem darf meine Arbeit für sich in Anspruch nehmen, nicht nur die erste textkritische und kommentierte Edition zu sein, sondern das Gedicht zum ersten Mal in seiner ursprünglichen Gestalt zu präsentieren. Auch eine Darstellung der verzweigten Überlieferung, vor allem aber ein Kommentar, der die vielfältigen Beziehungen zur sprichwörtlichen und naturkundlichen Literatur nachweist, standen bislang aus. Allein Gustav Gröber und Max Manitius widmen den Exzerpten eine kurze Erwähnung<sup>1</sup>, und selbst der wahrhaft monumentale *Thesaurus Proverbiorum Medii Aevi* kennt nicht mehr.

In der umfangreichsten Handschrift *W* (Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 901) umfasst unser Gedicht 66 rhythmische Strophen, welche in der Regel aus einer Bild- und einer Sinnhälfte bestehen. Das Bild kann eine naturkundliche Tatsache, ein Tier des *Physiologus*, ein Sprichwort, eine Fabel oder eine eigene Beobachtung des Verfassers sein, welches sodann moralisch auf die rechte Art der Lebensführung gedeutet wird. Als Beispiel stehe hier die Strophe über die Schwatzhafigkeit der Schwalbe. So wie das Gezwitz der Schwalben die Ruhe und den Schlaf der Menschen stört, so stört die dumme Geschwätzigkeit mancher Brüder die Ruhe der klösterlichen Gemeinschaft:

<sup>1</sup> Gustav GRÖBER, *Übersicht über die lateinische Litteratur von der Mitte des VI. Jahrhunderts bis zur Mitte des XIV. Jahrhunderts* (Grundriß der romanischen Philologie, hrsg. Gustav GRÖBER, II 1, Straßburg 1902, 97-432; Reprint München 1963) 383; Max MANITIUS, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, Bd. 3 (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 9.2.3; München 1931) 995.

<i>Stridor irundinum</i>	<i>quietem hominum</i>	<i>turbat et sompnivm.</i>
<i>Stulta loquacitas,</i>	<i>si frenum adimas,</i>	<i>turbat collegivm.</i>

(W 36)

Dem Werk ist ein Prolog von 4 Strophen vorangestellt, in welchem der Verfasser seine Absicht erklärt. Die übrigen 62 Strophen bilden jeweils in sich geschlossene Sinneinheiten. Ihre Reihenfolge gehorcht allein dem Prinzip der Variatio, ohne dass größere thematische Zusammenhänge zu erkennen wären. Auch hat der Verfasser wohl nicht beabsichtigt, das Gedicht mit einer rhetorischen Conclusio abzuschließen, denn er lässt es in W 66 unvermittelt mit einer Strophe über den Esel in der Löwenhaut enden.

### 1. *Autor und Entstehungszeit*

Der Autor und die genaue Entstehungszeit unserer Dichtung sind, wie schon gesagt, leider unbekannt. Die Handschriften überliefern weder den Namen des Verfassers noch einen Titel<sup>2</sup> und geben auch sonst keine Hinweise auf die Herkunft. Andere Testimonien sind bislang nicht bekannt geworden. Immerhin bietet der Einsatz der handschriftlichen Überlieferung um 1200 mit W und L (Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. 350) einen ungefähren Terminus ante quem.

Aus dem Gedicht selbst lässt sich kaum etwas über den Verfasser entnehmen. Doch ist bemerkenswert, welche moralischen Werte er in seinen Deutungen immer wieder betont: die Vergänglichkeit alles Irdischen (W 57 b), die Weltflucht (W 6 b) und die Warnung vor der Weltverfallenheit (W 29 b). Andere Strophen spielen auf die monastische Lebensführung an; genannt werden der Mönch (W 7 b) und der Heilige (W 11 b), die Vereinigung der Seele mit Jesus

<sup>2</sup> Allein die Handschrift G (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 7 Helmst.) überliefert den Titel „*Bona prouertia et similitudines prouerbiorum*“, der aber wegen seines beschreibenden Charakters und der Wortwiederholung mit Sicherheit nicht vom Dichter stammen wird, sondern von einem späteren Schreiber oder Sammler. Das gilt auch, wenn der Dichter selbst in W 3 a seine Strophen als *proueria* bezeichnet (*Ista proueria carent inuidia*).

(W 35 b) und die klösterliche Gemeinschaft (W 8 b, 9 b, 36 b). Daher ist es durchaus vorstellbar, dass der Dichter selbst ein Ordensgeistlicher war und zur Belehrung seiner Mitbrüder schrieb. Seine Absicht legt er im Prolog (W 1-4) dar. Er will sich darauf beschränken, das Verhalten der Menschen zu beschreiben, ohne es jedoch in boshafter und gehässiger Weise zu tadeln:

*Ista prouertia            carent inuidia,            carent et odio.  
Mores describimus,            neminem carpimus:            sic dictat ratio.*  
(W 3)

Sympathisch berührt es uns, wenn der Dichter sich selbst von der Kritik nicht ausnimmt und seine eigenen Fehler eingesteht. Er sieht in der Darstellung allgemeinen Fehlverhaltens eine Möglichkeit der Selbsterkenntnis:

*Me non hic prefero,            me quoque uulnero,            tantoque seuivs,  
In quantum propriam            cerno maliciam            á me secretivs.*  
(W 2)

Die lateinische Sprache beherrscht unser Dichter sicher, wenn auch sein Stil schlicht ist und auf rhetorischen Schmuck und poetischen Ausdruck verzichtet. Immerhin lassen die Bildungssplinter aus der antiken Literatur und die weitreichenden Kenntnisse in der Naturkunde auf eine gediegene Ausbildung schließen, vielleicht sogar auf ein Studium an den hohen Schulen. Auf Frankreich und eine Lektüre der modernen Dichter des 12. Jahrhunderts deuten einige sprachliche und inhaltliche Indizien: So wird in unserem Gedicht das Wort *turtur* auch als Femininum benutzt, wenn es allein die weibliche Turteltaube bezeichnet<sup>3</sup>, im Gegensatz zu den anti-

<sup>3</sup> Die zeitgenössischen Grammatiker notieren dies als Besonderheit der Moderni, vgl. Charles THUROT, *Extraits de divers manuscrits latins pour servir à l'histoire des doctrines grammaticales au Moyen Âge* (Paris 1869; Reprint Frankfurt am Main 1964) 114 (aus der Glossa Admirantes): *Sequitur questio, utrum „turtur“ sit communis generis uel epicibeni. Ad quod distinguendo dicat, quod hoc nomen „turtur“ dupliciter potest considerari: aut secundum artem editam a Prisciano et Petro Helia, et sic est in masculino genere solum, et significat rem utramque, et est epicibenum; et considerari potest per exemplum, per „hic“ et per „hec“ reperitur per predicata exempla, que modernitas habet, et sic est communis generis.*

ken Grammatikern<sup>4</sup>, die es als epizön betrachten, also sowohl das männliche als auch das weibliche Tier als maskulinum behandeln. Hierin folgt der Dichter dem Vorbild eines Theobaldus, Hugo Primas, Alanus de Insulis, Petrus Riga, Walter von Châtillon, Matthäus von Vendôme und anderer<sup>5</sup>:

*Post mortem socii            non nubit alii            turtur castissima.  
Que Christo iungitur,        numquam dissoluitur       mens fidelissima.*  
(W 35)

Damit erhalten wir die Jahre 1140-1160 als ungefähren Terminus post quem, so dass man, mit der gebotenen Vorsicht, die Entstehungszeit unseres Gedichts in der zweiten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts ansetzen darf.

Da sich weiterhin einige Sprichwörter als Übertragungen aus dem reichen Sprichwortschatz Frankreichs, den sogenannten *Proverbes du vilain*<sup>6</sup>, erweisen, liegt die Vermutung nahe,

<sup>4</sup> Prisc. gramm. 5, 20 (GL 2, 154-155) In 'ur', si sint propria uel deorum uel gentilia uel appellatiua auium uel fante 'ur' habentia, masculina sunt: 'Anxur', 'Astur', 'turtur', 'uultur', 'furfur' ... Petrus Helias bemerkt in seinem Prisciankommentar nur erklärend, dass *turtur* und *uultur* Vogelnamen sind; die Regel Priscians bestätigt er nur implizit (Leo REILLY [Hrsg.], *Petrus Helias, Summa super Priscianum*, 2 Bde. [Studies and Texts 113; Toronto 1993] 1, 352).

<sup>5</sup> Theobaldus Physiologus 12, 1-2 *Turtur inane nescit amare, | nam semel uni nupta marito | semper adibit cum simul ipso, | nocte dieque iuncta manebit*. Hugo Primas carm. 6, 21-22 *Vt solet absque mare turtur gemebunda uolare, | que semel orba pari nec amat neque curat amari*. Alan. Ins. Planct Nat. 2, 179-181 *Illic turtur, suo uiduata consorte, amorem epiligare dedignans in altero, bigamie refutabat solacia*. Petr. Riga Aurora Cant. 101 *Simplex est turtur, et dicitur esse pudica*. Galter. Castel. Vita s. Alexii 59, 2-4 *et ad modum turturis agere promitto: | que fraudata compari semel impedito, | non berebit amplius alii marito*. ib. 171, 1-2 *Ad exemplum turturis socio fraudate | adhuc in solempniis facta sum priuate*. Galter. Castel. Vita s. Brandani 25, 4 (wo als Alternativlesart in der Hs. auch *solinage* überliefert ist) *turturis solinagi legem eligentis*. Matth. Vindoc. ars uers. 1, 111, 131-132 *Turtur amica gemit, primo iurata marito, | continuatini pignus amoris amans*. Guilelmus Antidotum 57 (Thomas HAYE, *Das Antidotum des Magister Wilbelm: Eine rhythmische Werbeschrift für den jungen Grammontenserorden (ca. 1130/1140)*, in: Fs. Paul Gerhard Schmidt [München | Leipzig 2004] 401-426) *Turtur pari perditio gemit in remotis, | enolat et aufugit etiam a notis, | seruans castimoniam, quasi nexa uotis*. — S. u. den Kommentar zu W 35.

<sup>6</sup> Maßgeblich ist die Ausgabe von Joseph MORAWSKI, *Proverbes français antérieurs au xv<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Les classiques français du moyen âge 47; Paris 1925/2007). — Vgl. Elisabeth SCHULZE-BUSACKER, *Proverbes et expressions prover-*

dass der Dichter entweder aus Frankreich stammt oder zumindest dort studiert hat. Ich möchte nur einen zweifelsfreien Beleg zitieren. So heißt es, dass die Katze, wenn sie gut genährt ist und ihr Fell glänzt, übermütig und wild wird:

*Quando murilegus            est pelle splendidus,            siluescit fugiens.*  
(W 50 a)

Dem entspricht das altfranzösische Sprichwort<sup>7</sup>:

*Quant lo chat est bel  
Et luisant la pel,  
Lors asawagist,  
Ce dist Salemons.*

Weitere Belege dieses Sprichworts finden sich ansonsten nur in Frankreich: im *Carmen ad Astralabium* des Petrus Abaelardus sowie im *Yvain* des Chrétien de Troyes<sup>8</sup>. Die Übereinstimmung mit Abaelards *Carmen* ist jedoch nur inhaltlicher Natur. Aus der Tatsache, dass unser Dichter und der große Philosoph dasselbe Sprichwort benutzen, sollte nicht vorschnell geschlossen werden, dass sie einander auch gekannt haben müssten<sup>9</sup>.

*biales dans la littérature narrative du moyen âge français* (Paris 1985) mit reicher Bibliographie; EAD., *The Paremiological Tradition in Medieval Culture*, in: *Proverbium* 17 (2000) 349-368; Carsten WOLLIN, *Nec fallit sermo vulgari tritus in ore: Altfranzösische Sprichwörter im Floridus Aspectus des Petrus Riga*, in: *Proverbium* 26 (2009) 387-412.

<sup>7</sup> Aus dem anonymen Sprichwortgedicht *Marcolf et Salomon*, hrsg. Dominique Martin MÉON, *Nouveau recueil de fabliaux et contes inédits des poètes français des XII<sup>e</sup>, XIII<sup>e</sup>, XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris 1823) Bd. 1, 424, 61. TPMA Katze 13.

<sup>8</sup> Vgl. Carsten WOLLIN, *Neue Textzeugen des Carmen ad Astralabium des Petrus Abaelardus*, in: *Sacris Erudiri* 46 (2007) 187-240, hier 221-223; ID., *Nec fallit sermo vulgari tritus in ore* (Anm. 6) 389-390. – S. u. den Kommentar zu W 50 a.

<sup>9</sup> Das gilt sicherlich auch für eine zweite Übereinstimmung zwischen W 12 b (*Pueri sanctitas, nimium perficax, leuiter repedat.*) und Abaelard. Astral. 655-658 (*Religio iuuenis leuis est impulsio mentis, | et tamquam torrens impetuosus aque. | Quo uehemencior est, citius siccabitur iste, | excedensque modum, deperit ille cito.*) sowie Carm. Florent. 8, 3, 3-6 (Petrus Abaelardus; *Iuuenis religio | fere nusquam laudatur: | uiuet in principio, | set in fine siccatur.*); vgl. Carsten WOLLIN, *Ein Liebeslied des Petrus Abaelardus in Bloomington (Indiana)*, in: *Revue Bénédictine* 119 (2009) 121-163, hier 135-136.



Eine Einschränkung erfährt unsere Hypothese jedoch, wenn man die in *W* 53 benutzte Quelle genauer betrachtet:

*Autula cornibus      ludens cum uitibus,      ludendo capitur.*  
*Vir sine macula      potu et crapula      leue subicitur.* (*W* 53)

Hier wird im Anschluss an den *Physiologus* berichtet, wie die Antilope sich beim Spielen mit ihren Hörnern im Uferdickicht des Euphrat verfängt und dann von den Jägern mühelos erlegt werden kann. Unser Dichter benutzt aber nicht die gebräuchliche Namensform *autolops*, wie sie im *Physiologus Latinus* y 2, b 2 verwendet wird<sup>10</sup>, sondern das seltenere Wort *autula*, welches nur in den sogenannten *Dicta Chrysostomi* 9 auftaucht<sup>11</sup>. Die Forschung vermutet, dass die *Dicta* im 11. Jahrhundert in Frankreich aus dem *Physiologus* b hervorgegangen sind. Einen sicheren Beweis gibt es jedoch dafür bis heute nicht. Da die *Dicta* aber vor allem in süddeutschen Handschriften überliefert sind<sup>12</sup>, wird man ihr eigentliches Wirkungsgebiet auf den Süden des Reichs beschränken wollen. Hier wäre also auch unser Gedicht anzusiedeln, wenn das Argument ausschlaggebend wäre.

Doch war dieser Ableger des *Physiologus* im Norden und Osten Frankreichs nicht völlig unbekannt geblieben, wie z. B. eine französische Handschrift (Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 303) bestätigt, in welcher die *Dicta* vollständig in einen Kommentar zum *Physiologus Theobaldi* eingearbeitet worden sind<sup>13</sup>. Somit lässt sich aus der Benutzung

<sup>10</sup> Zu den verschiedenen griechischen und lateinischen Fassungen des *Physiologus* vgl. HENKEL 12-58. Neuere Literatur bieten Otto SCHÖNBERGER (Hrsg.), *Physiologus. Griechisch | Deutsch* (Stuttgart 2001); Catalina VELCULESCU / Manuela ANTON, s. v. *Physiologus*, in: EM 10 (2002) 1035-1047.

<sup>11</sup> Friedrich WILHELM (Hrsg.), *Denkmäler deutscher Prosa* (München 1914-1916/8; Reprint München 1960) B. Kommentar 13-52, hier 27-28; der lateinische Text ist ohne Einleitung und kritischen Apparat abgedruckt bei Friedrich MAURER (Hrsg.), *Der altdutsche Physiologus* (Altdeutsche Textbibliothek 67; Tübingen 1967) 75-90, hier 80-81.

<sup>12</sup> Vgl. WILHELM (Anm. 11) 16-17; McCULLOCH 41-44; HENKEL 29-34 (mit weiteren deutschen Hss.).

<sup>13</sup> Vgl. Hermann MENHARDT, *Der Millstätter Physiologus und seine Verwandten* (Kärntner Museumsschriften 14; Klagenfurt 1956) 18-25.

der *Dicta* in *W* 53 letztlich kein sicheres Argument für die Herkunft des Gedichts entnehmen.

Andererseits kann der Dichter für seine Strophen über die Turteltaube (*W* 35-36) nur den *Physiologus* b 28 benutzt haben, da die entsprechende Passage in *y* 41 fehlt und die *Dicta* das Kapitel auslassen. Doch lassen sich aus dieser Beobachtung ebenfalls keine sicheren Schlüsse ableiten, da gerade für dieses weitverbreitete Bild auch eine Vielzahl anderer Quellen in Betracht kommen könnte.

Nach Frankreich deutet ein Teil der handschriftlichen Überlieferung, denn *P* wurde vermutlich in Orléans geschrieben. Zwar entstammt *L* dem Skriptorium des sächsischen Zisterzienserklosters Altzelle, aber die dort in vielen Handschriften auf freigebliebenen Seiten nachgetragenen Gedichte sind überwiegend französischer Provenienz. So steht unser Gedicht in *L* neben einem grammatischen Lehrgedicht des in Frankreich und England wirkenden Serlo von Wilton. Auf welchem Weg jedoch Altzelle zu seinem Schatz moderner französischer Dichtungen des 12. Jahrhunderts gekommen ist, entzieht sich leider unserer Kenntnis<sup>14</sup>. Damit erlangt eine französische Herkunft unseres Tiergedichts selbst durch die Überlieferung in *L* eine gewisse Wahrscheinlichkeit. Aber auch in *W* zeigt sich der Einfluss der modernen Dichter Frankreichs, denn unser Gedicht steht hier neben Werken des Petrus Abaelardus, Marbod von Rennes und Hildebert von Lavardin.

Für eine französische Herkunft mag schließlich noch angeführt werden, dass ein längeres Gedicht in derselben Strophenform (105 Strophen, 210 Langverse) im ersten Drittel des 12. Jahrhunderts nur noch in Frankreich nachgewiesen werden kann. Es handelt sich dabei um den Christus-Hymnus *A patre mittitur* (carm. 2) des Petrus Venerabilis (1092/94-1156), des berühmten Abtes von Cluny<sup>15</sup>. Allerdings kann, ab-

<sup>14</sup> Vgl. WOLLIN, *Neue Textzeugen* (Anm. 8) 191-194.

<sup>15</sup> Ediert von Udo WAWRZYŃIAK, *Philologische Untersuchungen zum Rhythmus in laude Salvatoris des Petrus Venerabilis* (Lateinische Sprache und Literatur des Mittelalters 22; Frankfurt am Main 1985).

gesehen von der gemeinsamen Strophenform, keine literarische Abhängigkeit festgestellt werden.

## 2. Die rhythmische Form

In den Handschriften wird jede Strophe in zwei Langzeilen geschrieben, die sich in sechs steigende Sechssilber zerlegen lassen, welche durch Endreim miteinander verbunden sind (<sup>6</sup> 6´ | aab ccb)<sup>16</sup>. Demnach könnte die Strophe auch in Kurzzeilen gedruckt werden, wobei sich jedoch der benötigte Platz über Gebühr auf das Dreifache erhöhte:

*Non ést uestígiũm  
post cúrsũm náuiũm  
sulcántũm márià.  
Sic mũndi fúgiũnt  
atqué deficiũnt  
opés et glórià.* (W 57)

Der steigende Sechssilber kann nur mit einem drei- oder viersilbigen Wort schließen (*náuiũm*, *uestígiũm*), in welchem keine Abweichung vom Wortakzent zulässig ist. Daher entsprechen die zweite und dritte Betonung innerhalb der Zeile ausnahmslos dem Wortakzent. Ein Monosyllabum am Zeilenende findet sich nicht. Die erste Betonung im Vers hingegen behandelt der Dichter sehr frei. In 47% der Fälle stimmt der Wortakzent nicht mit einer alternierenden Betonung überein (*atqué*, *opés et*). Angesichts eines solchen Zahlenverhältnisses stellt sich die Frage, ob der Dichter den Widerstreit von Wort- und Versakzent beabsichtigt hat, um den Gleichlauf der 396 Kurzzeilen aufzulockern (Tonwechsel nach Karl Langosch), oder er damit rechnete, dass der Vortragende den Versanfang in unterschiedlichen Rhythmen lesen werde

<sup>16</sup> Ich folge dem Analysemodell von Dieter SCHALLER, *Bauformeln für akzentrythmische Verse und Strophen*, in: *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch* 14 (1979) 9-21; ID., *Nochmals zu den 'Bauformeln für akzentrythmische Verse und Strophen'*, in: *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch* 34/1 (1999) 171-174. – Die Strophenform ist nicht häufig, vgl. Wilhelm MEYER, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rhythmik*, Bde. 1-3 (Berlin 1905-1936; Reprint Hildesheim 1970) Bd. 1, 299; WAWRZYŃIAK (Anm. 15) 155-156.

(Taktwechsel nach Wilhelm Meyer)<sup>17</sup>. Eine jeden überzeugende Antwort wird es hier wohl nicht geben.

Den Hiat meidet der Dichter innerhalb des Sechssilbers fast vollständig (Ausnahmen: *W* 53 b, 59 a, *G* 29 b, 32 b), auch zwischen den Kurzzeilen lässt er ihn nur sehr selten zu (*W* 5 a, 14 b, 17 b, 19 a, 21 a/b, 44 a/b, 49 b, 52 b, 59 a/b, 64 b, *G* 2 a).

Der Reim ist in dem soeben zitierten Beispiel zwar ausnahmslos zweisilbig rein, doch auf die 396 Kurzzeilen der Fassung *W* gerechnet, gestattet sich der Verfasser deutliche Abweichungen:

Assonanz	2	0,5 %
einsilbig rein	42	11 %
zweisilbig, konsonantisch unrein	12	3 %
zweisilbig rein	338	85,5 %

Die Verstechnik der nur in *G/L* erhaltenen Zusatzstrophen (30 Kurzzeilen) weicht kaum von den übrigen ab, so dass hieraus kein Kriterium für eine eventuelle Unechtheit zu entnehmen ist. Der Tw kommt nur am Versanfang vor und liegt bei 33%. Hiat innerhalb der Kurzzeile begegnet zweimal (*G* 29 b, 32 b), zwischen den Kurzzeilen einmal (*G* 2 a). Übereinstimmend ist auch die Behandlung des Reims:

Assonanz	0	0 %
einsilbig rein	4	13 %
zweisilbig, konsonantisch unrein	2	7 %
zweisilbig rein	24	80 %

Die Behandlung des Reims und der Verstechnik hängt in vielen Fällen wohl eher von der individuellen Geschicklichkeit und Übung des Dichters sowie der Schwierigkeit des Inhalts ab, als von einem bestimmten Zeitalter. Dennoch passen auch Versbau und Reimtechnik gut zu einer Entstehung des Gedichts im 12. Jahrhundert<sup>18</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> Zu dem grundsätzlichen Unterschied zwischen Tonwechsel und Taktwechsel vgl. Karl LANGOSCH (Hrsg.), *Das Registrum Multorum Auctorum des Hugo von Trimberg. Untersuchungen und kommentierte Textausgabe* (Germanische Studien 235; Berlin 1942) 110-122.

<sup>18</sup> Zur Geschichte des Reims vgl. Wilhelm GRIMM, *Kleinere Schriften*, hrsg.

### 3. Die Quellen

Die Bilder seiner Strophen entnimmt der Dichter ganz unterschiedlichen Bereichen und Quellen, die vom Alten Testament bis hin zur eigenen Naturbeobachtung reichen. Zu seinen literarischen Vorbildern gehört natürlich an erster Stelle die *Vulgata* des Hieronymus. So stammen die Bilder vom Schiff, welches auf dem Meer fährt, ohne eine Spur zurückzulassen (*W* 57), und dem Vogel, der lautlos die Lüfte durchfliegt (*W* 58), aus den biblischen Weisheitsbüchern, die im Mittelalter unbestritten als Werke Salomos galten.

Aus der antiken römischen Literatur schöpft der Dichter seine Kenntnis von der eigentümlichen Kampfweise der Parther, die auf ihren Pferden fliehen, dabei aber rückwärts gewandt auf den nachrückenden Feind mit ihren Pfeilen schießen (*W* 15). Als Quelle kommen vor allem die Dichtungen Ovids, wie die *Ars amatoria* oder die *Remedia amoris*, in Frage.

Mit der Äsopischen Fabel ist der Dichter ebenfalls wohlvertraut. So spielt er auf den Esel an, der zum Leierspielen ungeschickt ist (*W* 43), oder den, der sich mit dem Fell des Löwen schmückt, um die anderen Tiere in Angst und Schrecken zu versetzen (*W* 66).

Einen Großteil seines naturkundlichen Wissens bezieht der Verfasser aus dem antiken *Physiologus* und den *Etymologiae* des Isidor von Sevilla. Aus der Feder Isidors kennt er außerdem die *Sententiae*, welche nicht nur Lehrsätze der christlichen

Gustav HINRICHS, Bd. 4 (Berlin / Gütersloh 1887; Reprint Hildesheim 1992, *Jakob und Wilhelm Grimm Werke, Abteilung II, Band 34*) 125-341 „Zur Geschichte des Reims“; MEYER (Anm. 16) Bd. 1, 190-196, 277-283; Bd. 2, 122-126; Karl STRECKER, *Studien zu karolingischen Dichtern*, in: *Neues Archiv* 44 (1922) 209-251; Wolfram von den STEINEN, *Literarische Anfänge in Basel (Warnerius Basiliensis)*, in: *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 32 (1933) 239-288; wieder in: ID., *Menschen im Mittelalter* (Bern / München 1967) 157-195, hier 187-193; Dag NORBERG, *An Introduction to the Study of Medieval Latin Versification* (Washington D.C. 2004) 31-37. – Ein sicheres Hilfsmittel zur Datierung bietet der Reim nicht. Selbst datierbare Versinschriften lassen keine geradlinige Entwicklung des Reims erkennen, vgl. Clemens M. M. BAYER, *Zur Entwicklung des Reimes in lateinischen metrischen Inschriften vom Ende des 8. bis zur Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts*, in: Ewald KÖNIGEN (Hrsg.), *Arbor amoena comis* (Stuttgart 1990) 113-132.

Dogmatik, sondern auch volksläufige Sprichwörter enthalten. Hierher stammen nämlich die Sprichwörter von dem nutzlosen Versuch, einen Lehmziegel zu waschen (*W* 29), oder der Kerze, die zwar für andere scheint, sich dabei aber selbst verzehrt (*G* 31).

Einen eigenen Bereich bilden die Übersetzungen altfranzösischer Sprichwörter, der *Proverbes au vilain*, welche überwiegend mündlich im Volk tradiert wurden (*W* 12, 24, 48, 50). Einige Bilder, für die ich keine Vorbilder nachzuweisen vermochte, stammen vielleicht aus der eigenen Welterfahrung des Autors. Bemerkenswert ist, dass sich die meisten dieser Beobachtungen auf Jagd und Vogelbeize beziehen (*W* 16, 18, 19, 21, 25, 31, 32, 45, 49, 55, 56, 61, 65). Vor allem die moralischen Deutungen scheinen des Dichters eigenes Werk zu sein.

Die Verbindung von Naturbeobachtung und moralischer Allegorese hat unser Dichter nicht erfunden. Ein Vergleich mit ähnlichen Schriften der Zeit, ich denke an Guigo I., Galand de Reigny, Petrus Abaelardus, Alanus de Insulis und andere, lässt strukturelle Gemeinsamkeiten erkennen, die vor allem auf dem Gegensatz von Bild- und Sinnebene beruhen<sup>19</sup>. Aus den genannten Schriftstellern möchte ich einige Beispiele zitieren, welche zwar nicht immer für das jeweilige Werk repräsentativ sind, aber einen direkten Vergleich mit unserem Dichter ermöglichen.

Guigo I., Prior der Grande Chartreuse, vergleicht in seinen *Meditationes*<sup>20</sup> die weitverzweigten Wurzeln des Dornbusches mit der eingefleischten Liebe des Menschen zur Welt:

*Considera neprem, quomodo hic natus quocumque extenderit ramos, statim figat radices. Ita anima tua, multis cespitibus fixis, amoris radicibus tenacissime inheret primum huic corpori, dehinc ceteris. Heret etiam et innititur opinionibus hominum et fauoribus.*

(Guigo I medit. 372)

<sup>19</sup> Vgl. Hennig BRINKMANN, *Mittelalterliche Hermeneutik* (Tübingen / Darmstadt 1980) 74-121.

<sup>20</sup> *Guignes Ier prieur de Chartreuse, Les Méditations*, hrsg. „par un Chartreux“ (Sources chrétiennes 308; Paris 1983).

An anderer Stelle führt ihn die Beobachtung eines spielenden Kindes zu Überlegungen über die Größe Gott wohlgefälliger Werke:

*Sicut puer de exigua argilla non minus rotundas et pulchras pilas quam de magna massa facit, ita iustus ac sapiens non minus iustum et Deo placitum opus de exigua substantia, quam de multis copiis facit. Recordare duo minuta uidue et calicem aque frigide* [Luc. 21, 2; Matth. 10, 42].  
(Guigo I medit. 400)

In seinem *Libellus prouerbiorum*<sup>21</sup> stellt der Zisterzienser Galand de Reigny die Eigenschaften von Wachs und Ton gegenüber: Wachs schmilzt bei Hitze und wird im kalten Wasser wieder fest, Ton hingegen wird im Feuer hart und im Wasser weich. Genauso unterschiedlich reagieren die Menschen auf die Herausforderungen des Schicksals:

*Mirum uidetur, quod, cum cera igne mollescat, in frigida uero aqua durescat, econtra argilla igne durescit, aque uero infusione dissoluta tabescit.*

¶ *Per ignem aduersitas, per aquam uero prosperitas designatur. Sunt uero quidam quasi cerei, qui aduersitate fracti bene operandi uigorem perdunt, prosperitatis autem consolatione refoti resipiscunt. At contra alii uelut argillosi, prosperitatis securitate resoluti, pigrescunt, aduersitate uero superueniente, de inertie sue lecto mox surgunt.*

(Galand. Regn. prou. 23)

Petrus Abaelard überträgt im *Carmen ad Astralabium*<sup>22</sup> den Gegensatz zwischen den schönen Blättern und den nahrhaften Früchten eines Baumes auf den zwischen äußerlicher Rhetorik und dem eigentlichem Sinn der Worte:

*Fructu, non foliis, pomorum quisque cibatur,  
et sensus uerbis antefereendus erit.  
Ornatis animos captet persuasio uerbis;  
doctrinae magis est debita planities.*

(Abaelard. Astral. 11-14)

<sup>21</sup> Jean CHÂTILLON / Maurice DUMONTIER / Alexis GRÉLOIS (Hrsg.), *Galand de Reigny, Petit livre de proverbes* (Sources chrétiennes 436; Paris 1998).

<sup>22</sup> Josephina Marie Annaïs RUBINGH-BOSSCHER, *Peter Abaelard, Carmen ad Astralabium, A Critical Edition* (Diss. Groningen 1987).

Alanus de Insulis legt in seinem *Liber parabolarum*<sup>23</sup> dem Leser nahe, schon in der Jugend für das Alter vorzusorgen, so wie die Ameise im Sommer Vorräte für den Winter anlegt:

*Dum calor est et pulchra dies, formica laborat,  
ne pereat, dum nix uenerit alta, fame.  
Sic iuuenis, dum tempus habet sudoribus aptum,  
querat, quo possit lassa senecta frui.*

(Alan. Ins. parab. 149-152)

Bei aller inhaltlichen und strukturellen Vergleichbarkeit dieser Stellen konnte ich aber kein zeitgenössisches Werk ausfindig machen, welches unserem Dichter mit Sicherheit als Vorbild gedient hätte. Die Übereinstimmungen erklären sich aus dem gemeinsamen Bildungshintergrund der Verfasser und ihrer engen Vertrautheit mit den Methoden der Bibelallegorese.

Allerdings schaffen die genannten Autoren im 12. Jahrhundert eine Gattung christlicher Aphoristik, welche bis heute von der Literaturwissenschaft nicht wahrgenommen wurde<sup>24</sup>. Wie eng die Übereinstimmungen sogar mit den französischen Moralisten des Grand Siècle sein können, zeigt ein Aphorismus La Rochefoucaulds<sup>25</sup>:

*L'absence diminue les médiocres passions, et augmente les grandes,  
comme le vent éteint les bougies et allume le feu.*

<sup>23</sup> PL 210, 581-594; Oronzo LIMONE (Hrsg.), *Alano di Lilla, Liber parabolarum* (Galatina 1993); Tony HUNT (Hrsg.), *Les Paraboles Maître Alain en François* (London 2005) 158-178; englische Übersetzung bei Ronald E. PEPIN, *An English Translation of Auctores Octo, A Medieval Reader* (Lewiston N.Y. 1999) 149-175.

<sup>24</sup> Vgl. Harald FRICKE, s. v. *Aphorismus*, in: *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik* 1 (1992) 773-790.

<sup>25</sup> *La Rochefoucauld, Réflexions ou Sentences et Maximes morales*, hrsg. Jean LAFOND (Paris 1976) 90, Reflexion 276. Der Vergleich ist antik, Ov. rem. 807-808:

*nutritur uento, uento restinguitur ignis;  
lenis alit flammas, grandior aura necat.*



4. *Handschriften und Drucke*

Mit Hilfe der beiden Repertorien Hans Walthers ließen sich vier mittelalterliche Textzeugen ermitteln. Um keinen möglichen Hinweis zu übersehen, habe ich zudem jede Einzelstrophe nachgeschlagen, doch leider ergebnislos. Eine Recherche nach den drei Textanfängen *Absit suspicio* (W 1), *Ampulla nitrea* (W 14) und *Non est uestigium* (W 57) in den elektronischen Datenbanken *Manuscripta mediaevalia* und *In principio* hat keine neuen Handschriften ans Tageslicht gebracht. Die vier Handschriften sind folgende:

W Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 901, fol. 1r-4r<sup>26</sup>.

Inc. *Absit suspicio, dum tela iacio ius ex ominibus* (Str. W 1)  
WIC 196; 66 Strophen.

Der erste Teil der Handschrift (fol. 1-86) wurde um 1200 geschrieben und stammt aus dem österreichischen Benediktinerkloster Mondsee (Salzkammergut). Auf unser Gedicht folgen Exzerpte aus dem *Carmen ad Astralabium* Abaelards, die Fabeln des *Romulus*, die *Sententiae* des Publilius Syrus, Exzerpte aus dem *Nouus Cato* des Martinus, Florilegien aus antiken und modernen Dichtern (Vergil, Ovid, Hildebert, Marbod), die *Versus de contemptu mundi* eines unbekannten Ruodiger und abschließend die Fabeln Avians. Die Strophen von *Absit suspicio* sind jeweils in zwei Langzeilen geschrieben, von denen die erste mit einer farbigen Initiale beginnt. Die erste Strophe wird durch eine große Zierinitiale hervorgehoben, die fünfte Strophe durch eine etwas kleinere Initiale. Weitere Unterteilungen des Textes durch Initialen oder Paragraphenzeichen fehlen.

<sup>26</sup> Vgl. *Tabulae codicum manu scriptorum praeter Graecos et orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum*, Bd. 1 (Wien 1864; Reprint Graz 1965) 154; WOLLIN, *Neue Textzeugen* (Anm. 8) 207-208. – In meiner Beschreibung sind nachzutragen: fol. 33r-42r die *Sententiae* des Publilius Syrus; fol. 44v-46r Ps. Cato *Monosticha*; fol. 46r-47r die *Proverbia* des Wipo; fol. 47r-49v Auszüge aus dem *Nouus Cato* des Martinus; fol. 64v-66v das Gedicht *De uanitate seculi* des Ruodiger, vgl. Wilhelm WATTENBACH, *Bericht über eine Reise durch Steiermark*, in: *Neues Archiv* 2 (1877) 383-425, hier 407-409.

G Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 7 Helmst., fol. 2ra-va<sup>27</sup>.

„*Bona prouerbia et similitudines prouerbiorum*.“

Inc. *Non est uestigium post cursum nauium secantum maria*  
(Str. *W* 57)

WIC 12046; 42 Strophen.

Die Handschriften Helmst. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 überliefern zusammen eine großformatige Vulgataausgabe (427 × 310 mm); G enthält die Prophetenbücher. Helmst. 4 wurde nach Auskunft der Schreiberverse auf dem Vorsatzblatt geschrieben, als Hermann von Geldern Prior des Klosters Amelungsborn (ungefähr 10 km nordöstlich von Holzminden im Weserbergland) war, wo er sich in den Jahren 1287-1295 urkundlich nachweisen lässt. Von Amelungsborn aus kamen die Handschriften 1578 in die herzogliche Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel. Auf den beiden Vorsatzblättern von G stehen von einer zeitgenössischen Hand unser Gedicht (fol. 2ra-va), das carm. 38 (Dronke) Philipp des Kanzlers (*Quid ultra tibi facere*) und kleinere theologische Merkverse (WIC 9606, 18012, 17856, 17592, WPS 14476). Der Text ist wie in *W* in Langzeilen geschrieben; Strophenanfänge sind farbig hervorgehoben. Vermutlich unecht ist, wie schon oben ausgeführt, die Überschrift „*Bona prouerbia et similitudines prouerbiorum*.“

L Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. 350, fol. 95rb-c<sup>28</sup>.

Inc. *Non est uestigium post cursum nauium secantum maria*  
(Str. *W* 57)

WIC 12046; 39 Strophen.

<sup>27</sup> Vgl. Otto von Heinemann, *Die Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel, Erste Abtheilung, Die Helmstedter Handschriften I* (Wolfenbüttel 1884) 4-6.

<sup>28</sup> Vgl. Rudolf Helssig, *Katalog der lateinischen und deutschen Handschriften der Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Leipzig*, Bd. 1 (Leipzig 1926/35) 517-520. – Zusätzliche Identifikationen bieten Franz Josef Worstbrock / Klaes, Monika / Lütten, Jutta, *Repertorium der Artes dictandi des Mittelalters. Teil I Von den Anfängen bis um 1200* (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 66; München 1992) 49-50, 149-150; Rolf de Kegel (Hrsg.), *Die jüngere Hildesheimer Briefsammlung* (MGH Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit 7; München 1995) 1-4.

Die Sammelhandschrift wurde um 1200 im Zisterzienserkloster Altzelle geschrieben und enthält theologisch-exegetische Werke Bedas und des Hrabanus Maurus, die Chronik des Hugo von St. Viktor und die *Annales Veterocellenses*, abschließend in einem Einzelheft anderer Provenienz die anonyme *Ars dictandi Aurea gemma* sowie die jüngere Hildesheimer Briefsammlung. Die drei am Ende des Hrabanus Maurus freigebliebenen Seiten (fol. 94r-95r) hat eine andere aber zeitgleiche Hand mit verschiedenen Epigrammen (WIC 16107, 9143, 5644, 8754, 20316, 19604), grammatischen Lehrgedichten (Serlo von Wilton *carm.* 2, WIC 5610, 19597) und unserer Tierdichtung gefüllt. Die Strophen sind wie in *W* in zwei Langzeilen geschrieben, wobei der erste Buchstabe jeder Strophe in Rot gehalten ist.

*P* Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 15155, fol. 163r-v<sup>29</sup>.

Inc. *Ampula uitrea sub mole saxeacito confringitur* (Str. *W* 14)  
WIC fehlt, WPS 1022; 15 Strophen.

Vermutlich stammt die Handschrift aus Orléans und wurde in der 2. Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts geschrieben, da hier schon das pseudo-ovidische Gedicht *De uetula* (ca. 1250) zitiert wird. Im 14. Jahrhundert wurde *P* von Henri François aus Orléans an einen Magister aus Rouen verkauft und gelangte schließlich im 15. Jahrhundert in die Bibliothek des Klosters St. Viktor in Paris. Wir finden in *P* ein umfassendes Florilegium aus antiken (Avian, Ps. Cato, Claudian, Horaz, Juvenal, Lucan, Maximian, Ovid, Persius, Petron, Statius) und mittelalterlichen Dichtern (Anonymus Neveleti, Bernardus Silves-

<sup>29</sup> Vgl. Jean-Barthélemy HAURÉAU, *Notices et extraits de quelques manuscrits latins de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris 1892; Reprint Farnborough 1967) Bd. 4, 299-315; Léopold HERVIEUX, *Les fabulistes latins* (Paris 1894; Reprint Hildesheim 1970) Bd. 3, 63-69; Johannes HAMACHER, *Florilegium Gallicum* (Lateinische Sprache und Literatur des Mittelalters 5; Bern/Frankfurt am Main 1975) 62-65. – Ausführlich beschrieben wird *P* bei Franco MUNARI, *Mathei Vindocinensis Opera* I (Storia e letteratura 144; Roma 1977) 92-95. – Zur wechselvollen Geschichte von *P* und ihrer Bedeutung für die Klassikerüberlieferung (Ovid, Properz) vgl. Richard H. ROUSE, *Florilegia and Latin Classical Authors in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Orléans*, in: *Viator* 10 (1979) 131-160, hier 154-155.

tris, Hildebert, Iohannes de Garlandia, Ioseph Iscanus, Matthäus von Vendôme, Ps. Ovid *De uetula*, Vitalis von Blois, Walter von Châtillon, Wilhelm von Blois). Zwar gibt es deutliche Übereinstimmungen mit dem *Florilegium Gallicum*, doch geht *P* in seinen Exzerpten immer wieder darüber hinaus. Man vermutet allerdings, dass beiden Florilegien in Orléans dieselben Quellen zur Verfügung standen. Die drei heute in *P* fehlenden Lagen (fol. 28-38, 111-122, 123-136) sind erhalten in Vat. Reg. lat. 2120 (fol. 11-22, 23-35) und Bern Ms. 327 (fol. 15-28).

Den Schluss der Handschrift bilden zwei Abschnitte jeweils mit der Überschrift „*Flores prouerbiorum*“ in metrischen Versen und in Prosa (fol. 162v-163v, 163v-176r). Unser Gedicht steht im ersten Abschnitt (fol. 163r-v) in derselben Textaufteilung wie in den übrigen Handschriften.

Meine Suche in der mit *P* verwandten Handschrift Berlin, SBPK, theol. lat. fol. 381 (A. D. 1466-1468)<sup>30</sup> blieb ergebnislos; die in *P* vorhandenen mittelalterlichen „*Flores prouerbiorum*“ fehlen hier völlig.

Diese vier Textzeugen überliefern unser Gedicht mit jeweils unterschiedlicher Anzahl und Reihenfolge der Strophen. Angesichts der inhaltlichen Geschlossenheit jeder Einzelstrophe muss man annehmen, dass in einigen Handschriften der ursprüngliche Text später von Kopisten umgestellt, exzerpiert oder erweitert worden ist. Möglicherweise ist das sogar in einem größeren Umfang geschehen, als man auf den ersten Blick vermutet.

Die längste Textfassung mit 66 Strophen wird allein in der Handschrift *W* überliefert, nach der im Folgenden zitiert wird. Doch ist möglicherweise auch *W* unvollständig, da hier die 5 Strophen (*G* 2, 29-32; *L* 2, 26-29) fehlen, welche als Sondergut allein in der kürzeren Fassung *G/L* aufbewahrt sind.

Die Handschrift *P* erweist sich als Auszug aus einer langen Textfassung, ähnlich *W*. Hier werden insgesamt 15 Strophen, teilweise in kurzen Sequenzen, exzerpiert, wobei die Reihen-

<sup>30</sup> Vgl. Ernst VOIGT (Hrsg.), *Ysengrimus* (Halle an der Saale 1884; Reprint Hildesheim 1974) XII-XV; HAMACHER (Anm. 29) 74-75; MUNARI (Anm. 29) 29-30.

folge von *W* beibehalten wird. Aus der uns erhaltenen Kurzfassung *G/L* hingegen kann *P* nicht stammen, da dort die Strophen *P* 8, 11, 13 fehlen. Auch folgt *P* in der Sequenz *P* 10, 12, 14, 15 der Reihenfolge von *W*, nicht aber der von *G/L*:

<i>P</i>	10	11	12	13	14	15
<i>W</i>	43	44	48	54	59	62
<i>G/L</i>	5	-	4	-	3	7a

Ob die Kombination der Halbstrophen *W* 35 a und 34 b zu einer Strophe in *P* 6 schon in der Vorlage (vielleicht sogar als Doppelfassung des Dichters) stattgefunden hatte, oder erst auf den Exzerptor von *P* zurückgeht, ist nicht leicht zu entscheiden. Da aber der Dichter häufiger dazu neigt, dasselbe Bild in zwei aufeinander folgenden Strophen zu wiederholen (z. B. *W* 5-6, 26-27, 34-35, 57-58), ist es nicht zwingend, die Strophen *W* 34-35 als Dubletten anzusehen. Da hier auch *G/L* mit *W* zusammengeht, wird die Fassung *W* das Ursprüngliche bewahrt haben.

Eine größere Unabhängigkeit von *W* besitzen die Kurzfassungen *G/L* mit 42 bzw. 39 Strophen, unter welchen sich 5 Strophen Sondergut (*G* 2, 29-32; *L* 2, 26-29) befinden, welche in *W* und *P* fehlen. Der Vergleich mit *W* lässt in *G/L* deutlich vier Abschnitte erkennen:

*G* 1-7 (*L* 1-7); eine Auswahl aus den letzten 20 Strophen von *W* (43-66), wobei eine neue Strophe (*G* 2) eingefügt und die zwei Halbstrophen *W* 62 a und *W* 63 b zu *G/L* 7 kombiniert werden (*W* 57, *G* 2, *W* 59, 48, 43, 52, 62 a + 63 b).

*G* 8-28 (*L* 8-25); die nur wenig veränderte Übernahme einer Sequenz aus *W* (5-28 mit einigen Umstellungen; *W* 9, 15, 16 fehlen).

*G* 29-32 (*L* 26-29); Sondergut.

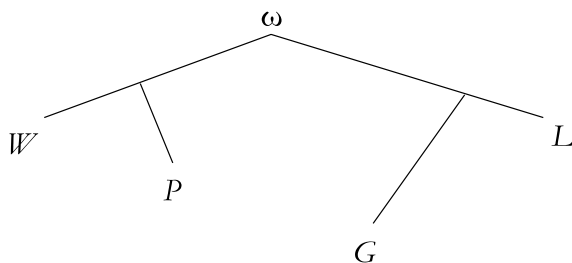
*G* 33-42 (*L* 30-39); Übernahme einer Sequenz aus *W* (29-41; *W* 37, 39, 40 fehlen).

*L* folgt derselben Strophenfolge wie *G* und besitzt dasselbe Sondergut (*G* 2, 29-32; *L* 2, 26-29). Allerdings verkürzt *L* noch weiter als *G* und lässt weitere 4 Strophen aus (*W* 7, 10,

18, 20 = *G* 10, 15, 18, 20). Demhingegen überliefert *L* die Strophe *L* 10 (*W* 66), welche in *G* fehlt. Also ist die Vorlage von *G/L* vermutlich umfangreicher gewesen als die erhaltenen Texte. Weiterhin bietet *L* ein willkommenes Korrektiv zu den zahlreichen Sonderfehlern von *G*. In einer Reihe von Fällen liegen aber sicherlich Fassungsvarianten von *G/L* vor (*W* 22 a, 25 a, 27 b, 28 b, 38 a, 57 a, 59 b; ein Bindefehler in *W* 21 b), die nicht in jedem Fall als Fehler erklärt werden können, sondern auf eine Bearbeitung des Textes zurückgehen.

Wenn sich *G/L* auch deutlich als eigene Textfassung zu erkennen gibt, so ist es doch schwierig, zu entscheiden, ob der Textfassung *W* oder *G/L* die Priorität zukommt. Da nun die Fassung *W* als einzige den Prolog überliefert, welcher die Absicht des Dichters ausspricht und sein Vorhaben erklärt, so möchte ich in dieser die ursprüngliche Form unseres Gedichts erkennen, welche später entweder vom Dichter selbst oder von einem Bearbeiter zugleich verkürzt und erweitert worden ist.

Aus pragmatischen Gründen geben Text und Kommentar die längste Fassung *W* wieder. Das Sondergut aus *G/L* folgt als Anhang. Um die Beziehungen zwischen den vier Handschriften zu verdeutlichen, schlage ich folgendes Stemma vor:



Aus diesem Stemma ergibt sich als Konsequenz, dass einige Eigenfehler von *W* mit Hilfe des Konsensus *P* - *G/L* sicher geheilt werden können (*W* 17, 20, 48 b).

Von den drei Textfassungen (*W*, *G/L*, *P*) ist bis heute nur die kürzeste (*P*) im Zusammenhang gedruckt worden. Jean-Barthélemy Hauréau (1812-1896) hat die erste moderne Beschreibung des großen Florilegiums aus antiken und mittelal-

terlichen Dichtern gegeben, welches in *P* überliefert ist<sup>31</sup>. Er nutzt die Gelegenheit, um eine Reihe von anonymen oder seltenen Texten in Auszügen zu zitieren. Die Exzerpte aus unserem Gedicht edierte er vollständig, doch ohne sich zu Verfasser oder Herkunft zu äußern. Hauréaus Text übernahm 1925 Stephen Gaselee als Beispiel für didaktische Dichtung in eine Anthologie mittellateinischer Texte<sup>32</sup>.

Den entbehrungsreichen und uneigennütigen Forschungen von Léopold Hervieux (1831-1900), der als Rechtsanwalt und Politiker tätig war und sich der Philologie nur als *dilettante* im besten Sinne des Wortes widmete, verdankt die Mediävistik ein monumentales Corpus der mittelalterlichen Fabeldichtung in lateinischer Sprache, welches bis heute in vielen Stücken noch immer nicht ersetzt ist. Bei seinen Handschriftenstudien, die ihn durch ganz Europa führten, stieß er auch auf die Handschrift *P*, welche ihn wegen der Auszüge aus den Fabelsammlungen des Avian und des Anonymus Neveleti interessierte. Die Verbindungen unseres Gedichts zur Fabeldichtung bewogen Hervieux, die 15 Strophen in seiner Beschreibung der Handschrift abzudrucken<sup>33</sup>. Die Publikation Hauréaus war ihm offensichtlich unbekannt geblieben.

Clemens Blume (1862-1932) veröffentlichte im Jahr 1899 einen dritten Abdruck von *P*, dem er den Titel „*Proverbia*“ beilegte, doch ohne die Editionen von Hauréau und Hervieux zu erwähnen<sup>34</sup>, die er vermutlich nicht kannte.

Beinahe alle Strophen der Fassung *W* sowie die fünf Strophen Sondergut aus *G/L* sind zuerst von Hans Walther in den fünf Bänden seiner *Proverbia sententiaeque Latinitatis medii aevi* publiziert worden<sup>35</sup>. Allerdings fügt Walther die Einzelstrophen in die alphabetische Ordnung seines Repertorius ein, so dass der Leser nicht mehr in der Lage ist, sich einen

<sup>31</sup> HAURÉAU (Anm. 29) Bd. 4, 314-315.

<sup>32</sup> Stephen GASELEE, *An Anthology of Medieval Latin* (London 1925) 76-78, Nr. 28.

<sup>33</sup> HERVIEUX (Anm. 29) Bd. 3, 66-67. – Zur Biographie vgl. Albert GIER, *s. v. Hervieux, Léopold*, in: EM 6 (1990) 921-923.

<sup>34</sup> Clemens BLUME, *Analecta Hymnica* 33 (Leipzig 1899) 334-335, Nr. 275.

<sup>35</sup> Hans WALTHER, *Carmina medii aevi posterioris Latina II*/1-5. *Proverbia sententiaeque Latinitatis medii aevi*, Bde. 1-5 (Göttingen 1963-1967).

Überblick über den Bestand und die Reihenfolge unserer Dichtung zu machen. Erschwerend kommt hinzu, dass Walther das Gedicht nicht als zusammenhängendes literarisches Werk behandelt, sondern die Handschriften *W* und *G* so exzerpiert, als ob es sich hierbei um Florilegien handeln würde.

Der Text folgt in Reihenfolge der Strophen, Lesarten und Orthographie der Handschrift *W*. Offensichtliche Fehler des Schreibers wurden mit Hilfe der übrigen Textzeugen verbessert. Ebenfalls wurde an wenigen Stellen der Konsensus *G/L P* gegen *W* in den Text gesetzt (*W* 17 a, 17 b, 48 b).

Ich habe mich dem Vorbild der mittelalterlichen Kopisten angeschlossen und die Strophen nicht in sechs Kurzzeilen, sondern in zwei Langzeilen gedruckt. Die Spatien verdeutlichen die Abgrenzung der Kurzzeilen. Die Interpunktion in *W* setzt beinahe regelmäßig Reimpunkte am Ende der Kurzzeilen, richtet sich also nach einem formalen Kriterium, auch wenn häufig Zeilenende und syntaktischer Einschnitt zusammenfallen. Innerhalb der Kurzzeilen steht in *W* nur selten ein Punkt, um einen syntaktischen Einschnitt zu kennzeichnen (z. B. *W* 5 a, 28 a, 29 a, 30 a, 37 a, 40 a). Ich setzte hingegen die Interpunktion, um syntaktische Zusammenhänge zu verdeutlichen. Die Orthographie folgt *W* mit der Ausnahme, dass die zahlreichen Akzente auf *í* und *íí* nicht wiedergegeben werden, im Gegensatz zu den Akzenten auf anderen Wörtern und Präpositionen (*W* 2 b *á me*). Die Unterscheidung *u/v* habe ich im Anschluss an *W* beibehalten, da sie als Beitrag zur Geschichte der Orthographie und der Textanordnung wird dienen können, selbst wenn dabei ungewöhnliche Formen im Text erscheinen (z. B. *W* 2 a *seuivs*, *W* 5 a *fugivnt*). Eigennamen werden nach heutigem Gebrauch groß geschrieben.

Der Kommentar soll das Verständnis des Textes erleichtern und dem Leser die wichtigsten Quellen an die Hand geben. Es war dabei nicht meine Absicht, das teilweise sehr umfangreiche Material des TPMA erneut auszubreiten. Stattdessen habe ich mich darauf beschränkt, die Endquellen sowie die Belege bei den Zeitgenossen nach Möglichkeit wörtlich zu zitieren, damit der Leser die Zusammenhänge selbst beurteilen kann. Nicht immer muss das Fehlen eines Kommentars



bedeuten, dass unser Dichter hier aus eigener Anschauung schreibt. Häufig genug wird nur mir das entsprechende Vorbild verborgen geblieben sein. Doch hege ich die Hoffnung, dass die vorliegende Edition andere Forscher inspirieren möge, den Kommentar aus eigenem Wissen zu bereichern, neue Textzeugen hinzuzufügen und vielleicht sogar der Identität des Dichters auf die Spur zu kommen.

### 5. Übersicht über den Strophenbestand

W		P	G	L	WIC	WPS
W 1	Absit suspicio	-	-		196	-
W 2	Me non hic prefero	-	-		-	-
W 3	Ista prouerbia	-	-		9601	-
W 4	Mores describere	-	-		-	-
W 5	Quid prodest galea	-	8	8	-	25140
W 6	Semen inicere	-	9	9	-	27872
W 7	Asello falera	-	10	-	-	1537
[G 10	Asino falera	-	10	-	-	1539]
W 8	Mulier seuiens	-	11	11	-	15362
W 9	Ruine domuum	-	-	-	-	26968
W 10	Pari sententia	-	15	-	-	20709
W 11	Pennis pulcherrimum	-	12	12	-	21176
W 12	Aurora flammea	-	14	14	-	1815
W 13	Se pennis habilem	-	13	13	-	27757
W 14	Ampulla uitrea	1	16	15	-	1022
W 15	Dum Parthi fugiunt	-	-	-	-	6635
W 16	Lorus uagatior	-	-	-	-	-
W 17	Si desit stimulus	2	17	16	-	28429
W 18	Non fames aquile	-	18	-	-	17783
W 19	Nullum uolatile	-	19	17	-	19049
W 20	Si tuba canitur	3	20	-	-	29336
W 21	Equus ad pabula	-	21	18	-	7128
W 22	Dum parit uipera	-	22	19	-	6634
W 23	Occidit regulus	-	23	20	-	19689
W 24	Mus leue capitur	4	24	23	-	15765
W 25	Ouis in frigore	5	25	21	-	20529
W 26	Laudat nauigium	-	26	22	-	13531
W 27	Si salum quatitur	-	27	24	-	29119
W 28	Quos dat Fauonius	-	28	25	-	26268
W 29	Qui crudum laterem	-	33	30	-	23976
W 30	Quicquid accipiter	-	34	31	-	25227

W 31	Ardeam pectore	-	35	32	-	1295
W 32	Cum famem patitur	-	36	33	-	4143
W 33	Cantus corniculae	-	37	34	-	2317
W 34	Post primas nuptias	-	38	35	-	22049
[W 34 b	Sic amicitia	6 b	-	-	-	-]
W 35	Post mortem socii	6 a	39	36	-	22024
W 36	Stridor irundinum	7	40	37	-	30371
W 37	Qui pomum uiride	8	-	-	-	24511
W 38	Sic pullos alios	9	41	38	-	29525
W 39	Querens latibulum	-	-	-	-	23158
W 40	Vt iracundiam	-	-	-	-	32418
W 41	Vtitur gemitu	-	42	39	-	32742
W 42	Quid docet psytacum	-	-	-	-	25008
W 43	Quisquis ad cytharam	10	5	5	-	25515
W 44	Sabulum seminat	11	-	-	-	27047
W 45	Si tunc latrauerit	-	-	-	-	29338
W 46	Si fit commixtio	-	-	-	-	28486
W 47	Non habens ostium	-	-	-	-	17831
W 48	Si furem redimis	12	4	4	-	28534
W 49	Mos est passerulis	-	-	-	-	15294
W 50	Quando murilegus	-	-	-	-	23511
W 51	Semper uulpecula	-	-	-	-	28004
W 52	Corili folia	-	6	6	-	3475
W 53	Autula cornibus	-	-	-	-	1681
W 54	Volens aufugere	13	-	-	-	34133
W 55	Euadens catulos	-	-	-	-	8216
W 56	Quanto subtilius	-	-	-	-	23618
W 57	Non est uestigium	-	1	1	12046	17738
W 58	Volatus alitum	-	-	-	-	34131
W 59	Vespa penniculis	14	3	3	-	33219
W 60	Sunt poma Sodoma	-	-	-	-	30796
W 61	Impetu pluuiæ	-	-	-	-	11582
W 62	Si panem sedulo	15	7 a	7 a	-	28783
W 63	Cernens per sompnia	-	-	-	-	2633
[W 63 b	Solet decipere	-	7 b	7 b	-	-]
W 64	Vt ab ydropico	-	-	-	-	32309
W 65	Latebras murium	-	-	-	-	13497
W 66	Mouet ridiculum	-	-	10	-	15324

## Sondergut G

G 2	Si non succidio	-	2	2	-	28754
G 29	Vt esum rapiat	-	29	26	-	32379
G 30	Cum aper capitur	-	30	27	-	4026
G 31	Candela deficit	-	31	28	-	2278
G 32	Quod niue tegitur	-	32	29	-	25921

## EDITION DER FASSUNG W

(Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 901, fol. 1r-4r)

W fol. 1r

- 1 | Absit suspicio, dum tela iacio † ius ex ominibus †  
Missile sentio, dum me conspicio, fixum uisceribus.
- 2 Me non hic prefero, me quoque uulnero, tantoque seuivs,  
In quantum propriam cerno maliciam á me secretivs.
- 3 Ista prouerbia carent inuidia, carent et odio.  
Mores describimus, neminem carpimus: sic dictat ratio.
- 4 Mores describere non est arguere: nemo se moueat!  
Si quid audierit, quod se tetigerit, emendet, caueat!
- 5 Quid prodest galea, scutum et lancea illis, qui fugiunt? G 8 L 8  
Bonum principium his est ludibrium, qui non perficiunt.
- 6 Semen inicere, neque colligere duplex est tedivm. G 9 L 9  
Mundum relinquere, neque proficere duplex exicivm.
- 7 Asello falera, uel equo sarcina non bene conuenit. G 10  
Mentis elatio, sua laudatio monachum destruit.
- 8 Mulier seuiens, gule deseruiens, est uiri scandalvm. G 11 L 11  
Omnis lasciuens, et uerbis affluens, turbat consortivm.
- 9 Ruine domuum timor et montium est supersticio.  
Non in consortio manet cum gaudio nequam suspicio.
- 10 Pari sententia luunt supplicia fur et consentiens. G 15  
Qui malum uiderit, nec corripuerit, est partem capiens.
- 11 Pennis pulcherrimum, cantu turpissimum se pauo perhibet. | G 12 L 12  
W fol. 1v Obfuscat meritum risus per strepitum sancti cuiuslibet.
- 12 Aurora flammea, nimis perlucida, diem obnubilat. G 14 L 14  
Pueri sanctitas, nimium peruicax, leuiter repeditat.

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5 a galea ... lancea W G] lancea ... galea L et W L] vel G 5 b Bonum  
W L] Nouum G his est W G] est his L 6 a neque W L] et non G 6 b  
exicivm W] exicivm L, exilivm G 7 a Asello W] Asino G 8 b et G] om.  
W L, et ut uidetur s. l. add. W<sup>2</sup> turbat G L] conturbat W 10 b nec W] et non  
G 11 a pauo perhibet W L] perhibet pauo G 12 a flammea W G] rubea  
L 12 b peruicax G L] perficax W leuiter W] facile G L

- 13 Se pennis habilem et uoce flebilem perhibet cuculus. G 13 L 13  
Verbis laudabilem, factis inutilem et segnis famulus.
- 14 Ampulla uitrea sub mole saxeae cito confringitur. G 16 L 15 P 1  
Et per conuicia impacientia leue perpenditur.
- 15 Dum Parthi fugiunt, tela reiciunt et hostes uulnerant.  
Per pacientiam omnem maliciam et boni superant.
- 16 Lorus uagator, olfactu promptior, tacet, dum reperit.  
Vir sapientior et moderatior tacet, dum proderit.
- 17 Si desit stimulus, non uadit asinus pressus pigricia. G 17 L 16 P 2  
Cedat correptio, semper in ocio est puericia.
- 18 Non fames aquile pellit uolatile licet de proprio. G 18  
Nobilis animo, quamuis de minimo, donat cum gaudio.
- 19 Nullum uolatile se pennis aquile equat in ethere. G 19 L 17  
Virtutes reliquas transcendit caritas, se probans opere.
- 20 Si tuba canitur, ceruus reuertitur, expectans catulos. G 20 P 3  
Que mors est anime, laus uera minime delectat populos.
- 21 Equus ad pabula frangit repagula, uolens discurrere. G 21 L 18  
Exquirat odium, qui uult per uicium amicum linquere. |
- W fol. 2r
- 22 Dum parit uipera, corrosa uiscera pandit, et moritur. G 22 L 19  
Sepultus uiciis, uitam dat aliis, si bene loquitur.
- 23 Occidit regulus flatu uel uocibus uicinos populos. G 23 L 20  
Exemplis pessimis, uerbis nequissimis et nequam paruulos.
- 24 Mus leue capitur, que tantum utitur uno refugio. G 24 L 23 P 4  
Leue decipitur, qui semper ducitur uno consilio.
- 25 Ouis in frigore posito uellere leuiter moritur. G 25 L 21 P 5  
Et si post studium succedat ocium, labor amittitur.
- 26 Laudat nauigium nauta, naufragium ni passus fuerit. G 26 L 22  
Sic cetus hominum collaudat Dominum, si uelle dederit.

13 a Se pennis habilem et uoce flebilem W G] Se uoce flebilem et pennis habilem  
L 14 b leue W G L] bene P 17 a uadit G L P] uadet W 17 b correptio  
G L P] correctio W 20 a ceruus W P] cerua G 21 a discurrere] dis s. l. add  
W<sup>2</sup> 21 b linquere W] relinquere G L 22 a Dum W] Cum G L uiscera  
W] uicera L, uitera G 24 a tantum W G L] semper P 24 b Leue W G P]  
Sepe L ducitur W G] utitur P L uno W G P] stulto L 25 a leuiter W]  
facile G L 25 b si W L] om. G

- 27 Si salum quatitur, et nauis frangitur, culpantur mar<i>a. G 27 L 24  
Bonis extollitur, malis deprimitur impacientia.
- 28 Quos dat Fauonius flores, Threicius exurens perimit. G 28 L 25  
Quod donat sanctitas, aufert iniquitas, et semper opprimit.
- 29 Qui crudum laterem lauat, hic puluerem in lutum copulat. G 33 L 30  
Qui stultum corripit, minime proficit, sed rixas stimulat.
- 30 Quicquid accipiter rapit, tenaciter connectit unguibus. G 34 L 31  
Si quem dilexerit, non leue deserit plenus uirtutibus.
- 31 Ardeam pectore, ruens ab ethere, sternit herodivs. G 35 L 32  
Et per prvdentiam subdit stulticiam doctus subtilivs.
- 32 Cum famem patitur, alaudam sequitur nisus uelociter. | G 36 L 33  
W fol. 2v Qui Christum diligit, nichil hic negligit, certans uiriliter.
- 33 Cantus cornicule nimium garrule dat sepe tedivm. G 37 L 34  
Raro diligitur, qui nimis loquitur, sed nectit odivm.
- 34 Post primas nuptias contempnit alias, turtur dum moritur. G 38 L 35  
Sic amicia, fida per omnia, numquam dissoluitur. P 6 b
- 35 Post mortem socii non nubit alii turtur castissima. G 39 L 36 P 6 a  
Que Christo iungitur, numquam dissoluitur mens fidelissima.
- 36 Stridor irundinum quietem hominum turbat et sompnivm. G 40 L 37 P 7  
Stulta loquacitas, si frenum adimas, turbat collegivm.
- 37 Qui pomum uiride carpit, improuide maturum negligit. W 37 b P 8 a  
Carebit premio, pro beneficio qui laudes diligit. W 37 a P 8 b
- 38 Sic pullos alios nutrit ut proprios columbe bonitas. G 41 L 38 P 9  
Congaudet prosperis, condolet asperis proximi caritas.
- 39 Querens latibulum, fugit in sacculum perdix, et capitur.  
Cadit in laqueum homo Tartareum, qui carnem sequitur.

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27 a salum W G] solum L maria G L] mara W 27 b deprimitur W] oppri-  
mitur G L 28 a fauonius W L] fauius (fau<sup>9</sup>) G threicius W] treycius L, tre-  
hycius G exurens W L] exurgens G 28 b aufert iniquitas et semper  
opprimit W] semper iniquitas aufert et opprimit G L 29 a Qui G L] Quid W  
30 a Quicquid W L] Qui quicquid G 30 b Si W G] Sic L 31 b subtilivs W]  
subtiliter G L 32 a alaudam G] aulaudam W L 35 a castissima W G L] dum  
moritur P (ex 34 a) 35 b iungitur G L] coniungitur W 37 ordinem rectum uer-  
sum, quos W perperam mutauit, praebeet P 38 a Sic W] Nam G L 38 b Congaudet  
W L] Nam gaudet G

- 40 Vt iracundiam leonis nimiam mulcet prostratio.  
Sic semper Dominum humilis hominum flectit oratio.
- 41 Vtitur gemitu pro cantus sonitu columba misero. G 42 L 39  
Et pro deliciis, fletu, ieiuniis, qui seruit supero.
- 42 Quid docet psytacum Grecum et Gallicum, nisi necessitas?  
W fol. 3r Ad magisterium quid trahit inscium, ni fames, nuditas? |
- 43 Quisquis ad cytharam instruit asinam, hostis est fidivm. G 5 L 5 P 10  
Qui stulto predicat, hic sibi uendicat risum et tedivm.
- 44 Sabulum seminat fur, ut es audiat, quod nequit cernere. P 11  
Et per conuicia mordet inuidia, quos nequit ledere.
- 45 Si tunc latrauerit, cum non repererit, lorus corripitur.  
Qui dat et repetit, quando non competit, pro stulto ducitur.
- 46 Si fit commixtio uini cum fluuio, sapor amittitur.  
Cui lenocinium prestat solatium, uirtus corrumpitur.
- 47 Non habens ostium uectem uel pessulum, patens est hostibus.  
Sic cordis atria sine custodia patent Demonibus.
- 48 Si furem redimis, et mortem adimis, incurris odivm. G 4 L 4 P 12  
<Et> si seruieris, quem nequam noueris, non dabit premivm.
- 49 Mos est passerulis nidos in rimulis edium figere.  
Et mos est inuidi peccata proximi arte discutere.
- 50 Quando murilegus est pelle splendidus, siluescit fugiens.  
Fac seruum dominum, magnum et minimum spernit superbiens.
- 51 Semper uulpecula fraudis est sedula, donec deceperit.  
Quem pigrum inuenit, Demon circumuenit, donec peccauerit.
- 52 Corili folia naribus dulcia sunt trita digitis. G 6 L 6  
Et patientia pressa potentia est digna meritis.
- 53 Autula cornibus ludens cum uitibus, ludendo capitur. |  
W fol. 3v Vir sine macula potu et crapula leue subicitur.
- 54 Volens aufugere, non timet scindere castor uirilia. P 13  
Non timet tollere luxum de corpore, querens celestia.

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41 a Vtitur W L] Turtur G cantus W L] tantus G 41 b Et W G] Sic L  
fletu W] fletu et G L 42 a docet] et s. l. add. W<sup>2</sup> 43 b tedivm W G] odium  
L 48 a incurris W G L] adquisis P 48 b Et si G L P] Si W 54 a aufu-  
gere W] euadere P 54 b Non W] Nec P luxum de W] fluxum a P

- 55 Euadens catulos, incidit laqueos sepe uenatio.  
Magna non subicit, sed praua deicit multos temptatio.
- 56 Quanto subtilius, tanto profundius uulnerat missile.  
Quando negligitur, quod paruum creditur, mors adest anime.
- 57 Non est uestigium post cursum nauium sulcantum maria. G 1 L 1  
Sic mundi fugiunt atque deficiunt opes et gloria.
- 58 Volatus alitum dat sepe sonitum sine uestigio.  
Nouit promittere, sed non persoluere multiplex labio.
- 59 Vespa penniculis est api similis, sed non mellifera. G 3 L 3 P 14  
Est foris fertilis, sed intus sterilis omnis ypocrita.
- 60 Sunt poma Sodoma formosa cortice, sed plena cinere.  
Sic adulatio, nitens eloquio, querit decipere.
- 61 Impetu pluuiæ bulle consurgere solent in fluuiio.  
Sic affluentibus mundanis opibus crescit elatio.
- 62 Si panem sedulo dederis catulo, te semper sequitur. G 7 a L 7 a - P 15  
Sic pes stultissimi leuiter proximi domum ingreditur.
- 63 Cernens per sompnia solui ieiunia, non minus esurit.  
Solet decipere, sed non reficere, sic quicquid preterit. / | G 7 b L 7 b  
W fol. 4r
- 64 Vt ab ydropico sitis immodico potu non tollitur,  
Sic auaricia ex opulentia magis accenditur.
- 65 Latebras murium, furto uiuentium, fallit decipula.  
Qui hic se negligit, mortis non effugit nec Orci uincula.
- 66 Mouet ridiculum, qui uestit asinum leonis tegmine. L 10  
Sic et qui fatuum reddit conspicuum alto regimine.

*Sondergut in Gund L*

- G 2 Si non succidio, tamen a senio arbor deicitur. L 2  
Nequaquam senibus atque iuuenibus a morte parcuritur.

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57 a sulcantum W] secantum G, secantium L non] s. l. add. W<sup>2</sup> 59 a Vespa W G L] Vaspo P est api W L] api est G, fit api P mellifera W P] melliflua G L 59 b Est W G] Sic L P 60 a plena Wollin] plene W 62 a sequitur W L] sequetur G 63 a Cernens W] ex Cernetis corr. W ut uidetur 63 b decipere W L] deficere G sed W] et L, om. G 65 b Orci Wollin] orti W 66 b Sic et W] Ita L

<b>G 29</b>	Vt esum capiat	et statim fugiat,	piscis decipitur.	L 26
	Qui mundum diligit,	se ipsum decipit	et hamo trahitur.	
<b>G 30</b>	Cum aper capitur	sedulo, perditur	canis in nemore.	L 27
	Si uis proficere,	debes incurrere	dampnum in corpore.	
<b>G 31</b>	Candela deficit	et semet minuit,	dum lucet aliis.	L 28
	Qui bona loquitur	et uana sequitur,	est cere similis.	
<b>G 32</b>	Quod niue tegitur,	concito proditur,	cum sol caluerit.	L 29
	Scelus mortiferum	cito fit publicum,	quicumque egerit.	

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**G 29 a** capiat L] rapiat G    **G 29 b** decipit L *G<sup>corr</sup>*] diligit *G<sup>ante corr.</sup>*    **G 31 a** lucet L] lutet G    **G 31 b** cere L] tere G    **G 32 a** concito L] conscito G    cum L] dum G    **G 32 b** Scelus L] Zelus G

## KOMMENTAR

**5 b** TPMA Ende 1.2.4, Anfang 3.1.3. MORAWSKI 1938 (2211) *Ki fait et nen ne parfait, nent ne desert*. HASSELL C 250 (B 46) *Qui commence et ne parfait, il a perdu ce qu'il a fait*. Prouerbia Henrici 238 (Ps. Cato monost. 65) *Vir constans, quicquid cepit, complere laborat*. Saint-Omer 17 (Liber Pictaleon 4) *Ad quid ceptarit stultus, nisi cepta patrarit?* Serlo Wilt. carm. 59 (Friend Nr. 16) *Ni res completur, que fit, non dona meretur*. Galter. Castel. Vita s. Brandani 32, 3-4 „*Quo nos*“ inquit „*uehimur, pulcher est prouectus: | pulcris in prouectibus turpis est defectus*.“

**6 a** MORAWSKI 1690 *Pour nyent plante, qui ne clost*. Ähnlich Saint-Omer 173 (Liber Pictaleon 156) *Non messem cernet, qui spargere semina spernet*.

**10** TPMA schuldig 2. Rom. 1, 32 *Qui, cum iustitiam Dei cognouissent, non intellexerunt, quoniam, qui talia agunt, digni sunt morte: et non solum qui ea faciunt, sed etiam qui consentiunt facientibus*. Prouerbia Henrici 31 *Criminis adiutor reus est censendus et auctor*.

**11 a** Vielleicht eine Anspielung auf die Fabel Pfau und Juno, Romulus 74; DICKE / GRUBMÜLLER 457; TUBACH 3632 *Peacock cannot sing*; Christian HÜNEMÖRDER, s. v. *Pfau* [I], in: LMA 6 (1993) 2026.

**12 b** TPMA jung 5.3.2; SINGER 2, 103-104. MORAWSKI 509 (ähnlich 1961) *De joene saintel veil dyable*. Saint-Omer 45 (Liber Pictaleon 148) *Canus grassatur, iuuenis qui sanctificatur*. Iocalis 264-265. Vgl. John A. BURROW, *Young Saint, Old Devil: Reflections on a Medieval Proverb*, in: ID., *Essays on Medieval Literature* (Oxford 1984) 177-191. – Ähnlich Abaelard. Astral. 655-658 *Religio iuuenis leuis est impulsio mentis, | et tamquam torrens impetuosus aque. | Quo uehemencior est, citius siccabitur iste, | excedensque modum, deperit ille cito*. Vgl. WOLLIN, *Ein Liebeslied des Petrus Abaelardus* (Anm. 9) 135-136.



**14 a** TPMA Glas 13 (nur diese Stelle belegt). – Ähnlich Saint-Omer 193 (Prouerbia rustici 34, Liber Pictaleon 144) *Olla super lapidem cadat aut contra: metus idem*. WPS 1006 *Amphora quassatur, feriat lapis aut feriatur*. Iocalis 171-172. TPMA Gefäß 11.3.

**15 a** Im Altertum galt es als charakteristische Kampfweise der Parther, auf ihren Pferden zum Schein zu fliehen, wobei sie sich umdrehten, um den nachsetzenden Gegner mit ihren Pfeilen zu treffen; vgl. Ov. ars 1, 209-210 (rem. 155-158) *Tergaque Parthorum Romanaque pectora dicam | telaque, ab auerso quae iacit hostis equo*. Weitere antike Stellen nennen die Kommentare ad loc., z. B. Paul BRANDT, *P. Ovidi Nasonis de arte amatoria libri tres* (Leipzig 1902; Reprint Hildesheim 1991) 21; Richard MÜLLER, *Motivkatalog der römischen Elegie. Eine Untersuchung zur Poetik der Römer* (Diss. Zürich 1952) 13-16. CB 117, 11, 2 *et dum Parthus sine telis*.

**15 b** TPMA dulden 1.7. Prou. 15, 18 *Vir iracundus pronocat rixas: qui patiens est, mitigat suscitatas*. Publil. sent. c 12 (111) *Cuius dolori remedium est patientia*. Ps. Cato dist. 1, 38 *Quem superare potes, interdum uince ferendo; | maxima enim est hominum semper patientia uirtus*. MORAWSKI 1060 *Li bon soufreor vaint partout*. HASSELL S 108 *Qui souffre il vainc*.

**16 a** *Lorus* bedeutet „Jagdhund“ oder „Bluthund“ (vgl. W 45 a). Das Wort ist sonst nicht belegt; allein das DMLBS (1644 b) führt die Form *lorarius* auf. Allerdings ist das Zeugnis spät; es stammt von John Caius (1510-1573), *De canibus Britannicis libellus* (1570) fol. 3b (DMLBS 1591 b, s. v. *leuinarius*): *quod [sc. canum genus] ... genere et compositione corporis medium est inter sagacem illum et leporarium, et a leuitate appellatur leuinarius, a loro, quo ducitur, lorarius*. Vgl. im Allgemeinen Sigrid SCHWENK, s. v. *Jagdhunde*, in: LMA 5 (1991) 270-272.

**16 b** Vgl. Matth. 6, 1-2 (3-4) *Attendite, ne iustitiam uestram faciatis coram hominibus, ut uideamini ab eis: alioquin mercedem non habebitis apud Patrem uestrum, qui in caelis est. Cum ergo facis eleemosynam, noli tuba canere ante te, sicut hypocritae faciunt in synagogis et in uicis, ut honorificentur ab hominibus. Amen dico uobis, receperunt mercedem suam*. Überhaupt ist das Schweigen das Zeichen des Weisen, vgl. SINGER 2, 35. 139-140; TPMA schweigen 1.3.2.4, schweigen 1.5.1, Weise 7.4, Wort 16.1, Wort 35.5; WOLLIN, *Nec fallit sermo vulgari tritus in ore* (Anm. 6) 401.

**17 a** TPMA Esel 8.4. Ähnlich Alan. Ins. parab. 65-66 *Currere cogit equum sub milite calcar acutum, | et puerum studio uirga uacare suo*.

**19 b** I Cor. 13, 13 *Nunc autem manent fides, spes, caritas: tria haec, maior autem horum est caritas*.

**20 a** Bei Jacques de Vitry findet sich die Erzählung *De ceruo* (Joseph GREVEN [Hrsg.], *Die Exempla aus den Sermones feriales et communes des Jakob von Vitry* [Sammlung mittellateinischer Texte 9; Heidelberg 1914] 41, Nr. 65; TUBACH 4590 Stag and dogs): *Dicitur, quod ceruus, quando canes insequuntur eum, audiens canum latratus, licet posset euadere, stat et expectat, dum in audiendo delectatur; et ita canibus appropinquantibus capitur. – Sic multi latratus canum infernalium expectant, dum claudere aures contra sibilum serpentis debuerant, ut occasiones peccandi vitare possent. Si enim Eua contra sibi-*

*lum serpentis aurem clausisset, et Deo prohibenti aurem obediencie apperuisset, mortem non incurrisset.* Die vermutlich zutreffende Erklärung dieses merkwürdigen Verhaltens der Hirsche gibt Goswin FRENKEN (*Die Exempla des Jacob von Vitry* [München 1914] 128, Nr. 62): „Jakob scheint hier eine naturwissenschaftliche Anekdote ungenau aus dem Gedächtnis zu zitieren. Daß der Hirsch gerade an dem Gebell der Hunde eine besondere Freude haben soll, erscheint auch für mittelalterliche Anschauungen sehr unwahrscheinlich. ... Bartholomaeus Anglicus (Lib. XVIII cap. 29) und nach ihm Bozon (Nr. 43) erzählt die naturwissenschaftliche Anekdote dann wohl so, wie sie Jacob vorgelegen hatte. Danach schicken die Jäger einen Flötenbläser ohne Waffen voraus, und während der Hirsch seinen Melodien lauscht, wird er vom Jäger getötet.“ Vermutlich nahm das Missverständnis seinen Ausgang bei Solinus 19, 11, der die entsprechenden Einzelinformationen in direkter Folge nennt: *Acceptis canum latratibus secundo uento uias dirigunt, ut odor cum ipsis recedat. Mirantur sibilum fistularum: rectis auribus acutissime audiunt, submissis nihil. Stupent omnia: propterea facilius obuio se praebent sagittantibus.* Diese Nachrichten fehlen im Physiologus Latinus (y 43, b 29, Dicta 13), vgl. McCULLOCH 172-174 (stag).

**20 b** „Das falsche Lob, welches der Tod der Seele ist, erfreut die Menschen.“

**22 a** Physiologus Latinus y 12, 8-9 ... *cum autem creuerint filii eius in utero matris suae, non habens illa sinum, unde pariat, tunc filii adaperiunt latus matris suae, et exeunt occidentes matrem.* Isid. etym. 12, 4, 10 *Vipera dicta, quod ui pariat. Nam et cum uenter eius ad partum ingemuerit, catuli, non expectantes maturam naturae solutionem, conrosis eius lateribus ui erumpunt cum matris interitu.* Ps. Ouidius De mirabilibus mundi 63 *Conceptos morte parit equa uipera sorte.* McCULLOCH 183-184 (viper); HENKEL 181-185.

**22 b** „Wer von Lastern begraben ist, gibt dennoch anderen Leben, wenn er gut spricht.“

**23 a** Isid. etym. 12, 4, 6 *Basiliscus Graece, Latine interpretatur regulus, eo quod rex serpentium sit, adeo ut eum uidentes fugiant, quia olfactu suo eos necat; nam et hominem, uel si aspiciat, interimit.* Obgleich der Basilisk in der Tradition des Physiologus Latinus fehlt, gehört er doch zum festen Bestand der mittelalterlichen Erzählliteratur, vgl. Hans-Jörg UTHER, s. v. *Basilisk*, in: EM 1 (1977) 1311-1315; Christian HÜNEMÖRDER / Annemarie BRÜCKNER, s. v. *Basilisk*, in: LMA 1 (1980) 1529-1530.

**23 b** *et nequam paruulos: sc. occidit.* „Mit schlechten Beispielen und nichtswürdigen Worten tötet der Schurke die Schwachen.“

**24 a** OTTO 1169; TPMA Maus 4.1. Plaut. Truc. 867-868 *Cogitato, mus pusillus quam sit sapiens bestia, | aetatem qui non cubili uni umquam committit suam.* MORAWSKI 1035 *La souris est mauuise, qui ne set c'un pertuis.* MORAWSKI 449 „*Dabez*“ *ait la soriz, qui ne set c'un pertuis.* HASSELL S 119 *La souris est tote (tost) prise qui n'a qu'un trou.* Prouerbia Henrici 86 *Infelix mus est, cui non uno lare plus est.* Henricus Abrincensis carm. R 81 *Consilium tibi do, mus, ne sit sola crepido. | Ne tibi sola domus sit, consilium tibi do, mus. | Si fue-*

*rit, gaude, mus, si non duo tecta, time, mus!* WPS 15758 (mit weiteren Belegen) *Mus cito decipitur, cui tantum rimula scitur.* Iocalis 802-803. Das Sprichwort bildet ein schönes Beispiel für die Langlebigkeit eines antiken Sprichworts, welches außer bei Plautus keinen Eingang in die römische Literatur gefunden hatte, aber in der Sprache des Volkes bis in die Romania fortlebte, vgl. SINGER 1, 103-104; 2, 89.

**26 b** *si uelle dederit*: „wenn er ihre Wünsche erfüllt hat“.

**28 a** Der milde Westwind (*Fauonius*) begünstigt das Aufblühen der Blumen im Frühling, der raue Nordwestwind (*Threicius*) zerstört sie. Die Eigenschaften der Winde kommen auch in ihrer Etymologie zum Ausdruck, vgl. Isid. etym. 13, 11, 8 *Zephyrus Graeco nomine appellatus, eo quod flores et germina eius flatu uiuificentur. Hic Latine Fauonius dicitur, propter quod foneat, quae nascuntur.* Der griechische Name *Θρακίας* für den Nordwestwind ist in der lateinischen Literatur selten, vgl. Sen. nat. 5, 16, 6 (Beschreibung der Windrose) *A septentrionali latere summus est aquilo, medius septemtrio, imus Θρακίας*; *huic deest apud nos uocabulum.* Guill. Conch. dram. 5, 2, 11 (CCCM 152, 138) *A septentrionali latere est Aquilo summus, Septentrio medius, Thracias imus* ... Die zerstörerische Eigenschaft scheint der Dichter von der Wildheit der Thraker abzuleiten, vgl. Isid. etym. 14, 4, 6 ... *alii a saeuitia incolarum Thraciam appellatam dixerunt.* – Die dichterische Nebenform *Threicius* (statt des üblichen *Thracias* bzw. *Thrascias*) ist offensichtlich Reminiszenz an die Lektüre der römischen Epiker. Vgl. im Allgemeinen Barbara OBRIST, *Wind Diagrams and Medieval Cosmology*, in: *Speculum* 72 (1997) 33-84; Uta LINDGREN, *s. v. Winde*, in: LMA 9 (1999) 231-232.

**29 a** OTTO 922; TPMA Ziegel 2 (3). Isid. sent. 2, 13, 7 (PL 83, 615 B; CCSL 111, 121) *Nam qui plangit peccatum, et iterum admittit peccatum, quasi si quis lauet laterem crudum, quem quanto magis elauerit, tanto amplius lutum facit.* Der Vergleich gelangte im Mittelalter zu großer Beliebtheit.

**29 b** TPMA schelten 8.3. Prou. 15, 12 *Non amat pestilens eum, qui se corripit, nec ad sapientes graditur.* ib. 9, 7-8 *Qui erudit derisorem, ipse iniuriam sibi facit; et qui arguit impium, sibi maculam generat. Noli arguere derisorem, ne oderit te; argue sapientem, et diliget te!* Abaelard. Astral. 539-540 *Sicut amat sapiens hominem, qui corrigit ipsum, | sic odit, qui se corripit, insipiens.*

**30 a** Isid. etym. 12, 7, 55 *Accipiter auis animo plus armata quam unguis, uirtutem maiorem in minori corpore gestans. Hic ab accipiendo, id est a capiando, nomen sumpsit. Est enim auis rapiendis aliis auibus auida, ideoque uocatur accipiter, hoc est raptor.* McCULLOCH 123-124 (hawk).

**34-35** Physiologus Latinus b 28, 2-5 (die Passage fehlt in y 41, die Turteltaube völlig in den Dicta) *Physiologus de turture dicit ualde uirum suum diligere, et caste cum illo uiuere, et ipsi soli fidem seruare; ita ut, si quando euenerit, ut masculus eius aut ab accipitre aut ab aucupe capiatur, haec alteri masculo se non iungit, sed ipsum semper desiderat et ipsum per singula momenta sperat, et ipsius recordatione et desiderio usque ad mortem perseuerat.* Treue und Keuschheit sind die kennzeichnenden Eigenschaften der Turteltaube, vgl. McCULLOCH 178-179 (turtledove); MESSELKEN 95-106; Arthur B. GROOS Jr.,

„*Sigune auf der Linde*“ and the Turtledove in *Parzival*, in: *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 67 (1968) 631-646, hier 638-642; Louise GNÄDINGER, *Eremitica. Studien zur altfranzösischen Heiligenvita des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen 1972) 69-82; Florence McCULLOCH, *Saint Euphrosine, Saint Alexis and the Turtledove*, in: *Romania* 98 (1977) 168-185; Christian HÜNEMÖRDER, s. v. *Taube* [I], in: *LMA* 8 (1997) 491-492. – Weitere Stellen aus der modernen Dichtung Frankreichs habe ich oben in Anm. 5 beigebracht.

**34 a** „Nach der ersten Ehe verschmäht die Turteltaube eine neue, solange bis sie stirbt.“

**36 a** Isid. etym. 12, 7, 70 *Erundo dicta, quod cibos non sumat residens, sed in aere capiat escas et edat; garrula auis, per tortuosos orbes et flexuosos circuitus peruolans ...* McCULLOCH 174-175 (swallow).

**38 a** Zu den Eigenschaften der Taube gehört die umfassende Liebe, mit der sie auch fremde Kücken aufzieht, vgl. MESSELKEN 75-77. Petr. Riga carm. B 73, 7-8 *Hec pullis aliis maternum soluit amorem; | omnibus affectum soluere curet homo.*

**40 a** TPMA schonen 3, Löwe 4.1. Isid. etym. 12, 2, 6 *Circa hominem leonum natura est, ut nisi laesi nequeunt irasci. Patet enim eorum misericordia exemplis assiduis. Prostratis enim parcut; captiuos obuios repatriare permittunt; hominem non nisi in magna fame interimunt.* Ps. Ovidius *De mirabilibus mundi* 106-107 *Parcere prostratis scit nobilis ira leonis. | Tu quoque fac simile, quisquis dominaris in orbe!* Archipoeta carm. 10, 25, 1-2 *Parcit enim subditis leo, rex ferarum, | et est erga subditos immemor irarum.* Vgl. die Stellensammlung bei Montague Rhodes James in seiner Ausgabe des pseudo-ovidischen Gedichts *De mirabilibus mundi* p. 286-287; McCULLOCH 137-140 (lion), hier 138. Vgl. im Allgemeinen Christian HÜNEMÖRDER / Ulrike LIEBL / Václav FILIP, s. v. *Löwe* [I-III], in: *LMA* 5 (1991) 2141-2142.

**41 a** Als Eigenschaft der Taube gilt auch ihr klagender Ruf, vgl. MESSELKEN 77-81. Petr. Riga carm. B 73, 11-12 *Hec gemit, et nullo uocis inbilo citharizat; | quod male deliquit, sic bene plangat homo.*

**41 b** *fletu, ieuniis: sc. utitur.*

**42 a** Von der Fähigkeit des Papageis, menschliche Laute, ja sogar auf Griechisch und Latein, zu imitieren, berichtet Isid. etym. 12, 7, 24 *Psittacus Indiae litoribus gignitur, colore uiridi, torque puniceo, grandi lingua et ceteris auibus latiore. Vnde et articulata uerba exprimit, ita ut, si eam non uideris, hominem loqui putes. Ex natura autem salutat, dicens: „haue“ uel χαῖρε. Cetera nomina institutione discit.* Solinus 52, 45. Ps. Ovidius *De mirabilibus mundi* 100 *Hi uolucres rostris dant uerba simillima nostris.* SCHULTZ 1, 348; McCULLOCH 151 (parrot); Christian HÜNEMÖRDER, s. v. *Papagei*, in: *LMA* 6 (1993) 1662-1663.

**43 a** OTTO 184; TPMA Esel 6.1; DICKE / GRUBMÜLLER 114; TUBACH 378 *Ass delights in harp music*; Rolf Wilhelm BREDNICH, s. v. *Esel als Lautenspieler*, in: *EM* 4 (1984) 426-428; Julia Bolton HOLLOWAY, *The Asse to the Harpe: Boethian Music in Chaucer*, in: Michael MASI (Hrsg.), *Boethius and the Liberal Arts* (Bern 1981) 175-186. – Zur plastischen Dar-

stellung des leierspielenden Esels an der Kathedrale von Chartres vgl. Édouard JEAUNEAU, *L'âge d'or des écoles de Chartres* (Chartres 1995) 11-12 mit weiterer Literatur.

**44 b** Alan. Ins. parab. 89-90 *Fumum, non ignem, iaculatur ab ore Veseus ; / colloquio, non re, liuor obesse potest.*

**45 a** *lorus* : „Jagdhund, Bluthund“, s. o. Kommentar zu *W* 16 a.

**46 a** TPMA Wein 4.3. Gegen die schädliche Mischung von Wein und Wasser haben der Hugo Primas (carm. 14 = CB 194) und andere Dichter bissige Satiren geschrieben (z. B. CB 193 und das Streitgedicht *Cum tenerent omnia medium tumultum*, WIC 3834, 4975). Vgl. SCHULTZ 1, 304.

**48 a** TPMA Dieb 10.2, hängen 16. MORAWSKI 1048 (vgl. 1088, 1352) *Lerres n'amera ja celui, qui le respite des fourches.* HASSELL L 20 *Larron (Homme) n'amera ja celui qui le respite des fourches.* Nigellus Speculum stultorum 1841-1842 *Inter mille uiros erit ille nocentior hostis, / quem te constiterit surripuisse cruci.* WPS 11214 *Hostem semper emit, alium qui de cruce demit.*

**48 b** TPMA dienen 8.11.3-5. MORAWSKI 1986 (vgl. 2271-2272) *Qui mauuaiz seigneur sert, mauuais loyer atent.* Serlo Wilt. carm. 66 (Friend Nr. 23) *Sun tens pert, ki felun sert. / Nil homo profecit, qui nequicie bene fecit. / Hoc amisisti, quod iniquis exhibuisti. / Prauis obsequere — perdita res opere.*

**50 a** TPMA Katze 13, Tier 3.1. Abaelard. Astral. 665-666 *Nec catus poterit seruari pelle nitente, / nec mulier, cultus si preciosus erit.* Chrétien de Troyes *Yvain* 594 (Foerster) *L'an dit que chaz saous s'anvoise.* Wahrscheinlich sollte MORAWSKI 374 (vgl. seine Bemerkung auf p. XVI) wie folgt verbessert werden: *Chat sauleis s'anvoise.* Das anonyme Sprichwortgedicht Marcolf et Salomon (Anm. 7) *Quant lo chat est bel / Et luisant la pel, / Lors asauvagist, / Ce dist Salemons.* Vgl. WOLLIN, *Neue Textzeugen* (Anm. 8) 221-223; ID., *Nec fallit sermo vulgari tritus in ore* (Anm. 6) 389-390. – Vgl. im Allgemeinen Robert DELORT, s. v. *Katze*, in: LMA 5 (1991) 1078-1080.

**50 b** TPMA arm 6.9, dienen 9.1.3.2. Claudianus 18, 181-184 *Asperius nihil est humili, cum surgit in altum : / cuncta ferit, dum cuncta timet, desaenit in omnes, / ut se posse putent, nec belua taetrior ulla / quam serui rabies in libera terga furentis.* Alan. Ins. parab. 299-300 *Asperius nichil est humili, cum surgit in altum : / pingitur excelsa simia sede sedens.* Galter. Castel. Alex. 1, 89-91 *Sic partis opibus et honoris culmine, seruus / in dominum surgens, truculentior aspide surda, / obturat precibus aures, mansuescere nescit.* Iocalis 887-888. MORAWSKI 938 *Il n'est si mauz dongier com de poure gent.*

**51 a** OTTO 1939; TPMA Fuchs 1.1-2.

**52 a** *Corili* : *corylus* oder *corulus*, „der Haselstrauch“.

**52 b** TPMA dulden 1.3-8.

**53 a** *Autula* : (auch *antula*) „die Antilope“. Physiologus Latinus Dicta 9 (in y 2 und b 2 heißt das Tier *autolops*) *Est et animal autula nomine acerrium nimis, ita ut nullus uenatorum ei possit appropinquare. ... Quando uero sitierit, uenit ad flumen magnum Eufraten et bibit. Sunt autem ibi uirge uiticee subtiles et molles. Incipit autem illud animal ludere cum uirgulis illis, et inludendo*

*obligat semetipsum cornu, obligatusque ambobus cornibus uociferat cum rugitu, quia euadere non potest gracilibus uirgulis circumseptus; et tunc quilibet uenatorum absconse audiens uocem eius currit, et ligatum inueniens occidit.* McCULLOCH 84-86 (antelope); HENKEL 179-180; Christian HÜNEMÖRDER, s. v. *Antilope*, in: LMA 1 (1980) 715.

**54 a** TPMA Biber. Isid. etym. 19, 27, 4 *Ipsos et castores existimant, quos dum uenatores secuntur, ipsi sibi testiculos adimunt.* Physiologus Latinus b 17, 3-6 (y 36, Dicta 16) *Physiologus exposuit naturam eius dicens, quia, cum inuestigauerit eum uenator, sequitur post eum; castor uero, cum respexerit post se et uiderit uenatorem uenientem post se, statim morsu abscidit testiculos suos, et proicit eos ante faciem uenatoris, et sic fugiens euadit; uenator autem ueniens colligit eos, et ultra iam non persequitur eum, sed recedit ab eo.* Ps. Ouidius De mirabilibus mundi 76-77 *Vt redimat sese, truncat genitalia dente, | hoc quoniam purum medicina requirit ad usum.* McCULLOCH 95 (beaver); HENKEL 189-190; Christian HÜNEMÖRDER, s. v. *Biber* [II], in: LMA 2 (1983) 106-107; Meinolf SCHUMACHER, *Der Biber – ein Asket? Zu einem metaphorischen Motiv aus Fabel und Physiologus*, in: *Euphorion* 86 (1992) 347-353.

**55 a** *uenatio*: „das Beutetier“.

**56 b** Ähnlich Ps. Cato dist. 4, 9 *Quod tibi suspectum est, confestim discute, quid sit: | namque solent, primo quae sunt neglecta, nocere.* Alan. Ins. parab. 319-326.

**57 a** TPMA Weg 11.2. Sap. 5, 9-10 *Transierunt omnia illa tamquam umbra, et tamquam nuntius percurrrens, et tamquam nauis, quae pertransit fluctuantem aquam, cuius, cum praeterierit, non est uestigium inuenire neque semitam carinae illius in fluctibus ...* Prou. 31, 18-19 *Tria sunt difficilia mihi, et quartum penitus ignoro: uiam aquilae in caelo, uiam colubri super petram, uiam nauis in medio maris.*

**58 a** TPMA Weg 11.2. Sap. 5, 11 ... *aut tamquam auis, quae transuolat in aere, cuius nullum inuenitur argumentum itineris, sed tantum sonitus alarum, uerberans leuem uentum, et scindens per uim itineris aerem.* Prou. 31, 18-19.

**58 b** TPMA versprechen 1.2, 4.1-7.

**59 a** *Vespa*: Vgl. Beda epist. 2 (PL 94, 664 A-B) *Quibus apte conuenit illud uulgi prouerbiū: quia uespaē fanos quidem facere cum possint, non tamen in his mella, sed potius uenena thesaurizent.* HÄUSSLER p. 226.

**59 b** Iob 15, 34 *Congregatio enim hypocritae sterilis ...*

**60 a** *poma Sodoma*: der Sodomapfel (Frucht der *Asclepias gigantea*) zerfällt bei der Berührung. Schon nach Deut. 32, 32 soll die Gegend um Sodom und Gomorra nur noch ungenießbare Früchte hervorgebracht haben; diese Früchte beschreibt dann Flavius Iosephus, De bello Iudaeico 4, 8, 484. Erst in der lateinischen Tradition werden sie als *poma Sodoma* bezeichnet: vgl. Tert. apol. 40, 7 (CCSL 1, 154) *Nondum Iudaeorum ab Aegypto examen Palaestina suscepit, nec iam illic Christianae sectae origo considerat, cum regiones affines eius Sodoma et Gomorra igneus imber exussit. Olet adhuc incendio terra, et si qua illic arborum poma, conantur oculis tenuis, ceterum contacta cinerescunt.* Hegesippus 4, 18 (CSEL 66, 1, 271-272) *Arsere terrae, ardent aquae, in quibus caelestis ignis reliquiae recognoscuntur atque adhuc manent*

[species] illic ad speciem poma uiridantia, formatus uuarum racemus ut edendi genere spectantibus cupiditatem. Si carpas, fatiscunt ac resoluuntur in cinerem fumumque excitant, quasi adhuc ardeant. Solinus 35, 8 *Ibi duo oppida, Sodomum nominatum alterum, alterum Gomorrum, apud quae pomum quod gignitur, habeat licet speciem maturitatis, mandi tamen non potest: nam fuliginem intrinsecus fanillaciam ambitio tantum extimae cutis cohibet, quae uel leui pressa tactu fumum exhalat et fatiscit in uagum puluerem.* Alexander SCHEIBER, s. v. *Apfel Sodomas*, in: EM 1 (1977) 625-626.

**61 b** TPMA reich 3.5.

**62 b** TPMA Fuß 6.23, Nr. 121. Eccli. 21, 25 *Pes fatui facilis in domum proximi; et homo peritus confundetur a persona potentis.* Der einzige im TPMA nachgewiesene Beleg, nämlich bei John Trevisa (ca. 1342-1402) in seiner Übersetzung von Richard FitzRalph's Sermon: Defensio Curatorum (Aaron Jenkins PERRY [Hrsg.], *Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum, Richard FitzRalph's Sermon: Defensio Curatorum and Methodius: De Bygynyng of Be World and Be Ende of Worldes by John Trevisa* [Early English Text Society 167; London 1925] 91, 3-4), erweist sich nur als mittellenglische Übersetzung des biblischen Spruches.

**64 a** TPMA Wassersucht. Der Vergleich des Habgierigen mit dem immer dürstenden Wassersüchtigen soll nach Johannes Stobäus (Anth. 3, 10, 45) auf den kynischen Philosophen Diogenes zurückgehen. Schon bei den klassischen römischen Dichtern und den Kirchenvätern ist das Bild beliebt und wird von ihnen dem Mittelalter tradiert. Besonders zahlreich sind die Belege in der Dichtung des 12. Jahrhunderts (vgl. die Nachweisungen im TPMA und der genannten Literatur), ich nenne aus dem Umfeld des Dichters nur: Carmina Florentina 5, 31-32 *Dum bibit ydropicus, magis et cupit et sitit undam: | sic magis exardet semper auara lues.* Abaelard. Astral. 407-408 *Ydropico similis nemo est ut diues auarus, | ex lucro lucri multiplicando sitim.* Ernst Robert CURTIUS, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Tübingen <sup>11</sup>1993) 284-285; Richard NEWHAUSER, *The love of money as deadly sin and deadly disease*, in: *Zusammenhänge, Einflüsse, Wirkungen. Kongressakten zum ersten Symposium des Mediävistenverbandes in Tübingen, 1984*, hrsg. Jörg O. FICHTE e. a. (Berlin / New York 1986) 315-326, hier 320-326; WOLLIN, *Ein Liebeslied des Petrus Abaelardus* (Anm. 9) 145.

**66 a** Gemeint ist die berühmte Fabel vom Esel in der Löwenhaut, AaTh 214 B; DICKE / GRUBMÜLLER 117; TUBACH 386 Ass, in lion's skin; Christine SCHMIDT, s. v. *Esel in der Löwenhaut*, in: EM 4 (1984) 428-435; TPMA Esel 15.1. – Vgl. z. B. Auian. fab. 5; Alan. Ins. parab. 433-442; Localis 860-861.

**G 2** *succidio: succidium* „das Fellen“.

**G 29 a** Eccli. 9, 12 *Nescit homo finem suum; sed sicut pisces capiuntur hamo, et sicut aues laqueo comprehenduntur, sic capiuntur homines in tempore malo, cum eis extemplo superuenerit.* Allegoriae in uniuersam Sacram Scripturam, s. v.

hamus (PL 112, 948 A) *Hic est impronius interitus terrenarum ambitione rerum obuolutus, unde dicit Ecclesiastes: Nescit homo finem suum ...* Serlo Wilt. carm. 2, 9 *Vnam semper amo, cuius non soluor ab hamo.*

**G 30 a** Die Gefahren, denen sich Jäger und Hunde bei der Sauhatz aussetzten, beschreibt anschaulich SCHULTZ 1, 361-363.

**G 30 b** Vgl. Ps. Cato dist. 1, 35 *Ne dubita, cum magna petes, impendere parua: | bis etenim pressos contingit gloria raro.* Iocalis 183-184 *Pro magno questu magnus sumptus est faciendus, | et non pro modico magnus defectus habendus.*

**G 31 a** TPMA Kerze 1.4. Isid. sent. 3, 37, 6 (PL 83, 708 C; CCSL 111, 279) *Qui bene docet et male uiuit, uidetur, ut cereus, aliis, dum bonum exponit, lucem praestare, se uero in malis suis consumere atque exstinguere.* Guill. Conch. dragm. 4, 1 (CCCM 152, 82) *Candela, nisi fuerit accensa, nichil habere usus indicatur; accensa, aliis seruit, se consumit.* Honor. Aug. elucid. 2, 17 (PL 172, 1148 A) [*ecclesie ministri ...*] *Si bene docuerint et male uixerint, sunt ardens candela, que aliis lucet, et sibimet cera liquescente deficit.* Petr. Riga Flor. Asp. A 27, 115-116 (PL 171, 1291 A) *Cum doceant alios, se non hortantur, et instar | candeles spargunt in sua dampna iubar.*

**G 32 a** TPMA Schnee 6. Prouerbia Henrici 230 *Sub nixe quod tegitur, dum nix perit, inuenietur.* Iocalis 187-188 *Quod modo nescitur, post hec fortasse scietur; | sub nixe quod tegitur, dum nix perit, omne uidetur.*

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*Summary*

*Absit suspicio, dum tela iacio* (WIC 196) is a poem of 66 rhythmic stanzas. Though Hans Walther already published most of the stanzas scattered through the five volumes of his monumental *Proverbia sententiaeque Latinitatis medii aevi* the poem's original form has never been published in its entirety. In each stanza the unknown poet presents an image taken from the Bible, the Roman classics, the encyclopaedic tradition, the *Physiologus* or proverbial wisdom, from which he draws moral insight or advice. The text is transmitted by four medieval manuscripts: Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 901, fol. 1r-4r (66 stanzas); Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Ms. Guelf. 7 Helmst., fol. 2ra-va (42 stanzas); Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. 350, fol. 95rb-c (39 stanzas); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 15155, fol. 163r-v (15 stanzas). Though we have no clue as to the author's identity, we may safely assume that he was a monk who had been trained in France and wrote during the Twelfth Century.

# Remembering the Gospels in the Later Middle Ages: The Anonymous *Capitula Euangeliorum* *Versificae Scripta*\*

by

Greti DINKOVA-BRUUN

(Toronto)

The anonymous *Capitula Euangeliorum versificae scripta* is a short mnemonic poem on the contents of the gospels, which was composed most likely in Central Europe in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. It is found in two manuscripts, one written in the fourteenth century and preserved in the Royal Library in Copenhagen,<sup>1</sup> and another from the fifteenth century and preserved in the National Library of Austria in Vienna.<sup>2</sup> In both manuscripts, the *Capitula* is preceded by the popular *Summarium Biblicum*,<sup>3</sup> thus placing the

\* I thank Professors A. G. Rigg, Peter Stotz, and Jennifer A. Harris for making many useful comments on an earlier draft of this article. The anonymous reader for the journal is also acknowledged with gratitude.

<sup>1</sup> See Copenhagen, Royal Library, Thott 3 8<sup>vo</sup> (s. xiv), fol. 570rv (henceforth K). For a brief description of the contents of the manuscript, see E. JØRGENSEN, *Catalogus Codicum Latinorum Medii Aevi Bibliothecae Regiae Hafnensis*. Copenhagen, 1926, p. 6. Provenance: Bohemia.

<sup>2</sup> See Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 4543 (s. xv), fols. 35r-36r (henceforth V). A summary description of the manuscript is found in *Tabulae Codicum Manuscriptorum praeter Graecos et Orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum*, vols. 3-4, cod. 3501-6500, Vienna, 1864-1868, repr. Graz, 1965), p. 305. Unknown provenance. See also H. WALTHER, *Initia Carminum ac Versuum Medii Aevi Posterioris Latinorum*, Göttingen, 1959, 2nd ed., Göttingen, 1969, no. 185, with no mention of the Copenhagen manuscript.

work in a clear context of biblical mnemonic and didactic verse, a literary genre that enjoyed a huge popularity in the later Middle Ages.<sup>4</sup> The anonymous *Capitula Euangeliorum* takes an original approach to versification, dedicating one hexameter per biblical chapter and using words taken in most cases directly from the biblical narrative.<sup>5</sup> At first glance the poem seems to represent a simple device for rote memorization, but a careful study of the text shows that the poet was an inventive and careful versifier who was able to create an extremely concise, but at the same time also ingenious mnemonic composition. Judging from the introductory verses of Matthew's Gospel it seems that the poet's original intention was to compose an abecedarian work but this plan must have met insurmountable difficulties and was abandoned after five lines (ABCDE).

The two manuscripts of the *Capitula Euangeliorum* exhibit two independent versions of the poem, clearly belonging to different manuscript traditions. Manuscript *V*, despite being a later witness, provides a longer text<sup>6</sup> and attests a clearer

<sup>3</sup> There are more than 400 manuscripts of this poem which is probably wrongly attributed to Alexander de Villa Dei. It was printed in J. DE LA HAYE, *Biblia Maxima*, Paris, 1660, vol. 1, p. 1-10. For the latest study on the *Summarium* and a transcription of its text from codex Lilienfeld 145 (s. XIV), see L. DOLEŽALOVÁ, "Biblia quasi in saculo: *Summarium Biblie* and other medieval Bible mnemonics," *Medium Aevum Quotidianum*, 56 (2007), p. 5-35. It is worth mentioning that manuscript *V* contains merely an excerpt from the *Summarium*, namely the section on the four gospels, which strengthens even further its connection with the *Capitula Euangeliorum*.

<sup>4</sup> For a presentation of the genre and a corpus of works written in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see G. DINKOVA-BRUUN, "Biblical Versifications from Late Antiquity to the Middle of the Thirteenth Century: History or Allegory?", in *Poetry and Exegesis in Premodern Latin Christianity. The Encounter between Classical and Christian Strategies of Interpretation*, ed. W. OTTEN and K. POLLMANN, Leiden, 2007 (*Vigiliae Christianae*, Supplements 87), p. 315-342.

<sup>5</sup> Even though the title of the poem suggests a connection to the prose biblical *tituli* which precede the individual biblical books in some Bibles, this is not the case. The biblical *tituli* are simply too short and too general to provide all the key words chosen by the poet. For the text of some of the *tituli*, see D. DE BRUYNE, *Préfaces de la Bible latine*, Namur, 1920, p. 158-170, where they are divided into canons.

<sup>6</sup> For example, both the Gospel of Luke and the Gospel of John are lon-

understanding of the structure of the verses.<sup>7</sup> At the same time, manuscript *K*, even though careless and sometimes confused, is nevertheless invaluable because it contains a large number of interlinear glosses which enrich our understanding of the composition's intended audience, use and usefulness. This situation suggests that further copies of the *Capitula* are probably waiting to be discovered.

### 1. *The Work*

The title of the poem, *Capitula Euangeliorum uersifice scripta cum glossa interlineari*, found only in manuscript *K*, implies that the work represents a verse summary of the contents of each and every chapter of the four Gospels. If this was indeed the original intention of the versifier, there are reasons to believe that the poem we have in front of us today must be unfinished. First, all four gospels in the *Capitula* are missing their final chapters, i.e. the ones that tell the story of Christ's crucifixion, resurrection and ascension; and second, in addition to these missing sections, manuscript *K* does not versify Luke, chapter 21 and John, chapters 12-16. The following table bears this out:

<i>Gospel</i>	<i>Biblical chapters</i>	<i>Chapters (= verses) in Capitula</i>	<i>Missing final chapters</i>
Matthew	28	25	26, 27, 28
Mark	16	12	13, 14, 15, 16
Luke	24	20 (in <i>K</i> ), 21 (in <i>V</i> )	22, 23, 24
John	21	11 (in <i>K</i> ), 16 (in <i>V</i> )	17, <sup>8</sup> 18, 19, 20, 21
TOTAL	89	68 (in <i>K</i> ), 74 (in <i>V</i> )	15

ger in *V*, the former with one verse, the latter with as many as five. In addition, there are a couple of other verses that are preserved only partially in *K* and fully in *V* (see verse 5 in Mark and verse 9 in John).

<sup>7</sup> Examples for the wrong verse divisions in *K* can be found below, in section 5 of this article which deals with the present edition of the poem.

<sup>8</sup> Technically, chapter 17 in John's Gospel precedes the events of the passion, but since it contains Jesus' prayer to God the Father on behalf of the world, it is closely related to the chapters that follow.



Considering the pronounced interest of John's Gospel in the last days of Christ, it is not surprising that it is most affected by these omissions. Still, the question remains: Why was the passion-resurrection story left out in the *Capitula Euangeliorum*? It is hardly reasonable to believe that it was so well known that it did not have to be included in a mnemonic poem on the contents of the Gospels. Indeed, it is enough to recall Guido Vicentinus' words in the prologue to his *Margarita* to become convinced of the opposite.<sup>9</sup> This is what the Bishop of Ferrara says after explaining that he will versify each chapter of the Bible in two hexameters: "In the final chapters of the Gospels, in which the story of Christ's passion, resurrection and ascension is told, because of reverence towards the events described there and because of the many instances, in which the accounts of the evangelists overlap, I wrote as many verses for each chapter, as I saw fit."<sup>10</sup>

And Guido is true to his words. Even if the rest of the Gospels are presented in his *Margarita* in brisk two-verse-per chapter snippets, Matthew 26-28 is covered in 32 hexameters, Luke 14-16 in 36, Mark 22-24 in 62, and John 18-21 in as many as 90. Thus, it becomes evident that mnemonic poetry does not shy away from the passion-resurrection narrative. If anything, it allows for an extended treatment of the story.

Against this background, it appears reasonable to assume that the anonymous *Capitula Euangeliorum* indeed unfinished. This would be a plausible explanation for the missing chapters, even though it is still puzzling that all four Gospels were left incomplete, and not just the last one. If the poet had in-

<sup>9</sup> Guido Vicentinus was prior of the convent of Santa Corona in Vicenza in 1295 and bishop of Ferrara from 1304 to his death in 1332. His mnemonic versification of the Bible, which is still unedited, is preserved in 30 manuscripts. For more information see Th. KAEPPELI, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, vol. 2, Rome, 1970, p. 78-80, nos. 1417-1420. *Incipit* of the verse prologue (20 hexameters): "Qui memor esse cupit librorum bibliotece." *Incipit* of the poem proper: "Nobile principium celi terre reseratur." See also WALTHER, *Initia*, nos. 11826 and 15546.

<sup>10</sup> "Similiter in capitulis ultimis euangeliorum, in quibus agitur de passione, resurrectione et ascensione Christi propter reuerenciam eorum que tractantur ibidem et propter multa in quibus euangeliste concordant de quolibet capitulo plures uersus edidi secundum quod expediens uidebatur." See Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 3491 (s. xiv<sup>ex</sup>-xv<sup>in</sup>), fol. 2v.

tended to finish the work, it seems that he planned to versify the passion story simultaneously for all four *euangelia*, either because he wished to avoid repetition or because he meant to create a synchronized version of the accounts. This of course is only a hypothesis, which might be clarified, if further copies of the poem are uncovered.

As already mentioned, the *Capitula Euangeliorum* compresses each biblical chapter into one verse.<sup>11</sup> We know that *uenusta et lucida breuitas* was considered one of the most important qualities of medieval versification,<sup>12</sup> but the brevity of the *Capitula* is taken to the extreme. Its hexameters are meant to cover a vast amount of biblical material but they make no grammatical sense; rather, they represent strings of unconnected words, often in different cases. For example, the versification of Matthew, chapter 7, reads: “Festucam, sanctum, piscem, tribulis, michi, domus.” In translation: “Speck, a holy thing, fish, from thistles, to me, house.” The first three words are accusatives, followed by *tribulis* which is ablative, *michi* dative, and *domus* nominative. It is clear that no attempt has been made here to connect the various elements into a coherent sentence. The words are simply lifted out of the biblical context and when possible, the case in which they appear in the Bible, is preserved. But how does the verse work in reality? This disconnected string of words is quite cryptic, even if one knows the biblical text very well, and it seems that at least some people in the Middle Ages thought the same. Confirmation of this is found in the Copenhagen manuscript, where the *Capitula* is copied with a set of extensive interlinear glosses, which are remarkably useful in clarifying the meaning of the verses

<sup>11</sup> The only exception is Matthew, chapter 6, part of which is included in verse 5 of the *Capitula*. I do not believe that this irregularity is a sign that in the Middle Ages there was a different chapter division for Matth. 5-6. It is more likely an oversight by the poet or a way of fitting into the poem the key words that he had already chosen for chapter 6.

<sup>12</sup> “Sermo metricus utilis factus est ad faciliorem acceptionem, ad uenustam et lucidam breuitatem et ad memoriam firmiorem.” See Glossa *Admirantes* to Alexander de Villa Dei’s *Doctrinale* in Ch. THUROT, *Extraits de divers manuscrits latins pour servir à l’histoire des doctrines grammaticales au Moyen-Âge*, Paris, 1869, repr. Frankfurt am Main, 1964, p. 102.

and their individual elements. Before we study these glosses in more detail, let us examine how the anonymous author of the *Capitula Euangeliorum* constructs his hexameters.

2. *Versifying technique*

The majority of the mnemonic key words in the *Capitula* are taken directly from the biblical text, with minimal or no changes.<sup>13</sup> In addition, the key words follow precisely the order in which they appear in the Bible. Both these features – familiarity and order – are extremely useful for remembering the stories, as well as for retrieving information when necessary. The following examples will bear this out:

<i>Word in Capitula</i>	<i>Biblical verse</i>	<i>Text in Vulgate</i>
Festucam	Matth. 7, 3	quid autem vides festucam in oculo fratris tui et trabem in oculo tuo non vides
sanctum	Matth. 7, 6	nolite dare sanctum canibus neque mittatis margaritas vestras ante porcos
piscem	Matth. 7, 10	aut si piscem petet numquid serpentem porriget ei
tribulis	Matth. 7, 16	numquid colligunt de spinis uvas aut de tribulis ficus
michi	Matth. 7, 21	non omnis qui dicit mihi Domine Domine intrabit in regnum caelorum
domus	Matth. 7, 24	qui aedificavit domum suam supra petram

<i>Word in Capitula</i>	<i>Biblical verse</i>	<i>Text in Vulgate</i>
Caput Baptiste	Matth. 14, 8	at illa praemonita a matre sua da mihi inquit hic in disco caput Iohannis Baptistae
saciat	Matth. 14, 20	et manducaverunt omnes et saturati sunt

<sup>13</sup> Very few non-biblical words are included in the *Capitula*. Among them are, first, ‘prodigus’ referring to the son who was lost and then found again. The famous parable of the prodigal son is told in Luke 15, 11-32 but nowhere in the Bible is the word ‘prodigus’ used. Second, the word ‘deitas’ is used in John 14, 10-11 in reference to God the Father.

calcat	Matth. 14, 25	quarta autem vigilia noctis venit ad eos <i>ambulans</i> supra mare
sanitates	Matth. 14, 35-36	obtulerunt ei omnes male habentes et rogabant eum ut vel fimbriam vestimenti eius tangerent et quicumque tetigerunt salvi facti sunt

<i>Word in Capitula</i>	<i>Biblical verse</i>	<i>Text in Vulgate</i>
Vilicus	Luc. 16, 1	dicebat autem et ad discipulos suos homo quidam erat dives qui habebat <i>vili-cum</i>
et dominis	Luc. 16, 13	nemo servus potest duobus dominis servire
lex	Luc. 16, 16	lex et prophetae usque ad Iohannem ex eo regnum Dei evangelizatur
apex	Luc. 16, 17	facilius est autem caelum et terram praeterire quam de lege unum <i>apicem</i> cadere
uxor	Luc. 16, 18	omnis qui dimittit <i>uxorem</i> suam et ducit alteram moechatur
et bysso	Luc. 16, 19	homo quidam erat dives et induebatur purpura et bysso

<i>Word in Capitula</i>	<i>Biblical verse</i>	<i>Text in Vulgate</i>
Ga	Luc. 21, 1	respiciens autem vidit eos qui mittebant munera sua in gazofilacium divites
finis	Luc. 21, 9	cum autem audieritis proelia et seditiones nolite terri oportet primum haec fieri sed non statim finis
fugiant	Luc. 21, 21	tunc qui in Iudaea sunt fugiant in montes
estas	Luc. 21, 30	cum producant iam ex se fructum scitis quoniam prope est aestas
crapulaque	Luc. 21, 34	adtentate autem vobis ne forte graventur corda vestra in crapula et ebrietate
diebus	Luc. 21, 37	erat autem diebus docens in templo noctibus vero exiens morabatur in monte qui vocatur Oliveti

We see from these examples that the words selected by the anonymous poet for his mnemonic versification follow perfectly the order of the verses in the individual chapters of the Bible and that in most cases they have not been changed from the form, in which they appear in the biblical text. However, there are also small variations in this general approach, which can be classified as follows:

1) use of synonyms, e.g. *calcat* for *ambulans* in Matthew 14, 25. Further examples are:

<i>Gospel and verse</i>	<i>Word in Vulgate</i>	<i>Word in Capitula</i>
Matth. 18, 2-5	paruulus	infans
Marc. 6, 56	salui fiebant	sanantur
Marc. 7, 26	Syrophoenissa	Cananea
Marc. 8, 24	arbores	frondes <sup>14</sup>
Marc. 8, 33	retro	post
Luc. 7, 38	lacrimis coepit rigare	flet
Luc. 17, 2	molaris	mola <sup>15</sup>
Ioh. 9, 19	interrogauerunt	queritur

2) use of abbreviations, e.g. *ga* for *gazofilacium* in Luke 21, 1. These truncated forms are often explained by the glosses but, when they are not, they are easily understood by reading the biblical text. In some cases, the abbreviated word makes sense on its own (*orat* for *orabitis* in Matth. 6, 9), in some other it does not (*bea* for *beati* in Luc. 6, 20). For the reader's convenience, the following will present all the instances in the *Capitula* where the poet abbreviates the biblical word:

Matth. 1, 18	sponsata] <i>intellege</i> desponsata
Matth. 6, 9	orat] <i>intellege</i> orabitis
Matth 6, 16	ieiunat] <i>intellege</i> ieiunatis
Matth. 6, 19	thesau] <i>intellege</i> thesaurizare
Matth. 13, 25	seminat] <i>intellege</i> superseminauit
Matth. 23, 2	cadedr] <i>intellege</i> catedra
Matth. 23, 13	clau] -ditis

<sup>14</sup> 'Frondes' is probably borrowed from Marc. 11, 8 "frondes caedebant de arboribus".

<sup>15</sup> Of course, 'mola' could also be understood as an abbreviation of 'molaris'.

Matth. 23, 14	meditis] co-
Matth. 23, 23, 20	iura] -mentum
Matth. 23, 23	netum] a-
Matth. 23, 37	pul] <i>intellege</i> pullos
Marc. 8, 15	caue] -te
Luc. 2, 21	ciditur] circum-
Luc. 4, 2	tempta] -cio ('temptabatur' in Vulgate)
Luc. 6, 20	bea] <i>intellege</i> beati
Luc. 6, 44	queque] <i>intellege</i> unaqueque
Luc. 8, 16	sub lectum] <i>intellege</i> subtus lectum
Luc. 9, 23	neget] abneget
Luc. 14, 2	ydropis] -picus
Luc. 20, 46	tendite] <i>intellege</i> adtendite
Luc. 21, 1	ga] <i>intellege</i> gazofilacium
Ioh. 7, 2	scenophe] <i>intellege</i> scenopegia

Even if some of these shortened forms are rather unexpected, they are nevertheless quite ingenious in fitting into the verse, while remaining close to the biblical text. It is worth noting that the majority of all abbreviated forms appear in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke (10 in each),<sup>16</sup> while there is only one abbreviated form in each Mark and John. This is probably just a coincidence but it is also conceivable that in the case of Luke's *euangelium* the versifier had no other choice but to abbreviate, where he did. For example, the circumcision of Jesus is mentioned only in Luke 2, 21; thus it had to be included in the composition, no matter what. In this case that meant turning the metrically difficult *circumcidetur* into the acceptable *ciditur*, but at least the important event of the circumcision was not missing from the poem. Another example is the temptation of Christ in the desert, which is present in two of the gospels, Mark 1, 13 and Luke 4, 2. When versifying the first chapter of Mark, the poet left out the story, which in Mark is nothing more than a brief mention anyway.<sup>17</sup> As a result, he had no choice but to include it in his versification of Luke 4, and he managed to fit it into the verse

<sup>16</sup> Verse Matthew 23 seems to contain the highest concentration of abbreviated forms in the entire poem, six altogether.

<sup>17</sup> See below, the edition of the poem, Mark, chapter 1: "Baptismus, rethibus, spiritu, socrus, multa, leprosus."

by abbreviating the biblical *temptabatur* into *tempta*. These examples show a careful treatment of the gospel narrative by the anonymous author of the *Capitula* who made sure that all pivotal moments in Christ’s life were included in his poem for the reader’s benefit.

3) use of the nominative case and the active voice instead of the accusative case and the passive voice, e.g. *apex*, *uxor* for *apicem*, *uxorem* in Luke 16, 17-18 and *saciat* for *saturati sunt* in Matthew 14, 20. The examples can be multiplied, of which some are:

- domus* for *domum* (Matth. 7, 24; Luc. 6, 48)
- porci* for *porcos* (Matth. 8, 32; Marc. 5, 11-14)
- cathedra* for *cathedram* (Matth. 23, 2)
- trabs* for *trabem* (Luc. 6, 41)
- mense* for *mensas* (Ioh. 2, 15)
- tradent* for *tradendus est* (Matth. 17, 21)
- baptizat* for *baptizarentur* (Luc. 3, 7)

4) Finally, on a few occasions the poet represents the biblical narrative in a generalized comment that captures the meaning of the text rather than borrows directly from it. For example, in the Gospel of Matthew the poet uses three times the word *sanitates* in reference to the numerous healing miracles performed by Jesus. The word is not biblical (and unfortunately, impossible metrically), but it represents efficiently long passages of text in which various diseases, pains and afflictions are cured to the astonishment and admiration of the local populations of Galilee and Syria:<sup>18</sup>

<i>Biblical text</i>	<i>Biblical verse</i>	<i>Word in Capitula</i>
et abiit opinio eius in totam Syriam et obtulerunt ei omnes male habentes variis languoribus et tormentis comprehensos et qui daemonia habebant et lunaticos et paralyticos et curavit eos	Matth. 4, 24	sanitates

<sup>18</sup> For the same approach, see also Matth. 9, 2-7 which is represented in the *Capitula* by the key word ‘paralysis’.

et cum cognovissent eum viri loci illius miserunt in universam regionem illam et obtulerunt ei omnes male habentes et rogabant eum ut vel fimbriam vestimenti eius tangerent et quicumque tetigerunt salvi facti sunt	Matth. 14, 35-36	sanitates
et accesserunt ad eum turbae multae habentes secum mutos clodos caecos debiles et alios multos et proiecerunt eos ad pedes eius et curavit eos ita ut turbae mirarentur videntes mutos loquentes clodos ambulantes caecos videntes et magnificabant Deum Israel	Matth. 15, 30-31	sanitates

Other examples of this summarizing trend are seen again in Matthew 5 and Matthew 11. In Matthew 5, the poet uses the word *sex* to remind the reader of the six ways in which the righteousness of a good Christian has to exceed that of the scribes and Pharisees, if he is to enter the kingdom of heaven;<sup>19</sup> and in Matthew 11 the poet writes *laudat Baptistam*, an expression that covers as many as thirteen biblical verses (Matth. 11, 7-19) in which the evangelist quotes Jesus' passionate speech about John the Baptist and his great deeds.

The evidence presented above suggests that in his use of synonyms, abbreviated forms, nominative cases and active verbs, as well as when he summarizes and conceptualizes events, the author of the *Capitula* is influenced by metrical concerns. In general, the biblical words seem to have been replaced by shorter forms or expressions which are easier to incorporate into the structure of the verse. Whether the poet is always successful in this, is a different question that will be answered below in the section on meter.

<sup>19</sup> See Matth. 5, 21-43. The six points of comparison presented by Jesus are: 1) not only is the Christian forbidden to commit murder but he should never be angry at his brothers and sisters; 2) he commits adultery in his heart, if he looks at a woman with lust; 3) he forces his wife to commit adultery, if he divorces her; 4) not only is he not allowed to swear falsely, he should not swear at all; 5) he should never follow the principle "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth", but should turn the other cheek; and 6) instead of loving his neighbour and hating his enemy, he should love his enemies and pray for those who persecute him. The word 'sex' is glossed with 'mandata', even though strictly speaking only four of the ten commandments are mentioned.



In addition to the more mundane adjustments discussed already, the poet intervenes in the biblical gospel accounts also on a deeper level. Especially, when the same story is told by Matthew, Mark and Luke,<sup>20</sup> the poet does not hesitate to interchange information between the different narratives, mostly in regard to the personal names of the protagonists. Sometimes he also introduces information from one gospel into another for clarification and completeness.<sup>21</sup> Some examples of these more sophisticated interventions are:

a. Names of characters interchanged

<i>Biblical text</i>	<i>Biblical verse</i>	<i>Word in Capitula</i>
et cum transiret inde Iesus vidit hominem sedentem in teloneo Mattheum nomine et ait illi sequere me et surgens secutus est eum	Matth. 9, 9	Leui
et cum praeteriret vidit Levin Alphei sedentem ad teloneum et ait illi sequere me et surgens secutus est eum	Marc. 2, 14	Matheum
et post haec exiit et vidit publicanum nomine Levi sedentem ad teloneum et ait illi sequere me	Luc. 5, 27	Matheumque

It appears that there is some confusion in the biblical text about the name of the man asked by Jesus to leave the tax-booth and follow him. Was it Matthew or Levi? The poet wants the reader to keep in mind this discrepancy by reminding him of Levi, when the Bible mentions Matthew, and of Matthew, when the Bible names Levi. Admittedly, this is a rather ingenious way of helping the memory and enriching the understanding of the audience. Also, the reader probably was expected to remember in this context that both names re-

<sup>20</sup> The coinciding passages in these three gospels are collected in Canon II. See *Biblia Sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, ed. R. WEBER, vol. 2, Stuttgart, 1969, p. 1518-1521.

<sup>21</sup> All these instances are written in bold script both in the edition of the text and in the *apparatus biblicus* which is presented as an Appendix to this article.

fer to Matthew, the first of the twelve apostles, and that according to traditional medieval exegesis, Mark and Luke did not mention Matthew's real name in their accounts *propter uerecundiam et honorem*.<sup>22</sup>

#### b. Names of Characters Supplied

<i>Biblical text</i>	<i>Biblical verse</i>	<i>Word in Capitula</i>
haec illo loquente ad eos ecce <i>princeps unus accessit</i> et adorabat eum dicens filia mea modo defuncta est	Matth. 9, 18	Yayrus
et venit quidam de archisynagogis nomine Iairus et videns eum proci- dit ad pedes eius	Marc. 5, 22	Iayrus
et ecce venit vir cui nomen Iairus et ipse princeps synagogae erat et cecidit ad pedes Iesu	Luc. 8, 41	Yayrus

This is a much more straightforward case than the one involving the tax collector. The leader of the synagogue Jairus, who begs Jesus to save his dying daughter, is not explicitly named in the Gospel of Matthew, so the poet simply supplies his name to help the reader connect Matthew's account to the ones of Mark and Luke. In this case *Yayrus* functions almost as an authorial gloss on Matthew's text. Interestingly, none of the six names mentioned in examples A and B are clarified by interlinear glosses in manuscript *K*.

#### c. Same Story, Different Key Word

<i>Biblical text</i>	<i>Biblical verse</i>	<i>Word in Capitula</i>
generatio mala et adultera signum quaerit et signum non dabitur ei nisi signum Iona <sup>23</sup> prophetae sicut enim fuit Ionas in ventre ceti tribus diebus et tribus noctibus sic erit Filius hominis in corde terrae tribus diebus et tribus noctibus	Matth. 12, 39-40	signum

<sup>22</sup> See for example, Hrabanus Maurus, *Hrabani Mauri Expositio in Matthaum I-IV*, ed. B. LÖFSTEDT, Turnhout, 2000 (CCCM, 174), III.71 (9, 9), p. 262-263, l. 36-65, who borrows from Jerome and Augustine at this particular point of his exposition.

quaerentes ab illo signum de caelo temptantes eum et ingemescens spiritu ait quid generatio ista quaerit signum amen dico vobis si dabitur generationi isti signum	Marc. 8, 11-12	Iona
generatio haec generatio nequam est signum quaerit et signum non dabitur illi nisi signum Ionae nam sicut Ionas fuit signum Ninevitis ita erit et Filius hominis generationi isti	Luc. 11, 29-30	ceti <sup>23</sup>

<i>Biblical text</i>	<i>Biblical verse</i>	<i>Word in Capitula</i>
et transfiguratus est ante eos et resplenduit facies eius sicut sol vestimenta autem eius facta sunt alba sicut nix	Matth. 17, 2	decor
et transfiguratus est coram ipsis et vestimenta eius facta sunt splendentia candida nimis velut nix qualia fullo super terram non potest candida facere	Marc. 9, 2	fullo
et factum est dum oraret species vultus eius altera et vestitus eius <i>albus refulgens</i>	Luc. 9, 29	nix <sup>24</sup>

These are definitely the most engaging cases, where we see the poet trying to reconcile the various gospel-narratives. The first one represents the story of the scribes and the Pharisees asking Jesus for a sign to test him. He answers them that no sign will be given to them except the sign of the prophet Jonah, for just as Jonah was in the belly of the sea monster for three days and three nights, so the Son of Man will be in the heart of the earth for the same period of time. There are three important elements to this story – the sign, Jonah, and the time spent in the belly of the *cetus*. Only the word *signum* is found in all three gospel-accounts. The name of the prophet is missing in Mark, but is present in Matthew and Luke, and

<sup>23</sup> Gloss: Ionas in uentre (Matth. 12, 40).

<sup>24</sup> Gloss: uestimenta eius (Matth. 17, 2 and Marc. 9, 2).

the sea monster is not referred to in either Mark or Luke, but is mentioned in Matthew. What then is the approach the poet takes in this instance? He keeps *signum* in Matthew's account and expands the accounts of Mark and Luke by adding *Iona* to the former and *cetus* to the latter. In this way, all three stories are synchronized, and the reader is reminded of the important elements of the narrative, even when they are not present in the text he is studying.

A similar technique is employed in the story of Christ's transfiguration. The event is marked by two changes in Christ's appearance: his face shone like the sun and his clothes became as white as snow. This splendid transformation the poet describes with the word *decor*, which he includes in his versification of Matthew. By using *decor* in this context, he both brings an original touch to his composition and demands an active involvement on the part of the reader who has to figure out what this non-biblical word refers to. But the poet does not want to leave the dazzling snow out of the picture and uses it in Luke's account, even though Luke is the only evangelist who does not mention it. As for Mark, the specificity of his narrative is in the statement that no earthly fuller could make any clothes as white as Christ's vestments after the transfiguration. In view of this, the poet chooses the word *fullo* for Mark's gospel. Again, we can only marvel at the poem's multilayered and faithful treatment of the biblical text. The aim of the versification could have been to help rote memorization, but the efforts of the author are far removed from being unoriginal and mechanical. All the examples presented above show that he approached his task with careful consideration and attention to detail. The result is a work, which on the surface looks very banal and straightforward, but which in fact exhibits and promotes a thorough understanding of the gospel narrative.

At the same time, while keeping the reader alert by presenting him with mnemonic units that combine and interchange information from different gospels, the poet embraces the opposite trend as well, namely, he chooses the same key word in the cases where the biblical passage was famous enough to

warrant the repetition. Two examples will suffice to illustrate this point:<sup>25</sup>

d. Same Story, Same Key Word

<i>Biblical text</i>	<i>Biblical verse</i>	<i>Word in Capitula</i>	<i>Gloss in K</i>
sinite parvulos et nolite eos prohibere ad me venire	Matth. 19, 14	sinite	ad me
sinite parvulos venire ad me et ne prohibueritis eos	Marc. 10, 14	sinite	—
sinite pueros venire ad me et nolite eos vetare	Luc. 18, 16	sinite	parvulos

<i>Biblical text</i>	<i>Biblical verse</i>	<i>Word in Capitula</i>	<i>Gloss in K</i>
et cum venisset Iesus in domum Petri vidit <i>socrum</i> eius iacentem et febricitantem	Matth. 8, 14	socrus	Petri
decumbibat autem socrus Simonis febricitans	Marc. 1, 30	socrus	Petri (Vulg. Simonis)
socrus autem Simonis tenebatur magnis febribus	Luc. 4, 38	socrus	Petri (Vulg. Simonis)

In the first example the words of Jesus: “Let the little children come to me, and do not stop them; for it is to such as these that the kingdom of heaven belongs,” seem to have been considered such an important statement by the evangelists that they quote it in more or less identical terms. This uniformity is preserved by the poet who evokes Jesus’ exhortation by selecting the same word, *sinite*, in the versification of each of the three gospels. In the second example Jesus cures the fever of Peter’s mother-in-law. This is an important healing miracle not only because it involves the future first pope, but because allegorically, Peter’s mother-in-law is understood to prefigure the synagogue which burns with envy towards the Christian church, while on the moral level of interpretation the woman is seen to represent the soul caught in the

<sup>25</sup> For further cases, see Matth. 7, 24 and Luc. 6, 48 domus] supra petram; Matth. 9, 20 and Marc. 5, 27 retro] fimbriam (tangit *add.* Marc.); Matth. 11, 16 and Luc. 7, 32 pueris] ludentibus.

fever of carnal desire but saved by divine mercy.<sup>26</sup> The event was evidently of such significance that Matthew, Mark and Luke all mention it. The poet follows in their footsteps by doing the same. Thus the repeated use in the *Capitula* of *sinite* and *socrus* reveals a conscious effort on part of the versifier to capture the important messages of the biblical text and reinforce them in his work for the reader's benefit. The didactic intentions of such an approach are beyond doubt.

A final observation needs to be made here. The anonymous author of the *Capitula* includes in his composition only two events that are told in all four gospels:<sup>27</sup> first, Jesus feeds the crowds with five (or seven) loaves of bread,<sup>28</sup> and second, he drives out of the temple all the vendors and overturns the tables of the money changers.<sup>29</sup> The examples would probably have been more numerous, if the passion-resurrection story was not missing from the poem. In the two cases we have, however, the versifier is true to his method of interweaving the narratives, while preserving their individual flair. Especially in the story of the money-changers and sellers of sacrificial animals, if we just put together the four words used by the poet, i.e. *uendentes*, *uendentes*, *iecit*, *mense*, we would have a perfect mnemonic device for remembering what happened when Jesus came to Jerusalem and cleansed the Temple.

In conclusion, the anonymous *Capitula Euangeliorum uersifice scripta* is a surprising poem.<sup>30</sup> On the one hand, its concern

<sup>26</sup> See *Hrabani Mauri In Matthaeum*, ed. LÖFSTEDT, III.67 (8, 14-15), p. 239-240, l. 22-65.

<sup>27</sup> Such passages are collected in Canon I. See *Biblia Sacra iuxta*, vol. 2, p. 1516-1518.

<sup>28</sup> See the edition below, Matthew 15 (septem), Mark 6 (panibus), Luke 9 (quinque), and John 6 (quinque).

<sup>29</sup> See the edition below, Matthew 21 (uendentes), Mark 11 (uendentes), Luke 19 (iecit), and John 2 (mense).

<sup>30</sup> Even though it is rather unusual, the *Capitula* is not entirely unprecedented. In fact, a short passage of seven verses entitled 'Tituli Euangeliorum' is found in Peter Riga's famous poem, the *Aurora* in the middle of the poet's versification of the Gospels (see *Aurora Petri Rigae Biblia Versificata. A Verse Commentary on the Bible*, ed. P. BEICHNER, vol. 2, Indiana, 1965, p. 481-482, v. 1430-1437). The relationship between these two texts will be explored on another occasion.

with completeness, order, and brevity gives the impression that the main purpose of the work is to serve as mnemonic aid for unsophisticated memorization. On the other hand, however, being orderly, complete, and meticulous does not prevent the poem from presenting to its audience a perceptive and nuanced summary of the most salient events in the gospel narrative. Often it stimulates the memory in rather unexpected and ingenious ways, by forcing the reader to search for meaning in everything he sees on the page. The text is deceptively simple and unassuming but when read carefully it reveals itself as a skillful tapestry of masterfully interwoven treads which all lead to a better understanding of the biblical text and, as a result, to an easier recollection of it.

### 3. *The Glosses*

As already mentioned, the interlinear glosses to the *Capitula Euangeliorum* are present only in manuscript K. Mostly, they supply text borrowed directly from the biblical text, but there are a few exceptions where the gloss provides information that is outside what is written in the Bible. These are:

Matth. 11, 16 pueris] ludentibus; Luc. 7, 32 pueris] ludentibus  
(*Vulg.* sedentibus in foro)

Luc. 2, 25 Symeon] senex

Luc. 4, 33 nos perdere] ante tempus

Ioh. 8, 3 adducunt] adultores (*Vulg.* scribae et Pharisei)

With the exception of four verses (Matthew 20, Matthew 25, Mark 7, and Luke 5), the poem is densely glossed throughout. The glosses are useful for two reasons: first, they help the reader identify the precise biblical verse to which the poem refers, and second, they supply information which makes the reading and understanding of the poem easier.

Generally, the identification of the passage from which the poet takes his key word is an easy task. However, on a few occasions, only the presence of the interlinear gloss tells us what is meant precisely. For example, in Matthew 8 we see 'puer' glossed by 'meus' which we find in Matthew 8, 6 referring to the paralyzed son of the Roman centurion in Capernaum: "et

*dicens Domine puer meus iacet in domo paralyticus et male torquetur.*” Without the gloss we could have thought that the poet had in mind verse Matthew 8, 13 where we again find ‘*puer*’ but without the possessive pronoun. Even though such an assumption would not have been disastrously wrong, because Matthew 8, 13 is the concluding verse in the same episode, it is nevertheless important for our understanding of how the poem functioned in the Middle Ages to be able to say with certainty which biblical text was meant by each key word. Additional examples of the role of the glosses as identification markers are: ‘*seminat] de zizania*’ which invokes Matthew 13, 25 not Matthew 13, 3-4; ‘*quod est] mandatum*’ which tells us that Matthew 22, 36 is meant not Matthew 22, 31; ‘*Tyro] remissius*’ which refers to Luke 10, 14 not Luke 10, 13; and ‘*iudex] quidam*’ which is found in Luke 18, 2 not Luke 18, 6. Sometimes, not even the presence of a gloss is helpful in deciding which biblical verse the poet has in mind. Such a case is seen in Matthew 21 where we have ‘*qua*’ in the text of the poem glossed with ‘*potestate*’. The expression ‘*in qua potestate*’ is found both in Matthew 21, 23 and Matthew 21, 27; in the first instance as part of the temple priests’ question to Jesus: “By what authority are you doing these things?,” and in the second instance as part of Jesus’ answer: “Neither will I tell you by what authority I am doing these things.” The reference is clearer in the parallel text of Luke 20. Again ‘*qua*’ is used in the verse but this time the gloss is more explicit ‘*potestate que facis*’ telling the reader that Luke 20, 2 is meant, that is, the priests’ question to Jesus, not Luke 20, 8 where we find his answer.

The second role of the glosses is to clarify and supplement the key words chosen for the body of the poem. For example, let us look again at Matthew, verse 7, which reads “*Festucam, sanctum, piscem, tribulis, michi, domus*” and the glosses to it:

- ‘*Festucam*’ from Matthew 7, 3-5 is glossed with ‘*in oculo*’ which evokes the story of the hypocrite who sees the speck in his brother’s eye, while willfully ignoring the log in his own.



- ‘Sanctum’ from Matthew 7, 6 is glossed with ‘canibus’ which reminds us of the saying that what is holy should not be thrown to the dogs, and similarly pearls should not be cast in front of pigs.
- ‘Piscem’ is glossed with ‘pro serpente’. This is Matthew 7, 10, where the apostle asks the question: “Would you give your son a snake when he asks for fish?”
- ‘Tribulis’ is glossed with ‘ficus’ which reminds the reader of the passage in Matthew 7, 15-16, where Jesus warns his followers to be wary of false prophets who come as wolves dressed in sheep’s clothing and who are to be recognized by the fruits they bear, because no figs can be gathered from thorns.
- ‘Michi’ from Matthew 7, 21 is provided with a relatively long gloss: ‘dicit Domine, Domine’ which immediately brings to mind Jesus’ warning that not everyone who calls to him will enter the kingdom of heaven, but only the one who does the will of his heavenly Father.
- ‘Domum’ is glossed with ‘supra petram’ which evokes Matthew 7, 25-27, where Jesus says that those who follow his teachings will be like the wise man who built his house on a rock.

It becomes evident from this example that each verse in the *Capitula* covers the range of topics in the chapter it versifies relatively well, but in a way which either requires help from glosses or presupposes such a thorough knowledge of the Bible that a single disconnected word could bring forth a whole wealth of biblical narration.

Because of the very concise nature of the *Capitula*, its glosses generally supply additional information to clarify the context in which the words appear in the Bible. No grammatical issues are commented upon because the poem does not contain coherent sentences.<sup>31</sup> Thus in the majority of the cases the glosses provide a verb, when the verse contains a noun, and a noun when the verse contains a verb. In this way short,

<sup>31</sup> The only instance of a grammatical point being made is in Matthew, chapter 12, where we have ‘sata’ glossed with the preposition ‘per’.

simple sentences are formed which facilitate the reading of the verses and their memorization. Some examples are:

Matth. 2, 13 Egiptum] transit	Luc. 9, 58 uulpes] fo⟨ueas⟩ habent
Matth. 10, 5 mittit] apostolos	Luc. 19, 45 eiecit] uendentes de templo
Marc. 3, 17 nomina] inponit	Ioh. 1, 41 Messias] uenit
Marc. 6, 56 sanantur] multi	Ioh. 3, 16 dilexit] Deus mundum

Especially important for the reader's understanding are the glosses to pronouns and adverbs which without explanations remain difficult, often even impossible, to grasp:

Matth. 12, 48 que] est mater matrum
Matth. 22, 36 quod est] mandatum
Luc. 3, 12 quid] faciemus magister
Luc. 6, 44 queque] arbor (queque for unaqueque)
Marc. 4, 28 ultro] fructificat (adding also 'terra' here would have been even more useful)

Many of the glosses are repetitive, especially when they explain the same word. These are generally important episodes where the memory of the reader is reinforced by both the key word in the poem and its clarification:

Matth. 7, 24 domus] supra petram; Luc. 6, 48 domus] supra petram
Matth. 8, 24 socrus] Petri; Marc. 1, 30 socrus] Petri; Luc. 4, 38 socrus] Petri <sup>32</sup>
Matth. 9, 20 retro] fimbriam; Marc. 5, 27 retro] fimbriam tangit
Matth. 11, 16 pueris] ludentibus; Luc. 7, 32 pueris] ludentibus
Matth. 12, 10-13 manus] arida; Luc. 6, 6 manus] arida
Luc. 9, 13 quinque] panes; Ioh. 6, 9 quinque] panes

The glosses are generally helpful and precise; there are only two errors committed by their compiler (or maybe copyist):

<sup>32</sup> The glosses in Mark and Luke do not follow the biblical text where Peter is called with his other name, Simon. This is similar to the already discussed case of the name of Matthew/Levi.

Marc. 6, 41 panibus] quatuor (in the Vulgate the bread loafs are five)

Marc. 8, 28 alii] Ieremiam (in the Vulgate the person mentioned is Heliam)

In conclusion, the glosses to the *Capitula Euangeliorum* are numerous but not varied. They basically supply additional text, mostly directly quoted from the Bible, to help the reader call to mind the context of the words he sees on the page. In this they play an important role but they are not indispensable as a didactic tool. The real gem in the arsenal of a teacher would be the poem the glosses comment upon, a composition that is meant to train the memory, improve the understanding and retrieve information.

#### 4. *Meter*

The metrical structure of the *Capitula Euangeliorum* presents several problems. There are so many irregularities in the prosody that the modern reader is forced to wonder whether the poem is written in quantitative or rhythmic hexameters.<sup>33</sup> This is a difficult question to answer but I am inclined to believe that the evidence suggests that the *Capitula* is an unsuccessful attempt at writing dactylic hexameters rather than a conscious effort of imitating them. This conclusion is based on the fact that, despite all irregularities, there are still a number of verses in the poem that scan well as quantitative hexameters.<sup>34</sup> In addition, a number of the problematic instances can be explained simply by the general developments in medieval metrical poetry which deviate drastically from the classical models. Such a deviation, for example, is to lengthen a short vowel before the caesura,<sup>35</sup> a phenomenon which is

<sup>33</sup> See D. NORBERG, *An Introduction to the Study of Medieval Latin Versification*, trans. Grant C. ROTI and J. DE LA CHAPPELLE SKUBLY, Washington, 2004, p. 95-100.

<sup>34</sup> For example, Matthew chapters 2, 11, 15, 24; Mark chapters 1, 7, 8; Luke chapters 3, 5, 8, 10, 11, 18, 21; and John chapters 3 and 8.

<sup>35</sup> See A. G. RIGG, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature 1066-1422*, Cambridge, 1992, Appendix: Metre, p. 314.

found repeatedly also in the *Capitula* and which should not worry the reader too much. Some examples are:

Abraham, sponsata, || nollet traducere, donec. (Matth. 1)  
 Repudii, sinitee, || tristis, Zebedeique, cecus. (Marc. 10)  
 Ydropis, ascendee, || diuites, cenam, quoque sumptus. (Luc. 14)  
 Iudex sum, sinitee, || perfectus, passio, cecus. (Luc. 18)  
 Deitas in patree, || mea, aput, do, quoque princeps. (Ioh. 14)

It appears that the syllable after the caesura in the *Capitula* is also quite unstable and subjected to either lengthening or shortening according to the poet's needs. Whether he was doing this consciously or not, is impossible to say. In some cases, such as Luc. 14, the lengthening before the caesura is followed by a shortening after it. Examples:

Non lotis, canibus, || sanitates, septem, edentes. (Matth. 15;  
 'sa-' is shortened)  
 Baptismus, rethibus, || spiritu, socrus, multa, leprosus.  
 (Marc. 1; 'spi' is shortened)  
 Ydropis, ascende, || diuites, cenam, quoque sumptus. (Luc. 14;  
 'di-' is shortened)  
 Dic nobis, fuga, sol, || tener, Noe, furque, fidelis. (Matth. 24;  
 'te-' is lengthened)  
 Scenophe, me queritis, || sitit, nisi turba, lex nostra. (Ioh. 7;  
 'si-' is lengthened)

In addition to these remarks about the impact of the caesura of the syllables before and after it, it is of a paramount importance to keep in mind the idiosyncrasies of medieval orthography. It appears that when a diphthong has been written out as a single vowel, the poet treated the syllable either as a short or a long one depending on what was necessary for the meter. By adopting this flexible, albeit unusual, way of treating diphthongs, many prosodic irregularities seem to be made acceptable. In the following examples the syllable with a collapsed diphthong is treated as being short:

Asse, stulte, fenum, lumbi, uigilareque, pacem. (Luc. 12)  
 Qua, cesum, Cesaris, fratres, Dauid, tendite, stolis. (Luc. 20)  
 Nuptie, mensee,<sup>36</sup> zelus, et soluite, nosset et omnes. (Ioh. 2)

The syllable with a collapsed diphthong is seen as long in:

Iudex sum, sinite, perfectus, passio, cecus. (Luc. 18)

Qua, cesum, Cesaris, fratres, Dauid, tendite, stolis. (Luc. 20)

In addition, a number of prosodic offences have to be excused when they are encountered in the scansion of loan words and proper names which should generally be considered metrically neutral.<sup>37</sup> I have the impression that the medieval poets allow themselves a great amount of freedom when proper names and loan words are concerned. In the *Capitula* there are many examples of loan word and proper names some of which fit the meter, some of which do not; when the prosody is not correct, we should not worry about it. Examples:

1) loan words: prosodically incorrect is 'paralysis' (Matth. 9), whereas 'osanna' (Marc. 11 and Ioh. 12), 'sicomorus' (Luc. 19) are used correctly.

2) proper names, all violating the meter in one way or another are Abraham (Matth. 1),<sup>38</sup> Saducei (Matth. 22), Math-eumque (Luc. 5), Nicodemus (Ioh. 3), Iordanem (Ioh. 10). On the other hand, the use of many other names is metrically acceptable.

Despite everything said above, which rationalizes some of the metrical irregularities found in the *Capitula*, there are still a number of verses that contain inexplicable and unpardonable metrical mistakes. Especially in the versification of Matthew, a number of verses start with a short syllable which clearly is a sign that the stress of the word in these cases was of a greater importance than the length of the syllable. Such examples are: *camelorum* (Matth. 3), *sata* (Matth. 12), *caput* (Matth. 14), *decor* (Matth. 17), *libellum* (Matth. 19), *decem* (Matth. 25), *repudii* (Marc. 10), and *oues* (Luc. 15). In addition, within the verses themselves there are situations where the entire metrical scheme seems rather arbitrary and the reader is

<sup>36</sup> 'Mense' is the most difficult case, for without the biblical context, the word 'mensis' instead of 'mensa' could be understood.

<sup>37</sup> See NORBERG, *An Introduction*, p. 12-13.

<sup>38</sup> The meter would have worked if instead of 'Abraham' the poet had used 'Abram'.

left to either shorten or lengthen at need. When this happens, one cannot but suspect a strong influence from rhythmical models. For example in Matthew 25, which reads “Decem uirginibus, talenta, sed oues ab edis,” there are as many as four problems that deviate from the metrical scheme: decem (‘de-’ should be long), talenta (‘ta-’ should be long), oues (‘o-’ should be long and ‘-ues’ should be short). Such examples can be multiplied.

In conclusion, the peculiarities of the *Capitula*’s approach to prosody which were discussed above might be difficult to reconcile with a purist understanding of quantitative metrics, but at least some of them are acceptable in the works of the medieval versifiers. I believe that it is important to accept the unique feature of medieval versification as a sign of development, not as a symbol of deviation from classical models. At the same time, there are cases in the *Capitula* that clearly show a strong influence from rhythmical poetry. This uncertainty in the prosody of the poem makes the work of the editor very difficult because it is evident that the meter can seldom be used as a base for emendation or even for choosing a particular variant.<sup>39</sup>

### 5. *The Present Edition*

This article presents a critical edition of the anonymous *Capitula Euangeliorum uersifice scripta* based on both known witnesses of the text (*sigla* K and V). The edition contains first the text of the poem, then the *apparatus criticus* and the glosses, and finally the *apparatus biblicus*. As already mentioned, the majority of the glosses are borrowed directly from the Bible. In the cases where the text of the gloss differs from the text of the Bible, the exact biblical expression is provided in brackets.<sup>40</sup> In the biblical apparatus, each word from the *Capitula* has been turned into a lemma to which a biblical reference is

<sup>39</sup> For the few occasions where the meter played a role in the editorial decisions, see below, p. 262.

<sup>40</sup> For example, Matth. 11 pueris] ludentibus (*Vulg.* sedentibus in foro); Matth. 17 Helias] uenit (*Vulg.* apparuit); Marc. 1 socrus] Petri (*Vulg.* Simeo-

attached. It was explained above that occasionally the poet either replaces the biblical term with a synonym or abbreviates it in order to fit it into the verse. All these instances are signaled again here for the reader's convenience.

In addition to the presence of glosses in manuscript *K* alone, the two codices exhibit a number of differences which show convincingly that they are not copies of each other and that they belong to different branches of the manuscript tradition:

1) both manuscripts contain unique textual variants that are equally acceptable in the edition of the poem. Some of these cases are: First, in Matthew, chapter 22, manuscript *K* writes 'nuptias', while manuscript *V* has 'nuptie'. Both these variants are acceptable; 'nuptias' is from Matthew 22, 2 and 'nuptie' from Matthew 22, 8. In the edition, I have printed 'nuptias' because the gloss attached to it, 'rex facit', clearly makes more sense with an accusative. The same is true also for Mark, chapter 9, where *K* has 'luscum' and *V* has 'mola' (metrically worse). 'Luscum' is from Mark 9, 46 and 'mola' from Mark 9, 41. Again the gloss favours 'luscum' adding to it 'intrare in reg<num> ce<lorum>'. A third example is seen in Luke, chapter 12, where *K* chooses the word 'uigilare' from Luke 12, 39, while *V* prefers 'uapulabit' from Luke 12, 47-48. No gloss is present here, but I have printed 'uigilareque', even though 'uapulabitque' is also an acceptable choice. These differences are not easy to explain, but if the glosses were not an integral part of the original composition, it is possible that their introduction into the fabric of the poem was the cause of the slight alteration of some of the original key words, such as the already mentioned changes from 'nuptie' to 'nuptias' and from 'mola' to 'luscum'. However, this is only a hypothesis and the question about which of the two versions of the *Capitula* precedes the other is impossible to answer for the time being.

nis); Luc. 17 molaque] in collo suspendere (*Vulg.* inponatur circa collum); Ioh. 11 Effrem] habitat in (*Vulg.* ibi morabatur), etc.

2) the poem is six verses longer in *V* and there are also some verses that are only partially preserved in *K*.<sup>41</sup>

3) some verses are preserved in very different forms in the two manuscripts. For example, verse Matth. 15 reads “Non lotis, canibus, sanitates, septem, edentes” in *V* and “Lotis, plantacio, canibus, debiles, quoque septem” in *K*. I have adopted the version in *V* because ‘plantacio’ in *K*, even though biblical (Matth. 15, 13) is out of order in the verse. In addition, the version in *K* is worse metrically, with both ‘plantatio’ and ‘debiles’ violating the meter.

4) on a couple of occasions there is uncertainty about the length of the verses in *K*, whereas *V* preserves a sounder text. For example, not realizing that the versification of Mark, verse 5, is incomplete, manuscript *K* tries to supplant it with the following verse, creating in the process confusion that stretches over three lines. This is what we see in *K* and *V* for Mark 5-7:

<i>K</i>	<i>V</i>
Porci Iayrus retro Fabri bini caput	Porci Iayrus retro crede surge man- ducare
Panibus fantasma sanantur Non lotis	Fabri bini caput panibus fantasma sanantur
Canibus cananea cecus et mutus	Non lotis canibus cananea cecus et mutus

When two variants were equally acceptable, the one that was closer to the biblical text was preferred. For example, there are two such cases in the verse rendering of Mark, chapter 11, which reads: “Osanna, folia, uedentes, fidem, de celo.” For the last two words manuscript *K* proposes ‘fides’ and ‘e celo’, which are perfectly possible semantically. The variants ‘fidem’ and ‘de celo’, which are offered by manuscript *V*, were chosen for the edition on the basis of the biblical verses from which they come. For ‘fidem’ see Mark 11, 22, where Jesus says: “Habete fidem Dei.” As for ‘de celo’, see Luke 11, 31, where we read: “At illi cogitabant secum dicentes: si dixerimus de caelo dicet quare ergo non credidistis ei.”

<sup>41</sup> See above, n. 6.



Finally, only two emendations have been introduced in the text when it was felt that the intervention, while improving the scansion of the verse, did not go against the working methods of the poet and his predilection towards abbreviated forms of biblical words. The two examples in question are found in Matth. 12, 22 and Matth. 17, 21:

<i>Biblical text</i>	<i>Biblical verse</i>	<i>Word in Capitula</i>	<i>Emendation</i>
tunc oblatus est ei daemonium habens	Matth. 11, 22	demonum	demon
filius hominis tradendus est	Marc. 17, 21	tradentque	trade

In both these cases the word found in the *Capitula* diverges from the biblical text, as well as offends the meter. The proposed forms correct the scansion and could be included in the category of abbreviations such as clau] -ditis in Matthew 23.<sup>42</sup> Of course, only future copies of the *Capitula* can confirm or reject these editorial emendations.

EDITION OF THE POEM

CAPITVLA EVANGELIORVM VERSIFICE SCRIPTA  
CVM GLOSSA INTERLINEARI

METRA SVPER MATHEVM	<i>Biblical Chapter</i>
Abraham, sponsata, nollet traducere, donec.	1
Bethleem, Egiptum, Rachel, Archelaus, Nazareus.	2
Camelorum, uipera, securis, sine, columbam.	3
Desertum, Zabulon, piscatores, sanitates.	4
5 Estis, soluere, iusticia, sex. // Canere tuba,	5/6
Orat, ieiunat, thesau, nemo sollicitari.	6
Festucam, sanctum, piscem, tribulis, michi, domus.	7
Salus lepra, puer, socrus, et uulpes, mare, porci.	8
Paralysis, <b>Leui</b> , <b>Yayrus</b> , retro, cecique, mutum.	9
10 Mittit, luporum, ueneunt, pacem, frigideque.	10
Laudat Baptistam, pueris, ue, confiteorque.	11

<sup>42</sup> See above, p. 242-243.

	Sata, manus, demon, regnum, signum, spiritus, que.	12
	Seminat, oleribus, satis, et uendit, noua, fabri.	13
	Caput Baptiste, saciat, calcat, sanitates.	14
15	Non lotis, canibus, sanitates, septem, edentes.	15
	Signum, cauete, quem dicunt, Satana post me.	16
	Decor, Helias, lunaticus, trade, tributum.	17
	Infans, centum oues, si peccauerit, rationem.	18
	Libellum, sinite, adolescens, ecce nos, omnis.	19
20	Denarios, tradent, Zebedei, post duo ceci.	20
	Ramos, uedentes, aruit, qua, nolo, fit heres.	21
	Nuptias, numisma, Saducei, quod est, filius sit.	22
	Catedr, clau, meditis, duplo, iura, netum, foris, socii, pul.	23
	Dic nobis, fuga, sol, tener, Noe, furque, fidelis.	24
25	Decem uirginibus, talenta, sed oues ab edis.	25

*Apparatus criticus*

**Tit. poematis** *om.* *V* || **Tit. euangelii** Metra super Matheum] Matheus *K* || 1 sponsata] sponsato *K* || 2 Arthelaus] Arthelans *V<sup>a.c.</sup>* || 3 uipera] uippera *K* || 6 orat] *intellege* orabit] *ieiuat*] *intellege* ieiunatis] thesau] *intellege* thesaurizare] sollicitari] sollicitatur *K* || 8 salus lepra] leprosus quis *K* || et] *om.* *V* || 12 demon] *scripsi*, demonum *KV* || 13 seminat] *intellege* superseminauit] 15 Non lotis, canibus, sanitates, septem, edentes] Lotis, plantacio, canibus, debiles, quoque septem *K* || 16 Satana] Sathana *K* || 17 trade] *scripsi*, tradentque *KV* || 19 omnis] omnes *V* || 20 denarios] denarium *V* || 22 nuptias] nuptie *V* (Matth. 22, 8) || 23 catedr] cathedra *K* || iura] iurat *V* || pul] pullos *K*

*Glossae interlineares in K*

- 1 Abraham] Liber generationis; sponsata] cum esset; donec] peperit
- 2 Egiptum] transit; Nazareus] uocabitur
- 3 camelorum] de pilis; securis] ad radicem; sine] modo; columbam] descendentem
- 4 desertum] temptatus in deserto; Zabulon] terra; piscatores] uocat apostolos; sanitates] multorum
- 5 estis] beati; soluere] non ueni; iusticia] non habenda; sex] mandata
- 6 orat] pater noster; thesau] nolite
- 7 festucam] in oculo; sanctum] canibus; piscem] pro serpente; tribulis] ficus; michi] dicit, "Domine, Domine"; domus] supra petram
- 8 puer] meus; socrus] Petri
- 9 retro] fimbriam; mutum] demonium
- 10 mittit] apostolos; luporum] in medio; pacem] mittere; frigideque] calicem aque
- 11 pueris] ludentibus (*Vulg.* sedentibus in foro); ue] Corozain; confiteor-que] te Pater

- 12 sata] per; manus] arida; demon] cecus et mutus; regnum] diuisum in  
(*Vulg.* contra) se; signum] querit; spiritus] nequiores; que] est mater  
matrum
- 13 seminat] de zizania; oleribus] maius omnibus; satis] tribus; uendit] om-  
nia; fabri] filius
- 14 caput Baptiste] decolatur; saciat] et panibus; calcat] aquas; sanitates]  
multe
- 15 lotis] manibus; canibus] mittere; septem] pa<nes>
- 16 caute] a fer<mento> Phari<seorum>
- 17 Helias] uenit (*Vulg.* apparuit); trade] fi<lius> ho<minis> (*Vulg.* tra-  
dendus est); tributum] dat Christus
- 18 rationem] ponere
- 19 libellum] repu<dii>; sinite] ad me; adolescens] abiit tristis; ecce nos]  
reliquimus; omnis] qui reliquit
- 21 uendentes] eicit; aruit] ficus (*Vulg.* ficulnea); qua] potestate; nolo] et  
postea iuit; fit heres] hic est heres
- 22 nuptias] rex fecit; numisma] ostendite; quod est] mandatum; filius sit]  
cuius
- 23 cathedr] Moysi; clau] -ditis; meditis] co-; foris] apparent (*Vulg.* parent);  
iura] -mentum; netum] a-; socii] estis eorum (*Vulg.* non essemus eo-  
rum); pul] sub alas
- 24 dic nobis] quando hec erunt; fuga] uestra; tener] ramus; fidelis] seruus

*Apparatus biblicus*

- 1 Abraham] Matth. 1, 1-17; sponsata]<sup>1</sup> Matth. 1, 18; nollet traducere]  
Matth. 1, 19; donec] Matth. 1, 25
- 2 Bethleem] Matth. 2, 1; Egiptum] Matth. 2, 13-14; Rachel] Matth. 2, 18;  
Archelaus] Matth. 2, 22; Nazareus] Matth. 2, 23
- 3 camelorum] Matth. 3, 4; uipera] Matth. 3, 7; securis] Matth. 3, 10; sine]  
Matth. 3, 15; columbam] Matth. 3, 16
- 4 desertum] Matth. 4, 1; Zabulon] Matth. 4, 15; piscatores] Matth. 4, 18;  
sanitates] Matth. 4, 24
- 5 estis] Matth. 5, 11; soluere] Matth. 5, 17; iusticia] Matth. 5, 20; sex]  
Matth. 5, 21-43;<sup>2</sup> canere tuba] Matth. 6, 2
- 6 orat]<sup>3</sup> Matth. 6, 9; ieunat]<sup>4</sup> Matth. 6, 16; thesau]<sup>5</sup> Matth. 6, 19; nemo sol-  
licitari] Matth. 6, 25
- 7 festucam] Matth. 7, 3-5; sanctum] Matth. 7, 6; piscem] Matth. 7, 10; tri-  
bulis] Matth. 7, 16; michi] Matth. 7, 21; domus] Matth. 7, 24
- 8 lepra] Matth. 8, 3; puer] Matth. 8, 6; socrus] Matth. 8, 14; uulpes] Matth.  
8, 20; mare] Matth. 8, 27; porci] Matth. 8, 32
- 9 paralisis] Matth. 9, 2-7; **Leui] Marc. 2, 14, Luc. 5, 27** (= Matth. 9, 9);

<sup>1</sup> 'sponsata' = 'desponsata'

<sup>2</sup> For an explanation of 'sex', see above, n. 19 in the Introduction.

<sup>3</sup> 'orat' = 'orabitur'

<sup>4</sup> 'ieunat' = 'ieiunatis'

<sup>5</sup> 'thesau' = 'thesaurizare'

- Yayrus]** Marc. 5, 22, Luc. 8, 41 (= Matth. 9, 18); retro] Matth. 9, 20; cecij] Matth. 9, 27; mutum] Matth. 9, 32
- 10 mittit] Matth. 10, 5; luporum] 10, 16; ueneunt] Matth. 10, 29; pacem] Matth. 10, 34; frigideque] Matth. 10, 42
- 11 laudat Baptistam] Matth. 11, 7-19; pueris] Matth. 11, 16; ue] Matth. 11, 21; confiteorque] Matth. 11, 25
- 12 sata] Matth. 12, 1; manus] Matth. 12, 10; demon]<sup>6</sup> Matth. 12, 22; regnum] Matth. 12, 25; signum] Matth. 12, 39; spiritus] Matth. 12, 45; que] Matth. 12, 48
- 13 seminat]<sup>7</sup> 13, 25; oleribus] Matth. 13, 32; satis] Matth. 13, 33; uendit] Matth. 13, 46; noua] Matth. 13, 52; fabri] Matth. 13, 55
- 14 caput Baptiste] Matth. 14, 8; saciat] Matth. 14, 20; calcat] Matth. 14, 25-26; sanitates] Matth. 14, 35-36
- 15 non lotis] Matth. 15, 20; canibus] Matth. 15, 26; sanitates] Matth. 15, 30-31; septem] Matth. 15, 36; edentes] Matth. 15, 37-38
- 16 signum] Matth. 16, 4; caute] Matth. 16, 6; quem dicunt] Matth. 16, 13; Satana post me] Matth. 16, 23
- 17 decor] Matth. 17, 2; Helias] Matth. 17, 3; lunaticus] Matth. 17, 14; trade]<sup>8</sup> Matth. 17, 21; tributum] Matth. 17, 24
- 18 infans]<sup>9</sup> Matth. 18, 2-5; centum oues] Matth. 18, 12; si peccauerit] Matth. 18, 15; racionem] Matth. 18, 24
- 19 libellum] Matth. 19, 7; sinite] Matth. 19, 14; adolescens] Matth. 19, 22; ecce nos] Matth. 19, 27; omnis] Matth. 19, 29
- 20 denarios] Matth. 20, 9-10; tradent] Matth. 20, 19; Zebedei] Matth. 20, 20; duo ceci] Matth. 20, 30
- 21 ramos] Matth. 21, 8; uidentes] Matth. 21, 12; aruit] Matth. 21, 20; qua] Matth. 21, 23 et 21, 27; nolo] Matth. 21, 29; fit heres] Matth. 21, 38
- 22 nuptias] Matth. 22, 2; numisma] Matth. 22, 19; Saducei] Matth. 22, 23; quod est] Matth. 22, 36; filius sit] Matth. 22, 42
- 23 catedr]<sup>10</sup> Matth. 23, 2; clau]<sup>11</sup> Matth. 23, 13; meditis]<sup>12</sup> Matth. 23, 14; duplo] Matth. 23, 15; iura]<sup>13</sup> Matth. 23, 20; netum]<sup>14</sup> Matth. 23, 23; foris] Matth. 23, 27; socii] Matth. 23, 30; pul]<sup>15</sup> Matth. 23, 37

<sup>6</sup> 'demon' = 'demonium' (see above, p. 262 of the Introduction).

<sup>7</sup> 'seminat' = 'superseminauit'

<sup>8</sup> 'trade' = 'tradendus est' (see above, p. 262 of the Introduction).

<sup>9</sup> 'Infans' replaces the biblical 'paruulus'.

<sup>10</sup> 'catedr' = 'cathedra'

<sup>11</sup> 'clau' = 'clauditis'

<sup>12</sup> 'meditis' = 'comeditis'. It is interesting to note that in some editions of the Vulgate verse 14 of Matthew 23 is included in the *apparatus criticus* to the text (see for example, *Biblia Sacra*, ed. WEBER, vol. 2, p. 1562). However, the anonymous author of the *Capitula* does not treat this verse any differently than the rest of the biblical text.

<sup>13</sup> 'iura' = 'iuramentum' (Vulg. iurat, which is also the variant in V)

<sup>14</sup> 'netum' = 'anetum'

- 24 dic nobis] Matth. 24, 3; fuga] Matth. 24, 20; sol] Matth. 24, 29; tener]  
Matth. 24, 32; Noe] Matth. 24, 37; furque] Matth. 24, 43; fidelis]  
Matth. 24, 45  
25 decem uirginibus] Matth. 25, 1; talenta] Matth. 25, 15; oues ab edis]  
Matth. 25, 32

## METRA SVPER MARCV M

*Biblical Chapter*

	Baptismus, rethibus, spiritu, socrus, multa, leprosus.	1
	Per tectum, <b>Matheum</b> , ieunantes, uellere spicas.	2
	Arida, demonia, nomina, Belzebub, mea mater.	3
	Semen, lucerna, ultro, sinapis, quoque uentus.	4
5	Porci, Iayrus, retro, crede, surge, manducare.	5
	Faber, bini, caput, panibus, fantasma, sanantur.	6
	Non lotis manibus, Cananea, surdus et mutus.	7
	Septem, <b>Iona</b> , caue, frondes, alii, Sathana post.	8
	Fullo, <b>lunaticus</b> , maior, quendam, quoque luscum.	9
10	Repudii, sinite, tristis, Zebedeique, cecus.	10
	Osanna, folia, uedentes, fidem, de celo.	11
	Heres, ymago, nubent, magnum, cuiusue, minuta.	12

*Apparatus criticus*

**Tit. euangelii** Metra super Marcum] Marcus *K* || **5** crede, surge, manducare] *om. K* || **6** faber] fabri *K* || **7** manibus] canibus *K*; surdus] cecus *K* || **8** Sathana] Sathanas *K* || **9** fullo] fullon *K*; luscum] mola *V* (Marc. 9, 41) || **10** Zebedeique] Zebedei quoque *V*; cecus] secus *K* || **11** fidem] fides *K*; de] *e K* || **12** magnum] cauete *V* (Marc. 12, 38); cuiusue] *om. V*

*Glossae interlineares in K*

- 1 rethibus] relictis; spiritu] multipliter<sup>16</sup> in mundo; socrus] Petri (*Vulg.* Simonis); multa] demonia  
2 ieunantes] discipuli Iohannis  
3 arida] manus; nomina] inponit; mea] que est  
4 ultro] fructificat; uentus] in mari  
5 retro] fimbriam tangit (*Vulg.* tetigit uestimentum)  
6 caput] Iohannis; panibus] quatuor (*Vulg.* quinque); fantasma] in mari (*Vulg.* super mare); sanantur] multi  
8 septem] panes; caue] -te a fer<mento>; frondes] uideo; alii] Ieremiam (*Vulg.* Heliam)  
9 luscum] intrare in reg<num> ce<lorum>

<sup>15</sup> 'pul' = 'pulus'

<sup>16</sup> 'Multipliter' is not biblical.

- 10 repudii] libellum; tristis] abiit; cecus] uiam cecus  
 11 folia] ficus; uendentes] uideo; de celo] an ex hominibus  
 12 heres] hic est; cuius] sit filius

*Apparatus biblicus*

- 1 baptismus] Marc. 1, 9; rethibus] Marc. 1, 18; spiritu] Marc. 1, 23; socrus]  
 Marc. 1, 30; multa] Marc. 1, 34; leprosus] Marc. 1, 40  
 2 tectum] Marc. 2, 4; **Matheum] Matth. 9, 9** (= Marc. 2, 14); ieiunantes]  
 Marc. 2, 18; uellere spicas] Marc. 2, 23  
 3 arida] Marc. 3, 1; demonia] Marc. 3, 15; nomina] Marc. 3, 17; Belzebub]  
 Marc. 3, 22; mea mater] Marc. 3, 33  
 4 semen] Marc. 4, 3-4; lucerna] Marc. 4, 21; ultro] Marc. 4, 28; sinapis]  
 Marc. 4, 31; uentus] Marc. 4, 40  
 5 porci] Marc. 5, 11-14; Iayrus] Marc. 5, 22; retro] Marc. 5, 27; crede]  
 Marc. 5, 36; surge] Marc. 5, 41; manducare] Marc. 5, 43  
 6 faber] Marc. 6, 3; bini] Marc. 6, 7; caput] Marc. 6, 24; panibus] Marc.  
 6, 41; fantasma] Marc. 6, 49; sanantur]<sup>17</sup> Marc. 6, 56  
 7 non lotis manibus] Marc. 7, 2; Cananea]<sup>18</sup> Marc. 7, 26; surdus et mutus]  
 Marc. 7, 32  
 8 septem] Marc. 8, 5; **Iona] Matth. 12, 39, Luc. 11, 29** (= Marc. 8, 11-12);  
 caue]<sup>19</sup> Marc. 8, 15; frondes]<sup>20</sup> Marc. 8, 24; alii] Marc. 8, 28; Sathana  
 post]<sup>21</sup> Marc. 8, 33  
 9 fullo] Marc. 9, 2; **lunaticus] Matth. 17, 14** (Marc. 9, 17); maior] Marc.  
 9, 33; quendam] Marc. 9, 37; luscum] Marc. 9, 46  
 10 repudii] Marc. 10, 4; sinite] Marc. 10, 14; tristis] Marc. 10, 22; Zebedei-  
 que] Marc. 10, 35; cecus] Marc. 10, 46  
 11 osanna] Marc. 11, 10; folia] Marc. 11, 13; uendentes] Marc. 11, 15; fi-  
 dem] Marc. 11, 22; de celo] Marc. 11, 31  
 12 heres] Marc. 12, 7; ymago] Marc. 12, 16; nubent] Marc. 12, 25; mag-  
 num]<sup>22</sup> Marc. 12, 31; cuiusue]<sup>23</sup> Marc. 12, 37; minuta] Marc. 12, 42

<sup>17</sup> 'Sanantur' replaces the biblical 'salui fiebant'.

<sup>18</sup> 'Cananea' replaces the biblical 'Syrophoenissa'.

<sup>19</sup> 'caue' = 'caute'

<sup>20</sup> 'Frondes' replaces the biblical 'arbores' (see above, n. 14 in the Introduction).

<sup>21</sup> 'Post' replaces the biblical 'retro'.

<sup>22</sup> 'Magnum' does not make a lot of sense here; it stands for the biblical 'maius' which refers to 'mandatum'. 'Magnum' is replaced by 'caute' in *V* (Marc. 12, 38) which is not very helpful either.

<sup>23</sup> In the Vulgate we have 'eius' instead of 'cuius', "et unde est filius eius". The reference to Marc. 12, 37 is identified with the help of the gloss 'sit filius'.

	SVPER LVCAM METRA	<i>Biblical Chapter</i>
	Incensum, Gabriel, in montana, pugilarem.	1
	Presepio, ciditur, Symeon, Annaque, dolentes.	2
	Baptizat, quid, nos, inclusit, qui fuit Heli.	3
	Tempta, liber, uidue, nos perdere, socrus, a multis.	4
5	Naues, laxate, lepra, per tegulas, <b>Matheumque</b> .	5
	Spica, manus, nomina, bea, ue, trabs, queque, domus.	6
	Centurio, Naym, uenturus, pueris, deuorans, flet.	7
	Spinis, sub lectum, mea, uentus, Legio, Yayrus.	8
	Misit, quinque, dicunt, neget, <b>nix</b> , minor, quendam, ignis, uulpes. <sup>24</sup>	9
10	Binos, mitto, Tyro, pater, infundens, sathagebat.	10
	Orare, porro, <b>ceti</b> , simplex, quia ue ue.	11
	<b>Asse</b> , stulte, fenum, lumbi, uigilareque, pacem.	12
	Siloa, fici, solui, granum, pauci, uolpi, <b>sub alis</b> .	13
	Ydropis, ascende, diuites, cenam, quoque sumptus.	14
15	Oues, dragmas, gaudium est, filius prodigusque.	15
	Vilicus, et dominis, lex, apex, uxor, et bisso.	16
	Molaque, peccauerit, moro, inutiles, deca, regnum.	17
	Iudex, sum, sinite, <b>perfectus</b> , passio, cecus.	18
	Sicomorus, nobilis, sedet, increpa, fleuit, eiecit.	19
20	Qua, cesum, Cesaris, fratres, Daud, tendite, stolis.	20
	Ga, finis, fugiant, estas, crapulaque, <sup>25</sup> diebus.	21

### *Apparatus criticus*

**Tit. euangelii** Super Lucam metra] Marcus *K* || 2 Symeon] Simeon *K* || 3 baptizat] baptisat *V*; inclusit] reclusit *K* || 4 tempta] temptata *K<sup>a,c</sup>*, temta *V* || 5 tegulas] tegulasque *V*; Matheumque] Matheum *V* || 6 spica] spicas *K<sup>b,c</sup>*; bea] beat *V*, *intellege* beati; ue, trabs, queque, domus] que, trabs-que, domus, ue *V*; queque] *intellege* unaqueque || 8 sub] *intellege* subtus || 9 nix] uix *V*; uulpes] uolpes *K* || 10 Tyro] tiro *K* || 12 uigilareque] uapula-bitque *V* (Luc. 12, 47-48) || 13 fici] ficus *K* || 14 ydropis] idropis *K* || 15 dragmas gaudium est] gaudium est dragmas *K* || 16 uilicus] uillicus *V* || 17 molaque] mollaque *K* || 19 sicomorus] sichomorus *K* || 20 tendite] *intellege* adtendite || 21 *Versum om. K*; ga] *intellege* gazofilacium

### *Glossae interlineares in K*

1 incensum] poneret Zacharias; Gabriel] missus

<sup>24</sup> This line is hypermetrical by any scansion.

<sup>25</sup> 'Crapula' needs to be understood as ablative, as it is in the Bible.

- 2 ciditur] circum-; Symeon] senex; Annaque] prophetisa; dolentes] querebamus te
- 3 baptizat] Iohannes; quid] faciemus magister; reclusit] Iohannem carcere
- 4 tempta] -cio; liber] datus est ei (*Vulg.* traditus est illi); uidue] multe; nos perdere] ante tempus; socrus] Petri (*Vulg.* Simonis); a multis] demonia
- 6 spica] uelle<bant>; manus] arida; nomina] imponit (*Vulg.* cognominauit); bea] pau<peres>; ue] uobis; trabs] in oculo; queque] arbor; domus] supra petram
- 7 uenturus] tu es qui; pueris] ludentibus (*Vulg.* sedentibus in foro); deuorans] et potator (*Vulg.* et bibens); flet] Magdalena (name not in Luke)
- 8 spinis] aliunde(?); sub lectum] lucerna; mea] que mater
- 9 misit] predicare; quinq[ue] panes; dicunt] quem me; neget] abneget; nix] uestimenta eius; minor] uestrum (*Vulg.* inter omnes uos); quendam] uidimus; ignis] uis dicimus ut descendat; uulpes] fo<ueas> habent
- 10 binos] et binos; mitto] uos sicut; Tyro] remisius; pater] confiteor tibi; infundens] oleum et uinum; sathagebat] Martha
- 11 orare] docet (*Vulg.* doce nos); porro] si in digito Dei; ceti] Ionas in uentre; simplex] oculus; quia ue ue] Phariseis
- 12 asse] ueneunt; stulte] hac nocte; fenum] hodie est; lumbi] sint precincti; pacem] non ueni mittere (*Vulg.* ueni dare)
- 13 Siloa] turris; fici] arborem; solui] filiam Abrahe non debuit; granum] sinapis; pauci] saluantur si pauci sunt; uolpi] que dicite illi; sub alis] congregare pullos (*Vulg.* filios tuos)
- 14 ydropis] -picus; ascende] superius; diuites] noli inuitare; cenam] fecit magnam; sumptus] computat
- 15 oues] centum; dragmas] decem; gaudium est] angelis
- 16 dominis] duobus seruire; lex] ad Iohannem; apex] unus de lege; uxor] qui dimittit eam; et bisso] et purpura indutus (*Vulg.* induebatur)
- 17 molaque] in collo suspendere (*Vulg.* inponatur circa collum); peccauerit] si frater in te (*Vulg.* tuus); moro] transplantare; inutiles] serui sumus; deca] decem leprosi; regnum] Dei non uenit cum obseruatione
- 18 iudex] quidam iniquus; sinite] paruulos; perfectus] si uis esse; passio] predicit; cecus] quidam
- 19 sicomorus] in arborem ascendit; nobilis] homo; sedet] quidam super pullum; increpa] discipulos; fleuit] super ciuitatem; eiecit] uendentes de templo
- 20 qua] potestate que facis; cesum] eiecerunt (*Vulg.* dimiserunt); Cesaris] ymago; fratres] septem sine filiis; Dauid] sit (*Vulg.* esse); stolis] qui uolunt ambulare

*Apparatus biblicus*

- 1 incensum] Luc. 1, 9; Gabriel] Luc. 1, 19; in montana] Luc. 1, 39; pugilarem] Luc. 1, 63



- 2 presepio] Luc. 2, 7; ciditur]<sup>26</sup> Luc. 2, 21; Symeon] Luc. 2, 25; Annaque] Luc. 2, 36; dolentes] Luc. 2, 48
- 3 baptizat] Luc. 3, 7; quid] Luc. 3, 12; nos] Luc. 3, 14; inclusit] Luc. 3, 20; qui fuit Heli] Luc. 2, 23
- 4 tempta]<sup>27</sup> Luc. 4, 2; liber] Luc. 4, 17; uidue] Luc. 4, 25; nos perdere] Luc. 4, 34; socrus] Luc. 4, 38; a multis] Luc. 4, 41
- 5 naues] Luc. 5, 2; laxate] Luc. 5, 4; lepra] Luc. 5, 12; per tegulas] Luc. 5, 19; **Matheumque] Matth. 9, 9** (= Luc. 5, 27)
- 6 spica] Luc. 6, 1; manus] Luc. 6, 6; nomina] Luc. 6, 14; bea]<sup>28</sup> Luc. 6, 20; ue] Luc. 6, 24; trabs] Luc. 6, 41; queque]<sup>29</sup> Luc. 6, 44; domus] Luc. 6, 48
- 7 centurio] Luc. 7, 2; Naym] Luc. 7, 11; uenturus] Luc. 7, 19; pueris] Luc. 7, 32; deuorans] Luc. 7, 34; flet]<sup>30</sup> Luc. 7, 38
- 8 spinis] Luc. 8, 14; sub lectum]<sup>31</sup> Luc. 8, 16; mea] Luc. 8, 21; uentus] Luc. 8, 24; Legio] Luc. 8, 30; Yayrus] Luc. 8, 41
- 9 misit] Luc. 9, 2; quinque] Luc. 9, 13; dicunt] Luc. 9, 18; neget]<sup>32</sup> Luc. 9, 23; **nix] Matth. 17, 2, Marc. 9, 2** (Luc. 9, 29); minor] Luc. 9, 48; quendam] Luc. 9, 49; ignis] Luc. 9, 54; uulpes] Luc. 9, 58
- 10 binos] Luc. 10, 1; mitto] Luc. 10, 3; Tyro] Luc. 10, 14; pater] Luc. 10, 21; infundens] Luc. 10, 34; sathagebat] Luc. 10, 40
- 11 orare] Luc. 11, 1; porro] Luc. 11, 20; **ceti] Matth. 12, 40** (Luc. 11, 29-30); simplex] Luc. 11, 34; quia ue ue] Luc. 11, 42-43
- 12 **asse] Matth. 10, 29** (Luc. 12, 6); stulte] Luc. 12, 20; fenum] Luc. 12, 28; lumbi] Luc. 12, 35; uigilareque] Luc. 12, 39; pacem] Luc. 12, 51
- 13 Siloa] Luc. 13, 4; fici] Luc. 13, 6; solui] Luc. 13, 16; granum] Luc. 13, 19; pauci] Luc. 13, 23; uolpi] Luc. 13, 32; **sub alis] Matth. 23, 37** (Luc. 13, 34)
- 14 ydropis]<sup>33</sup> Luc. 14, 2; ascende] Luc. 14, 10; diuites] Luc. 14, 12; cenam] Luc. 14, 16; quoque sumptus] Luc. 14, 28
- 15 oues] Luc. 15, 4; dragmas] Luc. 15, 8; gaudium est] Luc. 15, 10; filius prodigusque]<sup>34</sup> Luc. 15, 21
- 16 uilicus] Luc. 16, 1; dominis] Luc. 16, 13; lex] Luc. 16, 16; apex] Luc. 16, 17; uxor] Luc. 16, 18; et bisso] Luc. 16, 19
- 17 molaque]<sup>35</sup> Luc. 17, 2; peccauerit] Luc. 17, 3; moro] Luc. 17, 6;

<sup>26</sup> 'ciditur' = 'circumciditur'

<sup>27</sup> 'tempta' = 'temptacio'

<sup>28</sup> 'bea' = 'beati'

<sup>29</sup> 'queque' = 'unaqueque'

<sup>30</sup> 'Flet' replaces the biblical 'lacrimis coepit rigare pedes'.

<sup>31</sup> 'sub lectum' = 'subtus lectum'

<sup>32</sup> 'neget' = 'abneget'

<sup>33</sup> 'ydropis' = 'ydropicus'

<sup>34</sup> 'Prodigus' is not biblical (see above, n. 13 in the Introduction).

<sup>35</sup> 'Mola' replaces the biblical 'molaris' (see above, n. 15 in the Introduction).

- inutiles] Luc. 17, 10; deca]<sup>36</sup> Luc. 17, 12; regnum] Luc. 17, 20  
 18 iudex] Luc. 18, 2; sum] Luc. 18, 11; sinite] Luc. 18, 16; **perfectus]**  
**Matth. 19, 21** (Luc. 18, 22); passio] Luc. 18, 31-33; cecus] Luc. 18, 35  
 19 sicomorus] Luc. 19, 4; nobilis] Luc. 19, 12; sedet] Luc. 19, 30; increpa]  
 Luc. 19, 39; fleuit] Luc. 19, 41; eiecit] Luc. 19, 45  
 20 qua] Luc. 20, 2; cesum] Luc. 20, 10; Cesaris] Luc. 20, 24; fratres] Luc.  
 20, 29; Daud] Luc. 20, 41; tendite]<sup>37</sup> Luc. 20, 46; stolis] Luc. 20, 46  
 21 ga]<sup>38</sup> Luc. 21, 1; finis] Luc. 21, 9; fugiant] Luc. 21, 21; estas] Luc.  
 21, 30; crapulaque] Luc. 21, 34; diebus] Luc. 21, 37

## SVPER IOHANNEM METRA

*Biblical Chapter*

	Verbum, tu quis, agnus, Messias, Nathanaelque	1
	Nuptie, mense, zelus, et soluite, nosset et omnes.	2
	Nicodemus, Moyses, dilexit, questio, sponsam.	3
	Ydria, metere, patria, Galilei, regulusque.	4
5	Piscina, grabatum, pater suscitatur, scrutaminique.	5
	Quinque, fugitque, mari, queritis, ego sum, abierunt.	6
	Scenophe, me queritis, sitit, nisi, turba, lex nostra.	7
	Adducunt, Abrahe, ex patre, quis arguet, Abram.	8
	Cecus natus, queritur, responderunt, adoravit.	9
10	Ostium, et pastor, encenia, multa, Iordanem.	10
	Languores, collegerunt, Effrem, ubi sit apprehendant.	11
	Libram, osanna, uolumus, uox, magis, ego lux.	12
	Peluis, magister, quis est, fac, filiollique.	13
	Deitas in patre, mea, aput, do, quoque princeps.	14
15	Vitis, preceptum, amici, uenisse, gratis.	15
	Obsequium, uadam, uenerit, mea, modicum, palam.	16

*Apparatus criticus*

**Tit. euangelii** Super Iohannem metra] Iohannes *K* || **1** Nathanaelque] Na-  
 taelque *V* || **4** ydria] idria *K* || **7** scenophe] scenofe *V*; *intellege* scenopegia  
 || **9** queritur, responderunt, adoravit] *om. K* || **11** Effrem] Effren *V* || **12/16**  
*Versus om. K*

*Glossae interlineares in K*

- 1 uerbum] in principio erat; tu quis] es; agnus] ecce; Messias] uenit (*Vulg.*  
 inuenimus Messiam)

<sup>36</sup> In Luke we have 'decem'.

<sup>37</sup> 'tendite' = 'adrendite'

<sup>38</sup> 'ga' = 'gazofilacium'

- 2 nuptie] in Chana; mense] numulariorum; zelus] domus tue; soluite] templum; nosset] quoniam ipse<sup>3</sup>  
 Moyses] exal<tauit> serpentem; dilexit] Deus mundum; questio] de purificatione; sponsam] qui habet  
 4 metere] misi uos; patria] nemo propheta accep<tus>; Galilei] exceperunt eum cum omnia  
 5 piscina] Probatica; grabatum] tulit in sab<bato>; scrutaminique] scripturas  
 6 quinque] panes; fugitque] ne esset rex; mari] imperat; queritis] me; ego sum] panis; abierunt] multi discipulorum  
 7 scenophe] uos ascendite, ego (Luc. 7, 8); me queritis] ait interficere; sitit] si quis; turba] legem non nouit; nisi ... lex nostra] iudicat hominem nisi audierat  
 8 adducunt] adultores; Abrahe] semen sumus; ex patre] diabolo estis; quis arguet] me de peccato  
 10 pastor] bonus; encenia] et hyems erat; multa] bona ostendi uobis; Iordanem] trans Iordanem abiit  
 11 languores] Lazarus; collegerunt] Pharisei concilium; Effrem] habitat in (*Vulg.* ibi morabatur); apprehendant] eum

*Apparatus biblicus*

- 1 uerbum] Ioh. 1, 1; tu quis] Ioh. 1, 19; agnus] Ioh. 1, 36; Messias] Ioh. 1, 41; Nathanaelque] Ioh. 1, 45  
 2 nuptie] Ioh. 2, 1; mense] Ioh. 2, 15; zelus] Ioh. 2, 17; et soluite] Ioh. 2, 19; nosset et omnes] Ioh. 2, 24  
 3 Nicodemus] Ioh. 3, 1; Moyses] Ioh. 3, 14; dilexit] Ioh. 3, 16; questio] Ioh. 3, 25; sponsam] Ioh. 3, 29  
 4 ydria] Ioh. 4, 28; metere] Ioh. 4, 38; patria] Ioh. 4, 44; Galilei] Ioh. 4, 45; regulusque] Ioh. 4, 46  
 5 piscina] Ioh. 5, 2; grabatum] Ioh. 5, 10; pater suscitavit] Ioh. 5, 21; scrutaminique] Ioh. 5, 39  
 6 quinque] Ioh. 6, 9; fugitque] Ioh. 6, 15; **mari] Luc. 8, 25** (Ioh. 6, 19)<sup>39</sup>; queritis] Ioh. 6, 26; ego sum] Ioh. 6, 35; abierunt] Ioh. 6, 67  
 7 scenophe]<sup>40</sup> Ioh. 7, 2; me queritis] Ioh. 7, 20; sitit] Ioh. 7, 37; turba] Ioh. 7, 49; nisi ... lex nostra] Ioh. 7, 51  
 8 adducunt] Ioh. 8, 3; Abrahe] Ioh. 8, 33; ex patre] Ioh. 8, 44; quis arguet] Ioh. 8, 46; Abram] Ioh. 8, 52  
 9 cecus natus]<sup>41</sup> Ioh. 9, 2; queritur]<sup>42</sup> Ioh. 9, 19; responderunt] Ioh. 9, 20; adorauit] Ioh. 9, 38  
 10 ostium] Ioh. 10, 1-2; pastor] Ioh. 10, 11; encenia] Ioh. 10, 22; multa] Ioh. 10, 32; Iordanem] Ioh. 10, 40

<sup>39</sup> In difference with Luke's text "imperat et mari", John 6, 19 reads, "uident Iesum ambulans super mare".

<sup>40</sup> 'scenophe' = 'scenopegia'

<sup>41</sup> The exact text in John 9, 2 is "caecus nasceretur".

<sup>42</sup> 'Queritur' replaces the biblical 'interrogauerunt'.

- 11 languores] Ioh. 11, 1; collegerunt] Ioh. 11, 47; Effrem] Ioh. 11, 54; ubi  
sit apprehendant] Ioh. 11, 57  
12 libram] Ioh. 12, 3; osanna] Ioh. 12, 13; uolumus] Ioh. 12, 21; uox] Ioh.  
12, 28; magis] Ioh. 12, 43; ego lux] Ioh. 12, 46  
13 peluis] Ioh. 13, 5; magister] Ioh. 13, 13; quis est] Ioh. 13, 24; fac] Ioh.  
13, 27; filioque] Ioh. 13, 33  
14 deitas<sup>43</sup> in patre] Ioh. 14, 10-11; mea] Ioh. 14, 15; aput] Ioh. 14, 23; do]  
Ioh. 14, 27; princeps] Ioh. 14, 30  
15 uitis] Ioh. 15, 5; preceptum] Ioh. 15, 10; amici] Ioh. 15, 14; uenisse[m]  
Ioh. 15, 22; gratis] Ioh. 15, 25  
16 obsequium] Ioh. 16, 2; uadam] Ioh. 16, 7; uenerit] Ioh. 16, 13; mea]  
Ioh. 16, 15; modicum] Ioh. 16, 17; palam] Ioh. 16, 25

### *Summary*

This article presents a critical edition of the short mnemonic poem the *Capitula Euangeliorum Versifice Scripta* written most likely in Central Europe in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. Preserved in two manuscripts (one with interlinear glosses and one without), the *Capitula* takes an original approach to versification, dedicating one hexameter per biblical chapter and using words taken in most cases directly from the biblical narrative. At first glance the poem seems to represent a simple device for rote memorization, but a careful study of the text shows that the poet was an inventive versifier who was able to create an extremely concise, but at the same time also ingenious mnemonic composition.

<sup>43</sup> 'Deitas' is not biblical (see above, n. 13 in the Introduction).

*Ite potus est :*  
Liturgical parody and views  
of late-medieval worship\*

by  
John F. ROMANO  
(*Toronto*)

The story of late-medieval liturgy, as it is typically described, is one of decline.<sup>1</sup> If the culture of the Middle Ages as a whole was waning, then surely the public worship of the Church suffered its own brand of malaise. The symptoms of this illness are well-known, and can be quickly summarized. Worship was generally grim, functional, and humorless. The papacy had subjected the rest of Europe to uniformity on the Roman model. Prayers and rubrics had degenerated to unthinking repetition of formulae that the celebrants themselves

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<sup>1</sup> See especially T. KLAUSER, *A Short History of the Liturgy: An Account and Some Reflections*, trans. J. HALLIBURTON, Oxford; New York, 1979, p. 94-123; C. VOGEL, "An Alienated Liturgy", in *Liturgy: Self-Expression of the Church*, ed. by H. SCHMIDT, New York, 1972, p. 11-25; J. A. JUNGSMANN, "Liturgy on the Eve of the Reformation", *Worship*, 33 (1958-59), p. 505-515; and A. J. CHUPUNGCO, "History of the Roman Liturgy until the Fifteenth Century", in *Handbook for Liturgical Studies, volume I: Introduction to the Liturgy*, ed. by A. J. CHUPUNGCO, Collegeville, MN, 2000, p. 131-152, here p. 150-151.

barely understood. Through the endless expansion of private Masses, the liturgy promoted a sense of individualism, and destroyed any communal feeling. The state of sclerosis that had set in during the late-medieval period hardened further at the Council of Trent (1545-63), and indeed was so entrenched that it was not until the Second Vatican Council (1962-65) that any significant change in the fortunes of the liturgy can be seen. One can only wonder what the clergy who engaged in the liturgy thought of this sorry state of affairs, and why they did not do more to reform things.

This oft-told tale is in need of serious reconsideration, although the laborers on medieval liturgy are few.<sup>2</sup> Eamon Duffy has argued for a more positive role for the Mass in late-medieval England in building community, promoting belief, and sponsoring some forms of participation,<sup>3</sup> although more research is needed to see to what extent these conditions held outside of the Mass and elsewhere in Europe. What is more, one can no longer claim that the papacy simply wiped out local liturgies. As one recent monograph argued, even during the Tridentine reform of the liturgy there was sustained negotiation between local churches and the papacy to determine which saints and formulae would be incorporated into Roman liturgical books.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps the most elusive question in our renewed study of worship practices of this period, however, is some idea of what the clergy thought about the liturgy. Although medievalists have become interested in analyzing religious mentalities, relatively few of these studies are dedicated to attitudes toward the liturgy.<sup>5</sup> Such a study would be helpful in gauging how the clergy experienced liturgy, which would in turn inform a better investigation of real

<sup>2</sup> A. ANGENENDT, "Liturgie im Spätmittelalter", *Liturgisches Jahrbuch*, 50 (2000), p. 54-63.

<sup>3</sup> E. DUFFY, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c. 1400-c. 1580*, 2nd ed., New Haven, 2005, p. 91-130.

<sup>4</sup> S. DITCHFIELD, *Liturgy, Sanctity, and History in Tridentine Italy: Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular*, Cambridge; New York, 1995.

<sup>5</sup> See selections in H. MARTIN, *Mentalités médiévales: XI<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1996, p. 15, 17, 157-158, 160, 166, 179, 229, and 251.

practice. The problem lies in the sources, which either seem ill-suited to the task or have not been fully exploited for it. Liturgical books of practice seem only to confirm how static and mechanical medieval worship was.<sup>6</sup> Scholars have only begun to tap the riches of late-medieval expositions of the Mass by medieval liturgists like William Durandus to reveal their widely read allegorical interpretations of the Mass.<sup>7</sup>

While some texts have not received enough scholarly attention in inquiring into the clergy's attitude toward late-medieval liturgy, however, other sources have been entirely left out of the discussion. This is true of the subject of this article, liturgical parody, which I define as the intentional imitation of texts of public worship in order to achieve a satiric or exaggerated effect.<sup>8</sup> These texts have up to now been virtually ignored by historians of the liturgy. Adolf Franz (1842-1916), in his classic *Die Messe im deutschen Mittelalter* did not so much analyze as condemn these texts:

Our religious feeling is rightfully up in arms at the reading of such parodies, in which we see a reprehensible devaluation of holy words and customs. In the Middle Ages one took such things less seriously. One must attribute this to as much naiveté of that time as the lack of a dignified religious feeling,

<sup>6</sup> See especially E. PALAZZO, *A History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century*, trans. M. BEAUMONT, Collegeville, MN, 1998.

<sup>7</sup> R. E. REYNOLDS, "Guillaume Durand parmi les théologiens médiévaux de la liturgie", in *Guillaume Durand: Évêque de Mende (v. 1230-1296), canoniste, liturgiste et homme politique*, ed. by P.-M. GY, Paris, 1992, p. 155-168; T. THIBODEAU, "From Durand of Mende to St. Thomas More: Lessons Learned from Medieval Liturgy", in *Ritual, Text and Law: Studies in Medieval Canon Law and Liturgy Presented to Roger E. Reynolds*, ed. by K. CUSHING, R. GYUG, Aldershot, 2004, p. 83-94, here p. 87-91; *The Rationale divinarum officiorum of William Durand of Mende: A New Translation of the Prologue and Book One*, trans. T. THIBODEAU, New York, 2007, p. xviii-xxii; T. THIBODEAU, "Western Christendom", in *The Oxford History of Christian Worship*, ed. by G. WAINWRIGHT, K. B. WESTERFIELD TUCKER, Oxford; New York, 2006, p. 216-253, here p. 237-242.

<sup>8</sup> The best handlist of liturgical parody is in M. BAYLESS, *Parody in the Middle Ages: The Latin Tradition*, Ann Arbor, MI, 1996, p. 218-220, which I adopt with some modifications. For the liturgical parodies I consider in this article, see my appendix 1. I will henceforth refer to the texts by the numbers listed there.

from which other alien and unfortunate aspects in the ecclesiastical realm are also to be explained.<sup>9</sup>

Franz' comprehensive approach did not allow him to exclude parodies of the medieval Mass from his monumental study, but he exiled his editions and analysis of them to the fourth appendix, the last of the tome. Emblematic of the current state of the question is the way that liturgical parody is handled in Cyrille Vogel's *Medieval Liturgy*, which, although it is over twenty years old, is still the standard printed bibliography of medieval liturgy. Vogel devotes little more than a fourth of a page to listing the incipits and references for four parodies of the Mass, accompanied by no commentary and immediately preceding another section entitled "Popular Superstitions."<sup>10</sup> Liturgists may have been hesitant to treat these documents because they are only seen as literature, and have been treated as such by scholars.<sup>11</sup> This is unfortunate, because there are serious limitations to the current research from a liturgical standpoint. Those who have studied them make some curious editorial decisions that distort the liturgical texts that are parodied.<sup>12</sup> In some cases, liturgical references

<sup>9</sup> A. FRANZ, *Die Messe im deutschen Mittelalter: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Liturgie und des religiösen Volklebens*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1902, p. 754-755. All translations, unless otherwise noted, are my own.

<sup>10</sup> C. VOGEL, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, trans. and revised W. G. STOREY, N. K. RASMUSSEN, Washington, D.C., 1986, p. 163.

<sup>11</sup> P. LEHMANN, *Die Parodie im Mittelalter*, 2nd ed., Stuttgart, 1963, p. 145-150 provides a helpful description of liturgical parodies. M. BAYLESS, *Parody*, especially p. 93-128, is the most extensive treatment. P. LADNER, "Narrenhumor und Liturgie: Religiöse Parodie im Mittelalter", in *Der Narr: Beiträge zu einem interdisziplinären Gespräch*, Freiburg, Switzerland, 1991, p. 29-40, is largely successful in his stated aim of not making any new discoveries about liturgical parody (p. 29). Useful for the postmedieval tradition of liturgical parody is the unpublished dissertation A. MARKS, "The Parody of Liturgical and Biblical Texts in Germany in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge, 1970, especially p. 281-285, 317-345, 458-461, 525-527, and 572-573. Marks demonstrates that in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Germany, liturgical parody could often be potent propaganda against political and religious foes.

<sup>12</sup> P. Lehmann lines up distinct parts of the Mass in side-by-side columns. See P. LEHMANN, *Parodie*, p. 233 (*Introibo ad altare* lined up with *Confitemini*



are incomplete,<sup>13</sup> inaccurate,<sup>14</sup> or entirely absent.<sup>15</sup> The problem, however, cuts deeper than editing or references. No one has ever spelled out the relationship between the clergy who said real liturgies and the people who wrote mock ones. The romantic attitude that still holds implies that they issue from vastly different spheres and are evidence of a war between clerical and popular attitudes toward liturgy. Nor has anyone considered that parodic liturgy may allow us to probe into the mentalities of the clergy. My organization in this article reflects these two neglected areas. I will first endeavor to prove that the authors of these texts were themselves the practitioners of liturgy, and that the parodies reflect their experience of the liturgy and were even performed like real liturgies.

*Bacho*, a parody of *Confitemini Domino*); p. 234 (*Aufer a nobis* lined up with *Ad doleum nostrum*, a parody of *Adiutorium nostrum*); and p. 238 (*Dolus vobiscum*, a parody of *Dominus vobiscum*, lined up with *Per ewangelica dicta*). He further mixes the mock *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei* (*Parodie*, p. 239, n. 106ff). M. Bayless does not correctly punctuate the mock prayers of the preface (*Parody*, p. 340), and at one point, combines the *Confitemini* and the *Confiteor* (*Parody*, p. 338).

<sup>13</sup> E.g., P. LEHMANN, *Parodie*, p. 243, n. 11, in which he refers to a parody of the gradual, without identifying any day when it was used as a gradual. On p. 243, n. 15 he refers to the phrase *Iustorum animae* (cf. Wis 3:1; Dan 3:86) as an offertory for All Saints' Day, although the text was employed in at least thirteen different places in the Mass liturgy. See *Missale Romanum Mediolani, 1474*, ed. by R. LIPPE, 2 vols., London, 1899-1907 [henceforth *MRM*], vol. 1, p. 332, 335, 339, 351, 358, 366, 376, 395, 396, 422, 425, 426, and 429. For the purposes of this article I use *MRM*, the first published missal, as a convenient reference point, although by doing so I may to some extent mask the level of liturgical diversity that held throughout the Middle Ages.

<sup>14</sup> E.g., P. LEHMANN, *Parodie*, p. 256, n. 5, in which he refers to the feast of the Sacred Heart of Jesus as a liturgical source for a parody in a fourteenth-century manuscript, although this feast did not appear until the late-seventeenth century, and did not receive official approval until the eighteenth century.

<sup>15</sup> M. Bayless includes no liturgical references in the editions she publishes. In her chapter on liturgical parody, she refers vaguely to "the modern text of the Catholic Missal" (*Parody*, p. 100), but provides no further page references to any liturgical allusions. If she was referring to a missal produced after the Second Vatican Council, the texts are often considerably different from late-medieval ones.

Second, I will show how these texts provide us with unstudied access to what the clergy thought about the liturgy.

At first glance, liturgical parody would appear to be a poor measure of what the clergy thought, rather seeming to be a genre they would instinctively reject. This view is represented in Mikhail Bakhtin's frequently read *Rabelais and his World*: for Bakhtin, liturgical parody was one of many manifestations of popular folk literature that ran counter to the official culture of the Church and its cult, and at best the members of the Church merely tolerated liturgical parody.<sup>16</sup> For some scholars, the authors of liturgical parody have become synonymous with the "vagantes,"<sup>17</sup> who are mentioned explicitly in liturgical parody as the vagantes<sup>18</sup> and the order of vagantes.<sup>19</sup> The widespread scholarly view, especially represented by Helen Waddell, sees them as a group of free-thinking, anti-clerical wandering scholars.<sup>20</sup> It has been argued more recently that this view is in fact a very literal reading and acceptance of the exaggerated and light-hearted claims that this supposed group made of itself.<sup>21</sup> One scholar suggested that parodies were actually used by some students or canons to sing or shout out false responses during liturgies: "Goliardic jesters had to be restrained from interposing irreverent ejaculations during divine services, but nothing could curb their satiric ingenuity."<sup>22</sup> This quotation assumes that the only explanation for the content of the parodies is that authors of liturgical parodies were rebels at odds with the Church and official worship.

Of all the "Goliardic" literature ostensibly produced by vagantes, none proves so well that it was the clergy itself who

<sup>16</sup> M. BAKHTIN, *Rabelais and his World*, trans. H. ISWOLSKY, Bloomington, 1984, p. 7, 14, 84-86, 295.

<sup>17</sup> See for example *Enchiridion euchologicum fontium liturgicorum*, ed. by E. LODI, Rome, 1979, p. 1712.

<sup>18</sup> No. 18, p. 142.

<sup>19</sup> No. 7, p. 242.

<sup>20</sup> H. WADDELL, *The Wandering Scholars*, Boston, 1927.

<sup>21</sup> B. GILLINGHAM, "The Social Context of 'Goliardic' Song: Highway, Court, and Monastery", *The Dalhousie Review*, 82 (2002), p. 75-90.

<sup>22</sup> G. F. WHICHER, *The Goliard Poets: Medieval Latin Songs and Satires*, New York, 1965, p. 5 and p. 221 for the quotation.

were its real authors. The clergy is the only group in society that had enough familiarity with liturgical texts that they would easily understand the humor behind their manipulation.<sup>23</sup> The laity would not have heard most Mass texts at all, because they were pronounced in a low voice and often drowned out by hymns.<sup>24</sup> If they were able to hear the texts, the laity would not have understood the Latin and in particular the technical terminology of liturgical Latin.<sup>25</sup> The authorship is further borne out in the words of the parodies. One text refers to the drinking of the clergy,<sup>26</sup> another says that God makes the clergy happy,<sup>27</sup> and yet another gives speaking parts to a priest and deacon.<sup>28</sup> Within the clergy, however, it is unclear which group created or used them. Since every cleric had the text of the Mass, for instance, parodying the language of the Mass does not provide any hints as to its authors, owners, or users.

The current scholarly consensus is that the ultimate source for liturgical parody was students and in particular the students of the most famous of all medieval universities, Paris, during the period of its greatest flowering, the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.<sup>29</sup> Of course Paris is not the only possible

<sup>23</sup> E.g., M. BAYLESS, *Parody*, p. 124; S. L. GILMAN, *The Parodic Sermon in European Perspective: Aspects of Liturgical Parody from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century*, Wiesbaden, 1974, p. 11-28; L. KENDRICK, "Medieval Satire", in *A Companion to Satire*, ed. by R. QUINTERO, Malden, MA; Oxford, 2007, p. 52-69, here p. 56-58.

<sup>24</sup> J. A. JUNGSMANN, *Missarum sollemnia: Eine genetische Erklärung der römischen Messe*, 5th ed., 2 vols., Vienna, 1962, vol. 1, p. 140-143 and 163-168.

<sup>25</sup> D. SHEERIN, "The Liturgy", in *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*, ed. by F. A. C. MANTELLO, A. G. RIGG, Washington, D.C., 1996, p. 157-182, especially p. 161-164.

<sup>26</sup> No. 9, p. 340.

<sup>27</sup> No. 10, p. 175.

<sup>28</sup> No. 17, p. 346.

<sup>29</sup> See especially O. HUBATSCH, *Die lateinischen Vagantenlieder des Mittelalters*, Görlitz, 1870, p. 77-83; P. LEHMANN, *Parodie*, p. 145; H. SÜßMILCH, *Die lateinische Vagantenpoesie des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts als Kulturerscheinung*, Hildesheim, 1972 [1917], p. 77-79. It is possible that the Landrus of no. 2 (p. 64) is an infamous Parisian moneylender (as in *Carmina Burana: Gesamtausgabe der mittelalterlichen Melodien mit den dazugehörigen Texten*, ed. by M. KORTH, Munich, 1979, p. 199), but this cannot be sustained without a

university to consider, since no. 5 refers to Oxford. This would explain the slander in medieval parody against other members of society. No. 18, for example, refers negatively to nearly every group in late-medieval society except for students. One insult, as one might expect of the secular clergy, was especially directed toward the regular clergy: Wine made an ass out of a peasant and an abbot out of a monk.<sup>30</sup> In addition, there is much about the life of students, in Paris and elsewhere, that recommends this argument: they were known for fighting; they visited prostitutes; they had a bawdy sense of humor; they wrote and performed other songs; they were given to criticizing authority; and they were a highly mobile population.<sup>31</sup> And no one doubts the considerable role that wine and the tavern played in lubricating medieval academic life.<sup>32</sup> Students were members of the minor clergy,<sup>33</sup> and knowledge of Latin and the liturgy was a prerequisite to their advancement in the hierarchy. If one argues that the other drinking and gambling songs in the third part of the *Carmina Burana*<sup>34</sup> – around 12% of the total text<sup>35</sup> – were written by students, no. 2 (CB 215) must be as well. These students were

firm idea of where the text originated. Hugh Primas of Orléans, also in no. 2 (p. 65), had almost become proverbial by the time it was included, as in the commentary of G. BERNT in *Carmina Burana: Die Gedichte des Codex Buranus, Lateinisch und Deutsch*, Zurich; Munich, 1974, p. 958, and so it is difficult to use his appearance to localize the text.

<sup>30</sup> No. 8, p. 241.

<sup>31</sup> L. MOULIN, *La vie des étudiants au Moyen Âge*, Paris, 1991, p. 95-118. See especially for fighting: No. 5, p. 58; no. 6, p. 250; no. 7, p. 245-246; no. 8, p. 236; no. 9, p. 338, 340; no. 17, p. 143; for visiting prostitutes: No. 5, p. 58; no. 7, p. 242-243; and for mobility in the texts: the travelogue in no. 7, p. 243 and the mock prayers for travelers in no. 18, p. 142.

<sup>32</sup> M. T. N. VELOSO, “A importância do vinho na vida académica medieval”, *Revista portuguesa de história*, 30 (1995), p. 103-111. For drinking in taverns, see especially No. 7, p. 241, 244; no. 8, p. 238; no. 9, p. 338, 340; no. 10, p. 175; no. 15, p. 234, 238; no. 17, p. 346, 347, 348; no. 19, p. 357.

<sup>33</sup> *Carmina burana: Lieder der Vaganten*, ed. by and trans. L. LAISTNER, E. BROST, 3rd ed., Heidelberg, 1956, p. 295-296.

<sup>34</sup> I.e. CB 187-226. See *Carmina burana*, ed. by O. SCHUMANN, B. BISCHOFF, vol. 1, part 3, p. 1-86. On this point, see also M. BAYLESS, *Parody*, p. 95-96; and K. MÜLLER, “Aus der Welt der Carmina Burana”, in *Festgabe von Fachgenossen und Freunden A. von Harnack: zum siebenzigsten Geburtstag dargebracht*, Tübingen, 1921, p. 221-222.

in no way revolutionaries: they too wanted ecclesiastical offices and the money that flowed from them.<sup>36</sup> As much as they mocked the liturgical prompts and blessings only used by bishops,<sup>37</sup> the parodists wanted to take their place in the hierarchy one day.

It is likely that students wrote most of the texts, but they were certainly disseminated beyond the universities, and the authors were likely not to have been limited to this group. Monks were likely to have been an eager audience, if not composers in some cases: the titulus of no. 16 explicitly says it was used in a monastery,<sup>38</sup> and *conversi*, the butt of the joke of no. 4, were attached to monasteries. One of the parodic compositions evokes the convivial atmosphere of monastic drinking.<sup>39</sup> Further, it cannot be an accident that so many manuscripts with parodies ended up in monasteries.

The manuscripts of liturgical parody extend from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century, but they likely only provide us with an approximate idea of when the parodies were used. It is possible that these texts originated in the university culture of the twelfth century, and that they continued to be circulated in some form beyond the seventeenth century. The threat of the Reformation staunched the tide of the production of entertaining liturgical parody in Germany in favor of polemical parodies, but it remains to be seen if this was true in other countries; and even in Germany, it certainly did not bring an end to the copying of existing parodies.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>35</sup> A. J. DUGGAN, "The World of the *Carmina Burana*", in *The Carmina Burana: Four Essays*, ed. by M. H. JONES, London, 2000, p. 1-23, here p. 1.

<sup>36</sup> A. J. DUGGAN, "World of the *Carmina Burana*", p. 17.

<sup>37</sup> *Pax vobis*, an introductory greeting of the bishop said on certain days, was parodied in no. 2 (p. 64) and *Humiliate vos ad benedictionem*, a bishop's prompt for a blessing before communion, and the blessing itself were both parodied in no. 2 (p. 65). This is also true of the blessing found in no. 9, p. 341. See J. A. JUNGSMANN, *Missarum sollemnia*, vol. 1, p. 467 and vol. 2, p. 364-367.

<sup>38</sup> No. 17, p. 346.

<sup>39</sup> No. 7, p. 244; no. 8, p. 237; no. 9, p. 339; no. 19, p. 355-356; no. 21, p. 211.

<sup>40</sup> A. MARKS, "Parody of Liturgical", p. 194, 285, 320, 334, 624-625, and more generally, K. MÜLLER, "Aus der Welt", p. 215-225, here p. 222.

An analysis of the form of liturgical parody demonstrates the familiarity of the authors with the liturgy.<sup>41</sup> They are not all parodies of the Mass, as previously assumed.<sup>42</sup> A closer inspection of their form shows that ten of them imitate the liturgy of the Mass;<sup>43</sup> four of them imitate the Divine Office;<sup>44</sup> one is the Prayer of the Faithful or Universal Prayer,<sup>45</sup> which was included in the services for Good Friday; one is a litaney,<sup>46</sup> and another is a sermon,<sup>47</sup> both of which can be included in either the Mass or the Divine Office; and the four others include too few texts to tell if they are Mass or Divine Office texts. From what we can see from this small group, liturgical parodies more often tend to parody the form of the Mass rather than the Divine Office. This tendency may be due to a variety of reasons. First, it was a time in which the Mass was increasingly taking center stage in the liturgical world of Europe, even in monasteries.<sup>48</sup> Second, the Mass simply gave parodists a much fuller palette from which to paint, since the Divine Office did not contain the Eucharist. It would not have made sense to talk about wine in the context of a mock service that did not include blessing or drinking it. With all of this in mind, we may turn to classify the parts of liturgical parodies we have, as I do in Tables 1 and 2.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>41</sup> The best introduction to the form of the medieval liturgy is J. HARPER, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians*, Oxford; New York, 1991, p. 73-108 (Divine Office) and p. 114-120 (the Mass).

<sup>42</sup> E.g., M. BAYLESS, *Parody*, p. 218-220; P. LEHMANN, *Parodie*, p. 145-146.

<sup>43</sup> Nos. 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 15, 16, and 17. Two have explicit references to *missa* (the Mass): no. 9, p. 338; no. 17, p. 346. For the purposes of Table 1, I consider no. 18 a Mass.

<sup>44</sup> Nos. 10, 19, 20, and 21.

<sup>45</sup> No. 18.

<sup>46</sup> No. 12.

<sup>47</sup> No. 1.

<sup>48</sup> T. THIBODEAU, "Western Christendom", p. 219-220.

<sup>49</sup> In some cases – for example with the *Pater noster*, the context of the liturgical part within a larger whole dictates whether I classify it as being part of the Mass or Divine Office.

Table 1 : Parts of the Mass in Parodies of Medieval Liturgy

Confitemini Domino – Nos. 8, 9, 17
Introibo ad altare Dei – No. 15
Misereatur – Nos. 8, 9, 15, 17
Indulgentiam – Nos. 8, 9, 15
Aufer a nobis – No. 15
Adiutorium nostrum – Nos. 8, 17
Introit – Nos. 2, 8, 9, 11, 15, 17
Confiteor – Nos. 8, 9, 15, 17
Collect – Nos. 2, 8, 9, 11, 15, 17, 18
First reading <sup>50</sup> – Nos. 2, 7, 8, 9, 11, 15, 17
Gradual – Nos. 2, 7, 8, 9, 11, 15, 17
Second reading (prophecy) – No. 7
Alleluia – Nos. 2, 7, 8, 9, 11, 15, 17
Sequence – Nos. 2, 7 (twice), 8, 9, 11, 17
Gospel – Nos. 2, 5, 6, 7 (twice) <sup>51</sup> , 8, 9, 11, 15, 16, 17
Per evangelica dicta – No. 8
Homily/Sermon – Nos. 7, 11
Credo/Symbol – Nos. 6, 7, 11
Prayer of the Faithful/Universal prayer – Nos. 7, 9, 18
Offertory antiphon – Nos. 2, 7 (three), 9, 11, 15
Secret – Nos. 2, 8, 11, 17
Preface – Nos. 7, 8, 9, 17
Sanctus – Nos. 7, 8, 9, 11, 17
Pater noster – Nos. 7, 8, 9, 15, 16, 17
Pax Domini – Nos. 2, 8, 9, 17
Agnus Dei – Nos. 7 (twice), 8, 9, 11, 17
Communion antiphon – Nos. 2, 7, 8, 9, 11, 15, 17
Postcommunio – Nos. 7, 8, 9, <sup>52</sup> 11, 15, 17
Dismissal – Nos. 8, 9, 11, 15, 17 (twice) <sup>53</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Generally, this is referred to as an epistle, save for no. 15, p. 236, in which the reading is taken from the Acts of the Apostles.

<sup>51</sup> Includes both a normal Gospel reading and the Passion of Jesus.

<sup>52</sup> One of these *postcommunio* prayers (based upon its position) is listed as a collect (no. 9, p. 341).

<sup>53</sup> Before the *Deo gratias*, no. 17, p. 349 inserts *Benedicamus Dolio*, a parody of the dismissal *Benedicamus Domino*, which was in certain circumstances in the late Middle Ages used in place of *Ite missa est*. This dismissal sometimes introduced a prayer of thanksgiving (itself parodied in no. 8, p. 241, n. 132). This dismissal and thanksgiving were typically said at the end of Mass in monastic circles from the thirteenth century on. See J. A. JUNG-

Deo gratias – Nos. 9, 15, 17

Blessing – Nos. 2, 9

Hymn – Nos. 8, 16

Table 2: Parts of the Divine Office in Parodies of  
Medieval Liturgy

Psalm – No. 10

Versicle and Respond – Nos. 10, 19<sup>54</sup>, 21

Collect – Nos. 10, 19 (twice), 21

Hymn – Nos. 19, 21

Pater noster – Nos. 19, 20

Prayer – Nos. 20, 21

Blessing – No. 19

Sermon – No. 19

Classifying the parts of the liturgy helps to understand their structure in greater depth. While some of the liturgical parodies appear “fragmentary,” in a sense they are all fragments. There is no such thing as a “complete” Mass parody that mocks every part of the Mass<sup>55</sup> or Divine Office. They vary considerably as to how many parts of the liturgy they include. Some, for instance, have the lion’s share of a Mass and others contain little more than one mock pericope. The normal liturgical texts were in some sense a menu from which parodists could draw. It is at least possible that some of the texts that we have were once part of longer mock liturgies that have been lost,<sup>56</sup> and that copyists transcribed only what they wanted from a larger whole. But it is not necessary to posit

MANN, *Missarum sollemnia*, vol. 2, p. 57, 539-540, 575-576, and e.g., Hugh of St-Cher, *Tractatus super missam seu speculum ecclesiae*, ed. by G. SÖLCH, Münster, 1940, p. 52.

<sup>54</sup> No. 19, p. 355 includes the term “Versiculus”, but includes no text after it.

<sup>55</sup> M. Bayless is somewhat confusing on this point, reporting first (correctly) that “Even the most complete parodies are abbreviated versions of the genuine Mass” (*Parody*, p. 98), but stating on the same page that “Four drinkers’ Masses appear in complete form ...”.

<sup>56</sup> Generally, M. BAYLESS, *Parody*, p. 98. J. A. YUNCK, *Lineage of Lady Meed: The Development of Mediaeval Venality Satire*, Notre Dame, IN, 1963, suggests that the Gospel of Silver-Mark was part of a lost “missa de muneribus” (p. 78).



this. Some texts could have included few liturgical parts from the outset.

Because Mass texts outnumber Divine Office texts, we are able to go into greater detail about the characteristics of Mass parodies. Their authors included both the unchangeable or ordinary texts of the Mass, which were included as a part of every Mass, and the changeable or proper parts of the Mass, the texts of which changed depending upon the occasion of the Mass said. The texts of the Mass are generally provided in the standard order in which they were actually used in the course of a Mass.<sup>57</sup> There are some exceptions to this rule, most of which are changed for a specific reason.<sup>58</sup> Though this may seem the practical way to organize the texts, this was not the way that missals tended to be organized; they grouped together the ordinary texts in one section,<sup>59</sup> and placed the variable texts before and after them. In some cases, the liturgical parodies may provide us with proof of a variable order that deviated from what would become the universal order of the Mass. This may especially be true with the parts of the pre-Mass, as in nos. 8 and 9, which are likely to have undergone variation in their order before achieving a canonical form. Nos. 7 and 11 demonstrate the changeable position of the sermon in the medieval Mass. In nos. 7 and 9 in which two pieces are moved to the end of the Mass, this may simply mean that texts were tacked on to pre-existing Masses.

This tally gives us a rough idea of what parts of the Mass were the “greatest hits” of liturgical parody, those parts that were thought to be particularly suitable for parody. The Gos-

<sup>57</sup> I disagree then with M. Bayless, who says (without providing any specific examples) that there are some mock liturgies that “appear in random order” (*Parody*, p. 98)

<sup>58</sup> See especially: In no. 7: the passion is read before the gradual; the sermon is after the creed; the *Agnus Dei* is given at the end of the Mass. In no. 8: the *Confiteor* is moved to the beginning in front of other texts of the pre-Mass. In no. 9: the *Misereatur* is after the *Confiteor*; the Prayer of the Faithful and *Indulgentiam* are placed at the end of the Mass. In no. 11: the sermon is given after the creed. In no. 15: the *Misereatur* and *Indulgentiam* are after the *Confiteor*. In no. 16: the *Pater noster* is before the Gospel.

<sup>59</sup> See e.g. *MRM*, with the ordinary in vol. 1, p. 198-211, and proper texts before and after it.

pel pericope appears in ten texts; the first reading, collect, gradual, *Alleluia*, and communion antiphon appear in seven texts, while the introit, sequence, *Pater noster*, and *postcommunio* are all parodied in six texts. Collects and the *Pater noster*, common to the Mass and Divine Office, were well represented in both tables. Some of the expected texts of the Mass are missing.<sup>60</sup> No text includes two of the most basic ordinary texts of the Mass, the *Kyrie eleison* and the *Gloria in excelsis Deo*.

Understanding the liturgy was absolutely essential to compose parodies and to grasp what is being satirized in the first place. This includes some of the basic responses of the Mass, without which the parody would be incomprehensible. For instance, the most common exchange of the Mass *Dominus vobiscum*|*Et cum spiritu tuo* (The Lord be with you/And with your spirit) becomes *Dolus vobiscum*|*Et cum gemitu tuo* (Fraud be with you/And with your groan).<sup>61</sup> The prompt to prayer *Oremus* (Let us pray) becomes *Potemus* (Let us drink)<sup>62</sup> or *Ploremus* (Let us cry).<sup>63</sup> *Laus tibi Christe* (Praise to you, Christ), a response pronounced after the Gospel, becomes the anti-peasant quip *Fraus tibi, rustice* (Fraud to you, peasant).<sup>64</sup> The words of the preface *Dignum et iustum est* (It is fitting and right) become either *Vinum et mustum est* (There is wine and must) or *Merum et mustum est* (There is unmixed wine and must).<sup>65</sup> *Amen* becomes *stramen* (straw);<sup>66</sup> *Alleluia* becomes *allecia* (herring);<sup>67</sup> and certain transitional words are subtly altered – *ideo* (thus) becomes *rideo* (I laugh).<sup>68</sup> The titles of liturgical books are also changed, turning the Letter of Paul to the *Hebraeos* (Hebrews)

<sup>60</sup> Note that my tally above proves that the preface was included in some versions of the parodic Mass. Pace K. MÜLLER, “Aus der Welt”, p. 220-221.

<sup>61</sup> No. 7, p. 246; no. 8, p. 235, 238, 239, 241; no. 9, p. 338, 339, 341; no. 15, p. 235, 240, 241; no. 16, p. 249; no. 17, p. 348-349.

<sup>62</sup> No. 8, p. 235; no. 9, p. 338.

<sup>63</sup> No. 17, p. 348-349.

<sup>64</sup> No. 7, p. 244-246; no. 8, p. 238; no. 9, p. 340; no. 15, p. 238.

<sup>65</sup> No. 7, p. 246. *Merum et mustum est* (no. 8, p. 239); *merum et mustum est* (no. 9, p. 340); *vinum et mustum est* (no 17, p. 348).

<sup>66</sup> No. 8, p. 240; no. 9, p. 340; no. 17, p. 346-347, 349.

<sup>67</sup> No. 7, p. 243; no. 8, p. 236. A. FRANZ, *Die Messe*, p. 756, n. 11.

<sup>68</sup> No. 17, p. 348. M. BAYLESS, *Parody*, p. 113.

into his letter to the *Ebrios* (drunkards).<sup>69</sup> This form of word-play holds for the titles of parts of the Mass, such as the *Privatio* (privation) instead of the *Praefatio* (preface);<sup>70</sup> and the *frequentia* (frequency) that announces the Gospel, not the typical *sequentia* (continuation).<sup>71</sup> The introduction to the *Pater noster* *Audemus dicere* (We dare to say) becomes *Audemus bibere* (We dare to drink),<sup>72</sup> and the first line is changed from *Pater noster, qui es in caelis* (Our Father, who is in Heaven) to *Potus noster, qui est in cypho* (Our drink, which is in the cup).<sup>73</sup>

The parodic liturgies were written in the form of real liturgies and used similar forms. They were also performed like real liturgies. We cannot hope to reconstruct the performance of these texts fully, but we still have some important pointers to aid in this task. No. 2 was not one of the songs of the *Carmina Burana* adapted in Carl Orff's famous operatic version, although parts of it were once performed in the French production of René Clemencic.<sup>74</sup> Clemencic's recreation of these texts and their performance are impressive, and they deserve to be considered works of art in their own right. Yet the hypnotic effect of the way the texts are delivered saps them of much of their humor, especially for an audience that cannot appreciate the liturgical references. What is more, this version is simply too professional to provide us with much of an idea of how such texts were performed in the Middle Ages. But we do have evidence that these texts were performed and how it was done. Since neumes appear in no. 2 that are identical to the neumes used in the antiphon of the Mass it is parodying,<sup>75</sup> we assume that it was likely to have

<sup>69</sup> No. 8, p. 236; no. 9, p. 338; no. 17, p. 347. M. BAYLESS, *Parody*, p. 104.

<sup>70</sup> No. 7, p. 246.

<sup>71</sup> No. 15, p. 237; no. 16, p. 249; no. 17, p. 348.

<sup>72</sup> No. 7, p. 247; no. 9, p. 340.

<sup>73</sup> No. 16, p. 249; no. 19, p. 356.

<sup>74</sup> *Carmina Burana: version originale*, dir. R. CLEMENCIC, 3 compact discs, Harmonia Mundi, 190336.38, 1990 [1975-78], disc 1, tracks 8-12.

<sup>75</sup> See *Carmina Burana*, ed. by M. KORTH, p. 199. The neumes were added by the same hand that wrote down the rest of no. 2 (CB 215): *Carmina Burana: Faksimile-Ausgabe der Handschrift Clm 4660 und Clm 4660a*, ed. by B. BISCHOFF, Munich; Brooklyn, NY, 1967, p. 12 and 24.

been sung or chanted without accompaniment just as in the real Mass. No. 17 has parts for two different readers – namely, a priest and a deacon, which implies that it was read in parts like the Gospel reading for Palm Sunday.<sup>76</sup> Sermons were essentially an oral experience, and it would make sense that mock sermons like no. 1 were read out loud too.<sup>77</sup> It is possible that different people would participate in any given reading – giving the responses to liturgical prompts, or trading off between an individual and the community as in the performance of the Divine Office. For the texts used within a monastic context, it is possible that they were read while the monks ate and drank, since monks normally read during meals. We have no way of knowing how extensive any given performance of these texts was. It is unclear and even unlikely that they went through all the texts at their disposal on any given day, and some communities may have simply read a few brief mock prayers or hymns. When there are alternate versions of the prayers, it is possible that the reader would select whatever one he liked best.<sup>78</sup> While some of these texts were likely used during the “feast of fools” near Christmas, they would have been appropriate for any feast day.<sup>79</sup>

The liturgical parodies were composed for two major reasons: as entertainment and controversialist texts. In asserting this line of argument, I reject the idea that they were really didactic texts. This argument is supported by one of the MSS. of no. 8 (Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, MS. C. 101, fol. 76r), which includes a brief note at the conclusion of the Mass from Kemli, a monk of St. Gall. He claimed that the text was written by an anonymous Parisian master, who employed this version of the mock Mass to correct the morals of otherwise incorrigible students.<sup>80</sup> Bakhtin took this story quite literal-

<sup>76</sup> See *MRM*, vol. 1, p. 136-141.

<sup>77</sup> B. M. KIENZLE, “Introduction”, in *The Sermon*, ed. by B. M. KIENZLE, Turnhout, 2000 (Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental, 81-83), p. 143-174, here p. 151.

<sup>78</sup> See Tables 1 and 2.

<sup>79</sup> M. BAYLESS, *Parody*, p. 125-126.

<sup>80</sup> M. BAYLESS, *Parody*, p. 127-128, finds the story “surprising,” but does not question its reality.

ly.<sup>81</sup> I find it to be fantastic, and think that it should not be taken at its word.<sup>82</sup> It is likely that the scribe who copied this text concocted this story in order to justify keeping the text – most likely innocently, but perhaps knowingly.

It is impossible to exclude the possibility that some cleric tried to press these texts into the service of improving moral standards. But I doubt that these were the original aims of the composers, or the way in which these texts tended to be understood. The true aim of most of these texts is more modest: entertainment.<sup>83</sup> This idea is mentioned in the titulus of no. 17.<sup>84</sup> The clergy must have delighted in the many light and amusing parodies, which comprised the majority of liturgical parody. They poked fun at their drinking, eating, and enemies.<sup>85</sup> Many of the texts celebrate the life of drinking despite the drawbacks it brings; there is an air of inevitability that drinking and its consequences would continue unabated.

Liturgical parody could also be pressed into the service of polemics, and in particular against avarice. Venality satire, of which these liturgical parodies can be considered examples, issued forth from the ecclesiastical reform movement of the late-eleventh century, which although it originated with the papacy, would, as a result of the papacy's extensive taxation, eventually see the pope and his curia as some of its main targets.<sup>86</sup> It was particularly canny to use the liturgy to mock avaricious clergy, since the criticism was commonly voiced that priests only said Mass to gain money, not in honor of God.<sup>87</sup> This form of protest was not only sponsored by clerical idealists, but also by those in competition for the same rev-

<sup>81</sup> M. BAKHTIN, *Rabelais and his World*, p. 95.

<sup>82</sup> P. LEHMANN, *Parodie*, p. 145-146; A. MARKS, "Parody of Liturgical", p. 318 express similar skepticism.

<sup>83</sup> This point stressed by K. MÜLLER, "Aus der Welt", p. 222; M. BAYLESS, *Parody*, p. 128.

<sup>84</sup> No. 17, p. 346.

<sup>85</sup> All of the texts, save for no. 11 and the Gospel of no. 16, fall into the category of entertaining parody.

<sup>86</sup> J. A. YUNCK, *Lineage of Lady Meed*, p. 47-131; and L. KENDRICK, "Medieval Satire", p. 54-58.

<sup>87</sup> J. A. YUNCK, *Lineage of Lady Meed*, p. 126-127.

enues.<sup>88</sup> As much as the anti-avarice texts were part of a very serious debate about the role of money in the Church, they could also be used to amuse its readers. That no. 16 could contain both drinking texts and a Gospel that condemned the greed of the papacy showed that medieval parodists and audiences felt these texts fit together naturally.

The most serious polemics in medieval liturgical parody were reserved for the Bohemians, who were accused of heresy. No. 11 was designed to fight against the spread of heresy: the heresy of John Wycliffe and Jan Hus was depicted as diabolical and shown to lead to damnation rather than salvation.<sup>89</sup> Because Wycliffe was adored as a god in Bohemia, and the Bohemians had apostatized from the true faith, their fate would be to share eternal damnation with him in Hell.<sup>90</sup> The anti-Hussite text no. 11 has an “intentional” omission of a part of the Mass: “They [i.e. the heretics] do not have the *Kyrie eleison* and the *Gloria in excelsis*, because they [i.e. the heretics] have not come to any chorus of angels.”<sup>91</sup> In this parody, the reference is to the understanding that earthly liturgy is mirrored by heavenly liturgy, and in particular, that the *Gloria* is an angelic hymn meant to rise up to heaven.<sup>92</sup> This is something that would not occur presumably if the person praying were a heretic divorced from Heaven and angels.

Although the liturgical parodies were not originally composed to provide scholars with information about the attitudes of those who composed and performed them, we should not be hindered from using them in this way. Even if they satirize reality in an exaggerated form, parodies still ex-

<sup>88</sup> R. M. THOMSON, “The Origins of Satire in Twelfth Century Europe”, *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch*, 13 (1978), p. 73-83, here p. 78-80; L. KENDRICK, “Medieval Satire”, p. 56-58.

<sup>89</sup> See especially no. 11, p. 219-220. Real liturgical texts ask to be delivered from Hell through, for instance, the merits of the saints (e.g., *MRM*, vol. 1, p. 303), not led into it! For discussion of these texts, see P. LEHMANN, *Parodie*, p. 87-89.

<sup>90</sup> No. 11, p. 217, 221; and the variant in appendix 2.

<sup>91</sup> No. 11, p. 217: “(Kyrieleyson et Gloria in excelsis non habent, quia ad nullum chorum angelorum pervenerunt.)”

<sup>92</sup> E. PETERSON, *The Angels and the Liturgy: The Status and Significance of the Holy Angels in Worship*, trans. R. WALLS, London, 1964.

press people's mentalities. The humorous parodies would have found little success if they had no connection to the clergy's life or way of thinking – and at times their foibles! – and the polemical texts would not have been composed if they did not assert people's real beliefs about the avaricious or heretical.

Perhaps the best proof of the validity of analyzing parodies as evidence of mentalities is to show that there were still things too sacred to parody. This is most strikingly seen in the omission of the canon of the Mass, the most significant part of the entire Mass in which the bread and wine were consecrated and held to become the body and blood of Jesus. One Gospel text refers to the Last Supper, the origin of the Eucharistic celebration,<sup>93</sup> but none of these texts includes the many prayers between the *Sanctus* and the *Pater noster*. This feature of liturgical parody has been noted for individual texts,<sup>94</sup> but a scan of all the texts shows that the omission of the canon is a common feature of all liturgical parody. The rationale for this omission is nowhere explained in the texts, but it is possible for us to propose reasons. It is doubtful, as Karl Müller tentatively suggested, that it is simply a question of the length of the canon.<sup>95</sup> The more likely reason was that this part of the Mass was too sacred to be mocked. These words were so holy and efficacious that it is possible that they, even in a perverted form, might unintentionally cause the consecration of bread and wine. By the mid-twelfth century, there was general agreement that it was the words that caused the consecration, not the gestures of the priest,<sup>96</sup> so when the priest elevated the host, the faithful were venerating the body of Christ, not (idolatrously) a piece of bread.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>93</sup> No. 7, p. 243, in which the invitation to drink mocks the words spoken by Jesus at the Last Supper (Lk 22:19, 1 Cor 11:24-25).

<sup>94</sup> *Carmina Burana*, ed. by M. KORTH, p. 199; P. LEHMANN, *Parodie*, p. 148.

<sup>95</sup> K. MÜLLER, "Aus der Welt", p. 221.

<sup>96</sup> V. L. KENNEDY, "The Moment of Consecration and the Elevation of the Host", *Mediaeval Studies*, 6 (1944), p. 121-150, here p. 121.

<sup>97</sup> J.-C. SCHMITT, *La raison des gestes dans l'Occident médiéval*, Paris, 1990, p. 346-350.

Mock liturgies were taken seriously enough that they were seen as an appropriate vehicle to argue polemics. This is true of one striking anti-avarice passage. The Gospel of no. 16 describes that if Jesus were to come to the pope and the cardinals, they would greet him with the words of Jesus to Judas; that if a poor man were to approach the pope and cardinals, they would call out for his crucifixion; and that the pope perverts the Beatitudes to stress the importance of money.<sup>98</sup> No. 11 and its variant are on the other hand eloquent witnesses to the flavor of anti-heretical opinions. Such texts deserve a more extensive and more sympathetic reading than they have previously received. Martha Bayless dismisses them as blunt and a literary failure.<sup>99</sup> She is further skeptical of these parodies' role in the debate over Bohemian orthodoxy: "Clearly if the writer had meant to challenge the sect rather than mock it, he would have written not a parody but a serious tract setting out his arguments."<sup>100</sup>

This is one of the cases in which a devaluation of the liturgy can produce a skewed interpretation of how these texts were understood in their own cultural context. We know that the liturgy had previously been used as one weapon in the war against heresy. In a classic article in liturgical history, Josef A. Jungmann demonstrated that the fight against heretical groups, above all Arians, had a central role in the development of the liturgy in the early medieval West.<sup>101</sup> The orthodox authors of Mass texts crafted prayers stressing the equality among the three persons of the Godhead. Gerard G. Grant showed how the elevation of the host during the consecration was designed to counter the popularity of heretics who denied the value of the flesh.<sup>102</sup> Why not use the resources of the liturgy, albeit in parodic form, to fight against the

<sup>98</sup> No. 15, p. 249-250. For words of Jesus to Judas, see Mt 22:41.

<sup>99</sup> M. BAYLESS, *Parody*, p. 123-124.

<sup>100</sup> M. BAYLESS, *Parody*, p. 97.

<sup>101</sup> J. A. JUNGMAUN, "Die Abwehr des germanischen Arianismus und der Umbruch der religiösen Kultur im frühen Mittelalter", *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, 69 (1947), p. 36-99.

<sup>102</sup> G. G. GRANT, "The Elevation of the Host: A Reaction to Twelfth Century Heresy", *Theological Studies*, 1 (1940), p. 228-250.



new brand of heresy? After all, the words and actions of liturgy are not empty ritual: they express belief, and they were central to this debate on both sides.<sup>103</sup> It may well be that since certain features of the liturgy were so important to the Bohemian reform – the reception of communion under both species, frequent communion, communion for children, and the use of the vernacular in worship – that liturgy was thought to be an effective weapon against the reformers.<sup>104</sup> It is possible that the sermon included in no. 11 is so lengthy to mirror the significance of preaching in Bohemian reform.<sup>105</sup> What is more, real liturgy was a weapon employed by both the orthodox and heretics. Utraquists observed liturgical celebration in the honor of Jan Hus, Jerome of Prague, and the Bohemian martyrs.<sup>106</sup> We know that the orthodox clergy said votive Masses against Bohemian heresy.<sup>107</sup> All of this makes me think that a parodic liturgy could have been just as effective as a tract would have been.

While this text does not go to great pains to debate logically the beliefs of the reformers, Bayless goes too far in claiming that it does not show any beliefs of the Bohemians.<sup>108</sup> For example, it makes an attempt to associate Wycliffe and Hus, effectively condemning the latter by association with a dead

<sup>103</sup> Z. V. DAVID, *Finding the Middle Way: The Utraquists' Liberal Challenge to Rome and Luther*, Washington, D.C.; Baltimore, MD, 2003, especially p. 20-21, 89, 217-220, and 378; D. R. HOLETON, "The Bohemian Eucharistic Movement in its European Context", in *Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice*, ed. by Z. V. DAVID, D. R. HOLETON, 2 vols., Prague, 1996, vol. 1, p. 23-47; and idem, *La communion des tout-petits enfants: étude du mouvement eucharistique en Bohême vers la fin du Moyen Âge*, Rome, 1989.

<sup>104</sup> O. MARIN, *L'archevêque, le maître et le dévot: genèses du mouvement réformateur pragois, années 1360-1419*, Paris, 2005, p. 196-201, 220-222, 457-508, and 509-534.

<sup>105</sup> O. MARIN, *L'archevêque*, p. 196-201.

<sup>106</sup> D. HOLETON, "'O Felix Bohemia – O Felix Constantia': The Liturgical Commemoration of Saint Jan Hus", in *Jan Hus: Zwischen Zeiten, Völkern, Konfessionen: Vorträge des internationalen Symposiums in Bayreuth vom 22. bis 26. September 1993*, ed. by F. SEIBT, Munich, 1997, p. 385-403.

<sup>107</sup> The unpublished "Missa contra hussitas" is in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 21582, fols. 269v-270. See A. MARKS, "Parody of Liturgical", p. 323-324.

<sup>108</sup> M. BAYLESS, *Parody*, p. 123.

heretic.<sup>109</sup> It shows the beliefs that Wycliffe and the Bohemians are said to share, including that priests are to have wives; that the clergy has lost the ability to excommunicate and absolve because of their monetary dealings;<sup>110</sup> that sacraments could be performed by anyone; and that one should kill monks and friars.<sup>111</sup> Furthermore, it mentions the controversial decision in Bohemia to give communion under both species,<sup>112</sup> and accuses Bohemians of valuing the pope below the emperor and the clergy below the laity.<sup>113</sup>

Even from a literary angle, these texts have not received a full analysis. The language of damnation is used for the Bohemians, but also medical and sexual language – that they have been infected with heresy;<sup>114</sup> and that they are guilty of adultery.<sup>115</sup> Sometimes their language is clever. It speaks of the heretics “giving chalices of error”<sup>116</sup> and that the heresy might be due to everyone getting drunk on wine,<sup>117</sup> both disapproving references to the Bohemians’ controversial Utraquism.

The entertaining parodies also have much to teach us about late-medieval attitudes toward the liturgy. Rather than mindlessly repeat standard liturgical formulae and rubrics, the parodists employed their words as fodder for humor. They inserted incongruous elements into liturgies, including use of the vernacular,<sup>118</sup> vulgar words,<sup>119</sup> and perhaps most shockingly, invocations of the Devil<sup>120</sup> and Astaroth.<sup>121</sup> Astaroth

<sup>109</sup> This is especially clear in the Gospel (no. 11, p. 219-220) and sermon (no. 11, p. 220-222).

<sup>110</sup> No. 11, p. 217.

<sup>111</sup> No. 11, p. 218.

<sup>112</sup> No. 11, p. 218, n. 25.

<sup>113</sup> No. 11, p. 222.

<sup>114</sup> No. 11, p. 220; no. 11, variant in appendix 2.

<sup>115</sup> No. 11, p. 222.

<sup>116</sup> No. 11, p. 219.

<sup>117</sup> No. 11, p. 222.

<sup>118</sup> See especially no. 2 for Romance dicing terms; no. 7 for German gambling terms (p. 241-242), a German name (p. 242), a reference to *gewerre* (fight, conflict) (p. 245), and German names in the margin (p. 246); no. 8 for the German response after the Gospel (p. 238); and no. 12 for Romance food terminology.

<sup>119</sup> See especially no. 7, p. 243 (*merda*, i.e. shit).

<sup>120</sup> No. 18, p. 144.

was the name of a major demon who was associated with demonology and the practice of witchcraft, not Christian worship.<sup>122</sup> There are many cases too in which the parodists exploited the common understanding of parts of the Mass to satirize them. The *Confiteor*, the confession of sin at the beginning of the Mass, during which the sinner asks for forgiveness in the presence of his fellow sinners, became an opportunity to brag about drinking in the presence of fellow drinkers.<sup>123</sup> The most important word of the *Confiteor* was *culpa* (fault), which is repeated three times (the last time in which it is modified by *maxima*, great), while the penitent beats his chest. In one of the parodies *crupa* is substituted for *culpa*: a horse's ass!<sup>124</sup> The prayer *Aufer a nobis*, a petition to remove the celebrant's iniquities before he approaches the altar, instead requests that someone's clothes be removed.<sup>125</sup> The third verse of the *Agnus Dei*, which normally asks God for peace, instead asks for a drink;<sup>126</sup> and that the Bohemians get eternal rest — that is, death for their heresy!<sup>127</sup>

The parodists were constantly playing with the expectations of their audience in order to produce humor. The normal opening of the Gospel reading *Sequentia evangelii* (Continuation of the Gospel) was instead *Sequentia vini*, an invitation to continue imbibing wine.<sup>128</sup> The offertory is when the clergy would offer up bread and wine for the sacrifice of the Mass, and the laity would give monetary offerings.<sup>129</sup> This is why one parody makes the offertory into a prayer asking God to preserve his purse.<sup>130</sup> This becomes an opportunity for wild humor when instead of the bread and wine of Mass, they offer

<sup>121</sup> No. 17, p. 348.

<sup>122</sup> J. B. RUSSELL, *Witchcraft in the Middle Ages*, Ithaca; London, 1972, p. 18.

<sup>123</sup> No. 8, p. 233. For a previous discussion of the *Confiteor*, see M. BAYLESS, *Parody*, p. 101-102.

<sup>124</sup> No. 15, p. 233.

<sup>125</sup> No. 15, p. 234.

<sup>126</sup> No. 9, p. 341; no. 7, p. 247.

<sup>127</sup> No. 11, p. 223.

<sup>128</sup> No. 19, p. 355.

<sup>129</sup> J. A. JUNGSMANN, *Missarum sollemnia*, vol. 2, p. 3-34.

<sup>130</sup> No. 2, p. 64.

up a peasant on the altar, and proceed to cut his hair off and throw him into a “dunghill” of monks!<sup>131</sup> Parodists stood the *Pax* on its head: “Neither the *Sanctus* nor the *Agnus Dei* is sung, but let the *Pax* be given with swords and clubs.”<sup>132</sup> This part of Mass was meant to sponsor the peace of those in attendance, but here it actually inspires violence. Some sign of the peace of those about to receive Communion was common, including kissing, hugging, or kissing a communal *Pax* board.<sup>133</sup> Here instead swords and clubs would establish the “peace.” The dismissal of the Mass *Ite missa est* (Go, the Mass is ended) was transformed into a description of the drinking the clergy might do after the Mass was over – *Ite potus est* (Go, there is drink),<sup>134</sup> or that the drinkers had no money left and were forced to leave the tavern (*Ite bursa vacua*, Go, the purse is empty).<sup>135</sup> The Prayer of the Faithful or Universal Prayer, read once a year on Good Friday, was intended to pray for the well-being of the entire society, but in some parodies it is restricted to praying for people and even plants connected with drinking: cultivators, drinkers, and vineyards.<sup>136</sup> The most extensive parody of this prayer, no. 18, rather than request blessings, instead calls forth curses on nearly everyone in society.

The parodists further aimed at some of the more occasional features of the liturgy. Two were part of the popular genre of parodic sermons.<sup>137</sup> These sermons borrow from the methods of composition of real sermons of learned Latin culture, only to distort them for comedic effect.<sup>138</sup> In some mock sermons,

<sup>131</sup> No. 7, p. 246. On this passage and its translation, see M. BAYLESS, *Parody*, p. 116-117.

<sup>132</sup> No. 15, p. 239: “Non cantatur Sanctus nec Agnus Dei, sed pax detur cum gladiis et fustibus.”

<sup>133</sup> J. A. JUNGSMANN, *Missarum sollemnia*, vol. 2, p. 399-413.

<sup>134</sup> No. 8, p. 241.

<sup>135</sup> No. 15, p. 241.

<sup>136</sup> No. 7, p. 246; no. 9, p. 341. For the prayer of the faithful, see J. VAN ENGEL, “Christening the Romans”, *Traditio*, 52 (1997), p. 1-45.

<sup>137</sup> S. L. GILMAN, *Parodic Sermon*.

<sup>138</sup> For sermons, see B. M. KIENZLE, *The Sermon*, and in particular for the methods in the sermons that follow, B. M. KIENZLE, “Introduction”, especially p. 161-164.

rather than develop logical arguments, parodists deviate farther and farther from them, and in the process, mock the methods that are supposed to lead to correct conclusions.<sup>139</sup> No. 7 starts, as with many sermons, with a main theme and develops it throughout. However, the theme itself is absurd – *Ebrii estote!* (Be drunk!);<sup>140</sup> it is developed by describing what being drunk entails; and it is supported by stringing together various mock Scriptural verses.<sup>141</sup> In no. 1, the parodist sets out to instruct the congregation by using his normal bag of tricks – grammatical and numerological analysis, careful explication of the words of the Biblical texts and discussion of Biblical *exempla* – but it is all in order to promote wine drinking.<sup>142</sup> There is humor in using the story of Noah's drunkenness as a positive *exemplum* or using the story of the wedding of Cana primarily to discuss the drinking of wine.<sup>143</sup> There is also a mockery of liturgical ritual in a reference to baptizing with wine rather than water.<sup>144</sup> The litany was used to invoke divine aid or the assistance of saints to deliver the faithful from times of trouble, but in no. 12, it becomes an excuse for complaining about bad food and an unsatisfactory life, and a petition to be delivered from them.<sup>145</sup> In a similar mode, a line from a litany was used to make fun those who overused this liturgical form: "From the litanies of the preachers, free us, O Lord!"<sup>146</sup>

The parodists were not simply repeating liturgical texts, but demonstrated considerable creativity and playfulness in their methods. An appreciation of the liturgy further allows us to see these methods in all of their glory.<sup>147</sup> They use a "cut-and-

<sup>139</sup> S. L. GILMAN, *Parodic Sermon*, p. 11-28.

<sup>140</sup> A parody of 1 Pt 5:8.

<sup>141</sup> No. 7, p. 245.

<sup>142</sup> No. 1, p. 231-232.

<sup>143</sup> No. 1, p. 231-232.

<sup>144</sup> No. 1, p. 232.

<sup>145</sup> See for example, *MRM*, vol. 1, p. 190-193.

<sup>146</sup> "A litanis praedicatorum, libera nos, Domine." Published in M. BAYLESS, *Parody*, p. 120.

<sup>147</sup> A discussion treated in part by M. BAYLESS, *Parody*, p. 98, but her lack of focus on the liturgical texts makes it difficult to see precisely how the parodists functioned. See also P. LEHMANN, *Parodie*, p. 146.

paste” or “mash-up” technique. The mix-and-matching of texts occurs on nearly every level. Words are combined from two different words to create a new, parodic coinage, like *Allelnernebria*.<sup>148</sup> No parodic Mass corresponds to any real Mass; the sources for each are compiled from parts of the Mass throughout a missal, which would require one to leap wildly around the missal to discover them.<sup>149</sup> Prayers are pieced together from pieces of two different prayers,<sup>150</sup> or at times are combined of several smaller bits from real prayers to create something entirely new.<sup>151</sup> “New” pericopes that do not exist in the actual liturgy are formed from all kinds of Biblical texts, some of which are not liturgical; not all texts used to form new pericopes are necessarily from one chapter or book in the Bible, as they normally were.<sup>152</sup> At times, the parodists would take pieces of the liturgy used at one part of the Mass, and then insert them in other, normally inappropriate parts of the Mass.<sup>153</sup> Texts are reused across several different paro-

<sup>148</sup> No. 17, p. 347, 348. A combination of *Alleluia* and *inebrius*.

<sup>149</sup> E.g., no. 8, which draws from language in *MRM*, vol. 1, p. 16, 18, 24, 51, 74, 79, 80, 86, 202-206, 217, 220, 259, 270, 308, 355, 411, and 431.

<sup>150</sup> E.g., no. 7, p. 247, *postcommunio*, which is a combination of the gradual for the fourth Sunday of Advent (*MRM*, vol. 1, p. 14) and the introit for the Wednesday after Easter (*MRM*, vol. 1, p. 217).

<sup>151</sup> E.g., no. 3, p. 354: (a) *Hodierna die* is used for several significant feast days (*MRM*, vol. 1, p. 31, 131, 212, 233, 240, 313, 380, and 390); (b) *Deus qui non* is a common opening of collects, normally following with a name of saint or saints (*MRM*, vol. 1, p. 14, 38, 186, 217, 313, 336, 350, 380, 391, 393, 397, 399, 400, 406, 411, 421, 438, 466, and 491); (c) The verb *perduco* is commonly used in liturgical prayers (*MRM*, vol. 1, p. 31, 75, 89, 95, 105, 118, 267, 268, and 325), but is applied to people being led to heaven, not (as in the parody) to inebriation!

<sup>152</sup> E.g., the Gospel reading of no. 6, p. 250. Mt 22:41 is from the seventeenth Sunday after Pentecost (*MRM*, vol. 1, p. 281); Lk 10:25 is from the twelfth Sunday after Pentecost (*MRM*, vol. 1, p. 274); Exod 20:13ff is from the Wednesday after the Third Sunday in Lent (*MRM*, vol. 1, p. 90); 2 Thess 2:7 is used for an Ember Saturday in Advent (*MRM*, vol. 1, p. 12); Lk 16:9 is used for the eighth Sunday after Pentecost (*MRM*, vol. 1, p. 268); Jn 13:15 is used on Holy Thursday (*MRM*, vol. 1, p. 157); Phil 4:4 is used on the Third Sunday of Advent (*MRM*, vol. 1, p. 4). Other texts used to craft the pericope (Mt 3:10, 1 Cor 7:2, 2 Esd 8:10, Gal 6:5, Dt 8:3, Lk 3:11, Mt 19:12, and Prv 10:24) were not in liturgical use.

<sup>153</sup> E.g., no. 8, p. 236: the *Alleluia*, a parody of Ps 119:1 is used as a grad-

dies.<sup>154</sup> The guiding principle is one of humor – the parodists and those who used these texts did whatever amused them. Part of the humor derived from the inappropriate use of liturgical texts in places in which they did not belong.

Liturgical parody may further have helped to sponsor a sense of community among those who wrote and performed it. The traditional argument concerning liturgy in this period is that it severed the relationship between celebrants and the laity. This point is likely exaggerated for the late-medieval laity, who regularly attended Mass, were keenly interested in the moment of consecration, and generously sponsored liturgical furnishings and the celebration of special Masses.<sup>155</sup> For the clergy, however, the liturgy had a pronounced effect in bringing them together. Their leisure activities, including the writing and performing of liturgical parody, might well have been one of the ways in which the male students formed bonds of solidarity.<sup>156</sup> There is nothing like being part of an in-group on a joke to feel connected with others. The authors of parodies mocked peasants and detailed the ways that they

ual in *MRM*, vol. 1, p. 79 and 259; the parody of the Communion in no. 11, a parody of Ps 44:5, was used in the liturgy, but as a gradual (*MRM*, vol. 1, p. 307, 309, 313, 324, 333, 369, 444, and 445). A parody of Heb 1:9, was used as a offertory text in no. 16, p. 348, but in the real missal, was an introit (*MRM*, vol. 1, p. 304, 333, and 441), gradual (*MRM*, vol. 1, p. 304, 354, and 444), and communion (*MRM*, vol. 1, p. 446). The verse from Heb might have had resonance as the infamous last words of Pope Gregory VII. See H. E. J. COWDREY, *Pope Gregory VII*, Oxford; New York, 1998, p. 680.

<sup>154</sup> E.g., *Iacta cogitatum tuum*, a popular liturgical text (*MRM*, vol. 1, p. 51, 74, 270 and vol. 2, p. 18, 80, 220), parodied in no. 2, p. 64; no. 8, p. 236; no. 9, p. 339; no. 17, p. 347.

<sup>155</sup> E. DUFFY, *The Stripping of the Altars*, especially p. 109-116.

<sup>156</sup> J. VERGER, "Sociabilités et solidarités étudiantes dans les universités du Midi de la France au Moyen Âge", in *Cofradías, gremios y solidaridades en la Europa medieval: XIX Semana de Estudios Medievales, Estella, 20 a 24 de julio de 1992*, Pamplona, 1993, p. 203-224, here p. 221-223. For the bonding of men in universities as a formative factor in masculine social identity, see R. M. KARRRAS, "Sharing Wine, Women, and Song: Masculine Identity Formation in the Medieval European Universities", in *Becoming Male in the Middle Ages*, ed. by J. J. COHEN, B. WHEELER, New York; London, 1997, p. 187-202.

planned to exploit them.<sup>157</sup> The monks who mocked *conversi* in no. 4 felt joined by their superiority to them. *Conversi* referred to a monk who entered the monastery only as an adult, but in the late-eleventh and twelfth centuries came to mean lay brothers who had a fixed and humble status within monasteries.<sup>158</sup> They were excluded from the Divine Office, and performed menial tasks for the monks. The low estimation in which they were held by some is apparent from this text: the monks saw them as headed for damnation.<sup>159</sup> The only place they would sing the Divine Office was with Beelzebub!<sup>160</sup> The orthodox composers and readers who attacked heretical Bohemians no doubt felt bound together by their beliefs. This may not always represent a positive brotherhood, but there is no denying it is a kind of fraternity.

Liturgical parody may also help us to see an underappreciated mundane and human side of the practice of late-medieval worship. It is rare in any medieval texts to see the sacred and profane,<sup>161</sup> the supernatural and the natural come together so seamlessly. The liturgy was a holy experience, but simultaneously it was part of the quotidian. The liturgical experience of this period in the scholarly literature tends to be confined to heated theological debates on transubstantiation,<sup>162</sup> passionate

<sup>157</sup> Live off peasant labors, goods: No. 8, p. 240; no. 9, p. 340; no. 14 (in appendix 4); no. 15, p. 235, 241; no. 17, p. 349; no. 18, p. 144; no. 19, p. 357. Sleep with wives and daughters: No. 7, p. 247; no. 8, p. 240; no. 14 (in appendix 4); no. 15, p. 235; no. 17, p. 349; no. 18, p. 144. Rejoice at peasants' deaths: No. 7, p. 247; no. 14 (in appendix 4); no. 15, p. 235; no. 18, p. 144. The anti-peasant message was stressed by H. Süßmilch, *Die lateinische Vagantenpoesie*, p. 84. See also M. Bayless, *Parody*, p. 116-117. The verb *utor* refers to *sexually* using the peasants' wives, not somehow being served by them, as conservatively translated in *Carmina Burana: Texte und Übersetzungen*, ed. by B. K. Vollmann, Frankfurt am Main, 1987, p. 675.

<sup>158</sup> G. Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge; New York, 1996, p. 77-81.

<sup>159</sup> No. 4, p. 195-197.

<sup>160</sup> No. 4, p. 196.

<sup>161</sup> A. J. Duggan, "World of the *Carmina Burana*", p. 17.

<sup>162</sup> See for instance J. F. McCue, "The Doctrine of Transubstantiation from Berengar through Trent: The Point at Issue", *Harvard Theological Review*, 61 (1968), p. 385-430.



mystical visions of the Eucharist,<sup>163</sup> or dramatic annual Corpus Christi processions.<sup>164</sup> These are all a part of the liturgical tableau of the period, but they do not inform the more ordinary experiences of the clergy. Liturgical parody gives us an idea about how the clergy thought about the practice of liturgy, from documents that are more human than the forbidding liturgical ones. Liturgical parody was often tied to the natural world, incorporating recurrent references to the body<sup>165</sup> and wine.<sup>166</sup> The latter held an ambiguous place between the real and mock Mass. Wine could save you from damnation as the blood of Jesus or force you to lose your money and clothing. Wine could elevate humans or debase them – depending on whether it was consumed in the church or the pub and the quantities of it consumed. Parodic texts further give us a hint that the clergy was not always so deadly serious and that they joked about the liturgy. Medieval scholars have become accustomed to the notion that texts by and about the clergy often embrace satire and scurrilous or obscene humor: this is apparent in literary sources, above all *fabliaux*, but also art-historical sources like misericords and drolleries in the margins of manuscripts.<sup>167</sup> For some reason, the notion that liturgy could be mixed with humor still strikes most observers as odd, although liturgical parody circulated in the same world.

The view of liturgical parody we have been discussing is far removed from the stereotypical characteristics of late-medie-

<sup>163</sup> C. W. BYNUM, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women*, Berkeley, CA, 1987, p. 48-69.

<sup>164</sup> M. RUBIN, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*, Cambridge, 1991.

<sup>165</sup> See for example No. 3, p. 354; no. 7, p. 244; no. 8, p. 233, 237; no. 9, p. 339; no. 13 (in appendix 3); no. 19, p. 356; no. 21, p. 212.

<sup>166</sup> No. 3, p. 354; no. 7, p. 244; no. 8, p. 237; no. 9, p. 339, no. 13 (in appendix 3); no. 16, p. 249; no. 19, p. 355-356; no. 21, p. 211-212.

<sup>167</sup> For *fabliaux*, see especially D. BURROWS, *The Stereotype of the Priest in the Old French Fabliaux: Anticlerical Status and Lay Identity*, Oxford, 2005. For marginal images in manuscripts, see L. M. C. RANDALL, *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts*, Berkeley, CA, 1966, p. 6-8, and for examples (especially of animals substituting for clergy), see plates 29-30, 84, 111, 130-131, 165-166, 196-197, 202-203, 226, 569-573, and 599. For misericords, see C. GRÖSSINGER, *The World Upside-Down*, London, 1997, especially p. 73-103.

val liturgy. Because it was the clergy who crafted and performed these liturgies and the mock liturgies draw upon recognizable liturgical forms, they provide valuable insight into their mentalities. Attitudes about late-medieval liturgical parody in these texts take a light-hearted and humorous view of liturgy. Parodists and users delighted in the deliberate and creative manipulation of liturgical forms; they did not repeat uniform formulae endlessly. They clearly understood liturgy and thought about it, so much so that polemic against avarice and heresy could be expressed by means of fake liturgy. Rather than simply accept the form of liturgy the pope promulgated, they used mock liturgies to criticize the pope's love of money. These mock liturgies must have forged, rather than sundered, a sense of community. Above all, it may remind us that occasionally the clergy cracked a smile while celebrating liturgy.

Although we should show caution in the way we use these views of liturgy, they should not be dismissed as irrelevant because we have been discussing mock rather than real liturgies. The comedy a group produces says much about them: as the old saying goes, there is truth in jest. The omission of the canon from mock liturgies proves that even within the bounds of parody, there were things considered too sacred for satire. It is of course impossible to reconstruct the experience of the majority of clergy who performed liturgies in the late Middle Ages, and naturally, not all the clergy held the same view of the liturgy. What these texts provide us, however, is a better sense of the people who engaged in liturgy and their views about worship. In re-examining late-medieval liturgy, it should be seen as significant to have an idea of the ways in which some practitioners interacted with the liturgy. The mentalities of the clergy should occasion some circumspection about commonly made claims about the actual performance of late-medieval liturgy. Liturgy may have been less serious and dreary than we sometimes imagine: a source of pleasure rather than rote repetition; a source of intellectual stimulation rather than unthinking rubricism. Rather than relying on standard images of a decaying liturgy in a chaotic late-medieval world, we may see worship instead as another

aspect woven into mundane reality. Whatever its faults, liturgy may not have been the purely negative experience it is sometimes imagined to have been.

## APPENDIX 1

For the purposes of this article, I take into account the following liturgical parodies, listed in approximate order of the date of the manuscripts that contain them. Here I provide incipits and publication data:

- (1) *Collacio iocosa de diligendo Lieo*, ed. by W. F. LEHMANN, in *Parodie*, p. 231-232.
- (2) *Incipit officium lusorum*, ed. by O. SCHUMANN, B. BISCHOFF, in *Carmina burana, mit Benutzung der Vorarbeiten Wilhelm Meyers, kritisch herausgegeben von Alfons Hilka und Otto Schumann*, 2 vols., Heidelberg, 1970, vol. 1, part 3, p. 64-68 (CB 215-215a).
- (3) *Ave, color vini clari*, ed. by M. BAYLESS in *Parody*, p. 354; the prayer only ed. by W. F. LEHMANN in *Parodie*, p. 125.
- (4) *Dico pater noster*, ed. by W. F. LEHMANN in *Parodie*, p. 195-197.
- (5) *Fallax euuangelium secundum Lupum*, ed. by J. G. NICHOLS in *Reliquiae antiquae: Scraps from Ancient Manuscripts, Illustrating Chiefly Early English Literature and the English Language*, ed. by T. WRIGHT, J. O. HALLIWELL, 2 vols., London, 1845, vol. 2, p. 58.
- (6) *Sequencia leti evangelii secundum Luc<i>um*, ed. by W. F. LEHMANN in *Parodie*, p. 250.
- (7) *Leccio actuum potatorum adebrios fratres*, ed. by W. F. LEHMANN in *Parodie*, p. 241-247.
- (8) *Confitemini Bacho*, ed. by W. F. LEHMANN in *Parodie*, p. 233-241.
- (9) *Incipit missa potatorum*, ed. by M. BAYLESS in *Parody*, p. 338-345.
- (10) *Circumdede runt me lusores*, ed. by J. FEIFALIK in *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien, philosophisch-historische Classe*, 36 (1861), p. 174-175.
- (11) *Trisabitur iustus*, ed. by W. F. LEHMANN in *Parodie*, p. 217-223; a previously unpublished variant of part of this text ed. in appendix 2 of this article.
- (12) *In nomine infinite miserie et sue follie miserrime*, ed. by A. STRACALI in *I Goliardi; ovvero i clerici vagantes della università medievale; saggio*, Florence, 1880, p. 91-94.

- (13) *Pour les buveurs*, ed. in appendix 3 of this article.
- (14) *Oremus. Deus qui multitudinem*, ed. in appendix 4 of this article.
- (15) *Introibo ad altare Bachi*, ed. by W. F. LEHMANN in *Parodie*, p. 233-241.
- (16) *Potus noster*, ed. by W. F. LEHMANN in *Parodie*, p. 249-250.
- (17) *Confitemini Dolio*, ed. by M. BAYLESS, *Parody*, p. 346-349.
- (18) *Oremus pro omni gradu ecclesie*, ed. by A. BERNOULLI, in "Eine Gebetsparodie aus dem 15. Jahrhundert", *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 7 (1885), p. 141-144.
- (19) *Exhortatio ad potandum perutilis*, ed. by M. BAYLESS in *Parody*, p. 355-357.
- (20) *Potator quidam egregius*, ed. by M. BAYLESS in *Parody*, p. 357-358.
- (21) *Vinum bonum cum sapore*, ed. by J. WERNER in *Beiträge zur Kunde der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters aus Handschriften gesammelt*, 2nd ed., Aarau, 1905; reprinted Hildesheim; New York, 1979, p. 211-212.

APPENDIX 2<sup>168</sup>

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 23833, fol. 99r-v<sup>169</sup>  
(s. xv)

| Generatio Wicleff.<sup>170</sup>

fol. 99r

Liber maledictionis omnium hereticorum filiorum diaboli, filiorum Wicleff. Wicleff autem genuit Stephanum de Colonia, Stephanus autem genuit Sneuma, Sneuma autem genuit Stanislaum, Stanislaus autem genuit Zenckonem, Zencko autem genuit Tistuonem, Tistuo autem genuit Conoprum qui erat baccularius quadruplex et nequam quintuplex, Canoprus autem genuit Kum, qui fuit pater nequitie. Kum autem genuit Hussonem, Husso autem genuit Maram, Maras autem genuit Jeronimum, Jeronimus

<sup>168</sup> Listed as a variant of part of no. 11 in appendix 1.

<sup>169</sup> These are the correct folia of the manuscript in its current foliation, not fols. 14-15 (as in BAYLESS, *Parody*, p. 219) or on fol. 114 as in the Munich catalogue of Latin MSS., *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae regiae monacensis*, Wiesbaden, 1969 [1881], vol. 4, part 4, p. 98. I am grateful to Stephanie Fischer of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek for help in discovering the correct foliation.

<sup>170</sup> The "generation of Wycliffe" is a parody of the family tree of Jesus, as given in Mt 1:1-25, and was read liturgically as the Gospel pericope for the nativity of Mary (MRM, vol. 1, p. 378).

autem genuit Yesnitz et socios eius usque ad transmigracionem trium nacionum scilicet Bauiorum, Saxonum et Polanorum consignantur. Yesnitz genuit Tislaam leprosum cuius contagio infecti sunt multi Bohemi. Nouissimis autem temporibus non tantum literati fantasticis <Bo>hem<i><sup>171</sup> Wicleff erroribus insistebant verum et layci universaliter

| singuli sequaces Hussonis obtusos habentes oculos quos deus fol. 99v  
ob indiuiduam suam Trinitatem et ob ferventem nostram deprecationem illius et sue luce claritatis et ut eclipsis fidei ipsorum radicitus extirpetur hoc prestante dignetur pater et filius et sanctum flammum qui viuit et regnat in secula seculorum. Amen.

Symbolum de Wicleff.<sup>172</sup>

Credo in Wicleff ducem inferni, patronum Bohemie et in Huss filium eius unicum nequam viuum qui conceptus est ex spiritu Luciferi natus ex matre eius Rachilla factus diabolus incarnatus equalis Wicleff secundum maliciam et malam voluntatem maior secundum persecucionem eius, regnans tempore desolacionis studii Pragnensis, tempore quo Bohemia a fide apostatauit; qui propter vos hereticos descendit ad inferna et non resurget a mortuis nec habebit vitam eternam.

#### APPENDIX 3<sup>173</sup>

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. lat. 3528, fol. 119r (s. xv)

Pour les buveurs  
Ave color vini clari,  
ave sapor sine pari.  
Tu nos laetis confortari  
de tua potentia.<sup>174</sup>  
O quam felix creatura

<sup>171</sup> The copyist has apparently mistakenly copied “-hem” from where it appears two lines up in the manuscript rather than, as in other variants, to write Wycliffe’s name immediately (cf. no. 11, p. 220). It is possible that he intended to erase “-hem,” but never got around to it.

<sup>172</sup> The Credo was also edited by A. MARKS, “Parody of Liturgical,” p. 499, but I have re-edited it from the manuscript. This is a parody of the symbol or creed of the Mass, which was one of the ordinary texts said at every Mass. See *MRM*, vol. 1, p. 199.

<sup>173</sup> Listed as no. 13 in appendix 1.

<sup>174</sup> This verse seems to have been garbled in transmission. Cf. no. 16, p. 249; no. 18, p. 356; and above all, no. 3, p. 354: “Tua nos letificari/ Dignetur potencia.”

quam produxit vitis vera!  
 Omnis mensa sit secura  
     in tua potentia.  
 O felix venter quod intrabis!  
 O felix guttur quod rigabis!  
 O felix os quod lavabis!  
     O beata labia!  
 Ergo vinum collaudemus  
 et potatores exultemus.  
 Non-potantes confundemus  
     in eterna letitia.  
 Amen.<sup>175</sup>

Deus qui per virtute⟨m⟩ vini multa capita<sup>176</sup> tribuas fortitudinem quesumus et in qui serotinali potacio ledantur matutinali repotacione recurrentur. Per eundem dominum Bachum in<sup>177</sup>

#### APPENDIX 4<sup>178</sup>

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. fr. 10988, fol. 197v<sup>179</sup> (s. xv)

Oremus. Deus qui multitudinem rusticorum ad servitium clericorum permanere fecisti, da nobis de eorum laboribus vivere, de uxoribus et filiabus uti et de eorum mortalitate gaudere, per Christum dominum nostrum. Amen.<sup>180</sup>

<sup>175</sup> This hymn is part of a longer parody named "Vinum bonum cum sapore," a mock version of the Marian hymn "Verbum bonum et suave." See *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, ed. by G. M. DREVES, 58 vols., Leipzig, 1866-1872, vol. 54, p. 343-345, no. 218. For literary analysis and translation of a similar version, see M. BAYLESS, *Parody*, p. 109-112.

<sup>176</sup> Obviously, grammatically this text should read "multis capitibus."

<sup>177</sup> There is no exact parallel for this prayer in the missal, but some of its pieces can be compared to real liturgical texts. For the phrase "per virtutem," see *MRM*, vol. 1, p. xxv and 466; for references to God giving power (*fortitudo*) in prayers, see *MRM*, vol. 1, p. 272, 335, 358; the use of the verb *recurrentur* may be a parody of the liturgical use of *curentur*; see *MRM*, vol. 1, p. 70, 149, 282. As with many real prayer texts, priests knew the formulaic ends of prayers, and thus there was no need to write it out in its entirety.

<sup>178</sup> Listed as no. 14 in appendix 1.

<sup>179</sup> These prayers are mentioned in the critical edition of the *Carmina burana*, ed. by O. SCHUMANN, B. BISCHOFF, vol. 1, part 3, p. 68, but they have not previously been published.

<sup>180</sup> This mock prayer combines several common elements of real prayers used in satirical fashion. *Multitudo* is normally used to describe the multitude

Oremus. Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui virtute boni vini capita multorum tribuere fecisti, concede bibentibus ut qui serotina potacionem quaesumus ad <repotacionem> matutinali recurentur. Per eundem bonum vinum in<sup>181</sup>

### *Summary*

This article examines the genre of liturgical parody for the information it provides on late-medieval worship. Though sometimes dismissed as anticlerical, these texts were in fact written by the clergy and demonstrate considerable familiarity with liturgical formulae. Parodists understood the liturgy well and manipulated its words cleverly to produce humor or to attack others – above all, heretical Bohemians. Liturgical parody reveals clerical attitudes toward and mundane interaction with the liturgy. These compositions allow scholars to counter timeworn stereotypes of a declining late-medieval liturgy. They suggest instead that public worship was at times light-hearted and enjoyable, and it could build community.

of God's mercy (*MRM*, vol. 1, p. 46, 122, 148, 208, 292), or is part of a request for protections against a multitude of evildoers (*MRM*, vol. 1, p. 417). God is asked to look at one's work (*labor*) – presumably good work – to remove sin (*MRM*, vol. 1, p. 61-62, 65, 71). The verb *vivo* is incorporated in a petition to God to live according to the divine will (*MRM*, vol. 1, p. 267). The verb *utor* is used to describe enjoying the mysteries of Communion (*MRM*, vol. 1, p. 38). *Gaudeo* is normally employed to describe rejoicing in one of several positive things: consolation (*MRM*, vol. 1, p. 217, 240), divine participation (*MRM*, vol. 1, p. 298), peace (*MRM*, vol. 1, p. 307), intercession (*MRM*, vol. 1, p. 350), or the society of martyrs (*MRM*, vol. 1, p. 421). Finally, there are Masses said *against* mortality (*MRM*, vol. 1, p. 482-483), for someone's health (*MRM*, vol. 1, p. 470), for someone close to death (*MRM*, vol. 1, p. 483), or for the repose of the dead (*MRM*, vol. 1, p. 483-494), but no real Mass invites rejoicing at the mortality of others. For similar anti-peasant prayers, see my n. 157.

<sup>181</sup> For an analysis of the possible liturgical roots of this prayer, see appendix 3 above. For similar prayers, see No. 3, p. 354; no. 13 (in appendix 3); no. 19, p. 355. See n. 177 on this prayer ending with a preposition.

*Breve opusculum :*  
A Latin-Italian Book of Sayings  
from the fifteenth century

by

José VAN DER HELM – Arpád P. ORBÁN  
(Utrecht)

In the British Library a parchment manuscript (shelf mark Add. MS 10804) is kept, entitled *Breve opusculum quorundam notabilium seu auctoritatum multorum sapientium* (Latine et Italice. Codex membranaceus, sec. xv, Octavo). It contains a bilingual text, consisting of Latin and corresponding Italian sentences. Altogether the text numbers some 1370 lines, including the *incipit* and *explicit*. The manuscript is anonymous, a date of composition is lacking. This London manuscript is first mentioned in a catalogue, issued by the auction house Sotheby's in 1836.<sup>1</sup>

In this study we wish to make this unusual text, which might be called a bilingual *florilegium*, available by means of an *editio princeps*. The edition is preceded by a discussion of the problems posed by the text and its manuscript. What kind of bilingual text is this? When, where and by whom was the text written? For whom was it produced, and what purpose was it meant to serve?

First the text itself will be examined. Its contents, language and the manuscript as a material object of research will be discussed. In particular the relationship will be reviewed between

<sup>1</sup> The manuscript is listed as number 177 in the *Catalogue of a very interesting collection of Italian & Latin manuscripts, forming a portion of the library of the abbate Canonico of Venice [...] which will be sold by auction, by Mr. Sotheby and Son, Wellington street, Strand, on Saturday, June, the 25th, 1836, at twelve o'clock.*



the Latin text and its sources on the one hand, and between the Latin and the Italian – translation techniques – on the other. Next the cultural-historical context within which this *florilegium* originated will be considered. Finally, the introduction is concluded by a tentative answer to the question of the function that this bilingual text may have served. The edition of the text then follows, as well as notes on cultural-historical aspects (sources) and linguistic and palaeographical annotations.

## 1. *The book*

### a. Contents

At first sight the text appears to be continuous and monolingual. However, on closer scrutiny the sentences of which it consists appear to be Latin sayings, each translated into Italian. There are 672 in total. The pithy sayings, which represent a combination of Christian and practical lessons, have been arranged into twenty-four chapters.

What kind of sayings are they? As the title suggests, the quotations derive from various *auctoritates*. An examination of the sources yields a wide range of authors from the entire Latin world: from classical authors like Ovid, Seneca, Virgil, Cicero, Terence, Cato to church fathers like Augustine, Jerome and Cassiodorus to medieval authors like Boethius, Thomas Aquinas, Bernard of Clairvaux, Salimbene de Adam and Albertanus of Brescia. However, Bible quotations are also found (Proverbs, Psalms, Ecclesiastes, St Paul's Letters, etc.).<sup>2</sup> It concerns, therefore, a selection of sayings by authoritative authors from the previous sixteen centuries. It is, in other words, a real *florilegium*, in which only those passages were included which were most representative. By means of this widely used "excerption" technique<sup>3</sup> old material was resusci-

<sup>2</sup> See also *The sources*.

<sup>3</sup> Bede (ca. 672-735) described this method, as it was employed by the compiler, in his *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, 5, 17, where he also explained the verb "to excerpt": *Haec de opusculis excerpta praefati scriptoris ad sensum quidem verborum illius, sed brevioribus strictisque comprehensa*

tated in the Middle Ages and made available to contemporaries. These kinds of collections were a convenient and easily accessible instrument *ad legentium utilitatem*, or for the utility of the reader. Below follows a summary of the contents.

### *Prologue and Epilogue*

The prologue, whose function it is to introduce the reader to the work's topic, begins in Latin and is concluded in Italian. In the first section – in Latin – the author gives an account of his reasons for compiling the text. He argues that he has picked the finest and most fragrant flowers from all learned men and has reduced them for mnemotechnical reasons (*ut facilius memorie commendarem*) to a small volume for his personal profit and that of his readers (*ad legentium utilitatem*). Here we see again the definition of the *florilegium*: everything from the past that is worth remembering has been reduced for the medieval reader to fit an accessible and practical slim volume.

Multa cum legerim sanctorum et eruditissimorum uirorum nec non et oratorum et poetarum aliorumque scriptorum uolumina ut facilius memorie commendarem que in eis egregie dicta sunt et tanquam flosculos pulcherrimos et flagrantissimos sepius naribus apponerem, presens opusculum feci ad legentium utilitatem, redigens in volumen exiguum que mihi digna uisa sunt memoria et ueneratione.

*Having read many volumes by holy and very learned men, orators and poets as well as other authors, I have made the present little book for the utility of its reader, so that what was said in them in excellent fashion might be committed to memory more easily and so that I might as it were place the finest and most fragrant flowers close under the nostrils. For that reason I have compressed whatever seemed to be venerable and worth remembering into a small book.*

It concerns an allegorical representation of the text's composition here: the author chooses the finest flowers and presents them to the reader.<sup>4</sup> He concludes by writing:

sermonibus, nostris ad utilitatem legentium historiis indere placuit. ("I determined to add to this History excerpts from these writings for the benefit of readers. They contain the sense of his words but put more briefly and concisely", translation COLGRAVE-MYNORS 1969, p. 512-513). See also HAMESSE 1994, p. 212 n. 40.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. also the floral images in the *incipits* that precede the texts of the *Fiore di Virtù*, an Italian treatise on the virtues that was extremely popular in the thirteenth century (CORBELLINI 2000, p. 25).

Per capitula huiusmodi dicta ordinata reperientur.

*Such sayings will be found arranged in chapters.*

The material will next be arranged by letter, in different chapters. The order is determined by the first letter of the Latin saying: this means that all sayings beginning with the letter M, for example, have been put together. The initial letters are not in alphabetical order, but form an acrostic of twenty-three letters.

The second part of the prologue is in Italian. Although elements from the first part return here, the Italian text is not a direct translation from Latin. New in this part is that the author states that he has made his compilation at the request of a nun, a certain Madonna Alamira from Pensauero in San Blaxio. It is for this nun, originally from the city of Pesaro and apparently now residing in San Biagio<sup>5</sup>, that the author translated his compilation, which originally had been in Latin, into Italian. As he puts it himself he “reduced to Italian” (*reducte a lingua vulgar*) the various authoritative statements in this anthology:

A laude de dio questo libro summaria-  
mente si contenerà autorità eleganti-  
ssime de theologi, philosophi,  
poeti et altri excelentissimi doctori,  
reducte a lingua vulgar ad instantia  
et epetition de la venerabel et gen-  
erosa sanctimonial Madona Alamira  
da Pensauero in San Blaxio.

*To God's honour this book contains in  
summary form most agreeable authorita-  
tive statements by theologians, philoso-  
phers, poets and other most excellent  
scholars, reduced to Italian at the insistent  
and request of the venerable and benevo-  
lent holy nun, Madonna Alamira in San  
Biagio from Pesaro.*

He concludes this second part of the second explanation of the way the text originated as follows:

Et da quello è distintamente ordina-  
to certi capituli a una certa nomina-  
tion et aziò più comodamente se  
atrova i principii de quelli notabili et  
autorità.

*And from these several chapters have been  
clearly arranged according to a particular  
letter, and to this purpose that these re-  
markable and authoritative statements  
may be easier to find.*

<sup>5</sup> It is highly probable that the name *San Blaxio* refers to the Benedictine nunnery *San Biagio* in the city of Cesena. On an engraving of the city of Cesena from 1786 the nunnery is listed under n. 20 “Monache di S. Biagio”. In BALDACCHINI 1992, p. 20-21.

The anthology is concluded by an epilogue. In this afterword in Latin the author personally<sup>6</sup> addresses the nun mentioned in the prologue, Madonna Alamira from Pesaro. It is from “love for her” (*amore tui*), he states emphatically, that he has compiled this work :

Dedi finem operi, quod amore tui      *Herewith I end the work that I began for*  
inchoaueram.      *love of you.*

Next he apologizes by means of an undisguised modesty topos<sup>7</sup> for his ignorance (*ignorantia*) which the unpolished sentences might betray :

Si quid in eo est, quod utilitati tue      *If there is anything in it that contributes to your*  
conferat, non michi qui parum aut      *profit, it must not be ascribed to me, who sig-*  
nichil sum, si doctissimis viris, quo-      *nifies little or nothing, but to the very learned*  
rum dicta excerpsi, ascribendum      *men whose words I have excerpted. However,*  
puta. Si uero inordinatum aut in-      *if anything irregular or unpolished is found,*  
compositum fuerit, ignorantie mee      *you should impute it to my ignorance.*  
imputate.

An affectionate salutation to his benevolent Lady concludes this epilogue :

Affectum tamen meum suscipe be-      *Now receive my affectionate greeting, my*  
nignissima M. Vale.      *most benevolent L(ady). Farewell.*

### *The 24 capita*

The 672 sayings cited have been arranged by the compiler into 24 *capita*. The first 23 chapters have been ordered in such a way that the sayings of each *caput* begin with the same letter of the alphabet. However, the chapters themselves do not strictly follow the Latin alphabet: *caput* I, for example, contains sayings beginning with the letter M (*Misericordiam, Multum, Manum, ... etc.*). Next the sayings of *caput* II begin with the letter A (*Anima, Ad deum, Amicus, ... etc.*), while *caput* III again lists sayings beginning with the letter A, and so on.

<sup>6</sup> He refers to her in the second person.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. CURTIUS 1969, p. 93.

At the end 191 extra sayings have been grouped together in a final, long chapter (*caput* XXIII), in which the compiler included, as he states himself,<sup>8</sup> everything he had left. In this final chapter the first 75 sayings are presented again in alphabetical, although smaller, clusters. The initial letters of the first 23 chapters appear to form an acrostic:

MA AGRNIEN SAI DNE A PESAURO.

This acrostic can be identified only partially. The end of the line refers to the person for whom this little book was written: *Sanctimoniali* (SAI) *Domine* (DNE) *a Pesauro*: “For the Lady, nun from Pesaro”. It is highly probable that the beginning of the line refers to the compiler of the anthology edited here: MA stands for *Magister*, AGRNIEN presumably refers to his unidentified name.

#### b. The manuscript: characteristics and history

The manuscript in which this text has been preserved is kept in the British Library in London, shelfmark Add. Ms. 10804. It is a parchment manuscript, which, judging from the script used, dates from the fifteenth century.<sup>9</sup> Exterior and execution give the impression that a great deal of care has been taken in the book’s production. The codex may provides us with a considerable amount of information on the text contained in it, its character, origin and history.

#### *The structure of the manuscript*

The booklet, newly foliated from 1 to 39, consists of 40 parchment leaves in Octavo format (8°), measuring 100 × 150 mm. Modern foliation in pencil. The page lay-out is as follows: each page has one column of 60 × 96 mm, always consisting of 22 lines.

<sup>8</sup> Et ultimum, in quo omnia, que michi superfuerunt, inclusi.

<sup>9</sup> In the *List of additions to the manuscripts in the British Museum in the years MDCCCXXXVI-MDCCCXL*, p. 15 the manuscript is referred to as follows: Breve opusculum quorundam notabilium seu auctoritatum multorum sapientum; Latine et Italice. Codex membranaceus, sec. xv. Octavo.

*The script*

The entire text was written by one hand, in a neat, easily readable *littera gothico-antiqua*, a fifteenth-century script that combines humanistic and gothic characteristics: d – vertical, half-uncial; g – two-lobe g; M (capital) – occurs in two forms; h – does not extend below the baseline.<sup>10</sup>

*Copy or autograph*

The actual manuscript in front of us is definitely not an autograph, but a copy: the transmission of the Latin texts in it shows that the text must have been copied from an earlier version. This is evident from the fact that the Latin of this manuscript contains a number of errors in places where the original Latin sources, as well as the Italian translation, have the correct forms. They can only have been introduced into the Latin during the copying process.<sup>11</sup> An additional argument is offered by the way the Italian in the text is presented. The Italian lines have been written down very carefully, without scribal errors or corrections. This indicates that the text was copied painstakingly from an exemplar, rather than being a first draft during the writing of which sentences are in the process of being formulated or translated and words are likely to be crossed-out and corrected. This argument also, of course, applies to the Latin text.

*The presentation of the text*

In what way was the text arranged within the codex? The most striking structural device is the division into capita. They are marked in two ways: by means of a coloured initial A, M, G etc. and by the indication C. I, II, III etc., with the numbers always placed on the blank part of the last line of the preceding chapter.

<sup>10</sup> DEROLEZ 2003, p. 176-180; pl. 158. With grateful thanks to Hans Kienhorst, Radboud University of Nimeguen.

<sup>11</sup> See, for many examples from the text section 1.c, *The transmission of the manuscript*.

The initials, in the form of high lombards, half extend beyond the baseline and are written alternately in blue and red ink, as are the caput numbers. It should be noted that, when the initial is in red, the relevant chapter number will be in a contrasting colour: that is, blue. Red initials, in short, have blue caput numbers, and vice versa.

The Italian sentences follow the Latin ones immediately, without an extra space or new paragraph. As a result the text gives the impression at first sight of being continuous and in one single language. However, on closer scrutiny the sentences appear to consist of two languages, with the Italian being a translation of the Latin.

There are no traces of other users of this slim volume. In its present form it is a fine bound copy in a leather binding.

### *Decorations*

Around the edges of the initials penwork decorations in floral motifs have been added. Thus they nicely reinforce the image of the pretty flowers mentioned in the prologue that have been picked to profit the readers and allegorically denote the sayings selected. Here we again find the alternation in the colours red and blue: if the initial has been painted in red, the penwork is blue, and, conversely, a blue initial is garlanded with red floral motifs (see ill. 1).

Particularly eye-catching are the first initial M on f. 2<sup>r</sup> and the decorations around it (see ill. 2). This initial, which introduces the prologue, is a so-called *littera prismatica*, drawn in such a way as to suggest depth. This faceted initial is accompanied by floral motifs consisting of aquilegias in green, blue, purple and lilac on a background of goldleaf. The bottom margin of this folio is filled by a decoration in a green laurel wreath (f. 2<sup>r</sup>, middle of the bottom of the page). In the middle of this decoration a coat of arms has been depicted in the colours gold and blue, which may be a reference to the person who commissioned the book.

The carefully executed decorations confirm the maker's intentions as they are stated in the prologue and epilogue: the volume is a "bella copia", commissioned by a person who is

to accept it as a gift. The floral motifs highlight the nature of the *Opusculum*: it is a real anthology, and the depicted assortment of flowers in the decorations perfectly matches the *flosculos pulcherrimos* mentioned in the prologue, serving as images of the sayings selected.

*Date of composition and localisation*

The script used, the *littera gothico-antiqua*, itself indicates a date of composition in the fifteenth or late fifteenth century. The use of the *littera prismatica* in the first initial M suggests composition in the second half of the fifteenth century.<sup>12</sup> The most recent sources from which the compiler derives material provide a *terminus post quem*. It concerns sayings obtained from several authors writing in the middle of the thirteenth century.<sup>13</sup>

Material aspects of the manuscripts, in particular the decorations, provide hints as to its place of origin. Especially in Padova and the Veneto experiments were carried out at this time with faceted initials.<sup>14</sup> There can be little doubt, therefore, that the manuscript originated in or around Venice. This will be confirmed by the study of both the manuscript's provenance and the language used, in particular the Italian.

*The provenance of the manuscript*

The manuscript is extant in a parchment binding, probably from the eighteenth or early nineteenth century. On the spine of the binding, in golden letters on a maroon background, the words *sapien multor sentent cod: m.* have been printed. Later the British Library siglum has been added: *additional ms 10,804 brit. mus.*

<sup>12</sup> ALEXANDER 2005, p. 329. With grateful thanks to Martine Meuwese, University of Utrecht.

<sup>13</sup> Iacobus Beneventanus (1200-1260), Albertanus of Brescia (first half of the thirteenth century), Thomas Aquinas (1223/25-1274), Iohannes of Garlandia (c. 1195-c. 1272) and Salimbene de Adam (1221-1287/88).

<sup>14</sup> ALEXANDER 2005, p. 329.



The first two flyleaves carry a number of annotations by earlier owners, which are of great importance for tracing the manuscript's history:

On flyleaf f. 1<sup>v</sup> a lined piece of paper has been pasted, on which has been written in an eighteenth or early nineteenth-century hand: *Raccolta di sentenze di molti saggi in latino prima, e poi spiegate successivamente in italiano. Cod. membr. del sec. XVI in 8<sup>o</sup>. Legato in pergamena*. At the bottom, on the left in ink: *Lib. 2-scaf 1*, and on the right in ink: *N<sup>o</sup> 777* (in an earlier hand). At the bottom left on flyleaf f. 1<sup>v</sup> the number *136. a* has been written in pencil. This number is also found, in Roman numerals, in the middle of the first page of the outer cover: CXXXVI.A.

On the other flyleaf f. 2<sup>r</sup> the following annotation has been made in ink: *Purchased of Rodd. January 1837*. Underneath in pencil: *From the Canonici and Sneyd Collections*. At the bottom right there is another number *132. b* (crossed out in pencil). At the top a stamp of the British Library siglum has been added: *Additional MS 10,804*.

These annotations enable us to trace the manuscript's history as far back as the early eighteenth or even the seventeenth century. It is highly probable that the volume was part of the collection of the Venetian nobleman Bernardo Trevisan (1652-1720).<sup>15</sup> This collector and bibliophile owned a large library with many kinds of manuscripts: literary works, but also so-called "artes" texts, among them medical and didactic works, not just in Italian and Latin, but also in other languages – French, Spanish, Catalan, German and even Dutch – and multilingual as well as monolingual texts. Our manuscript belongs to the multilingual category; it certainly is not the only bilingual manuscript in Trevisan's collection.

Identical traces of ownership are found in two manuscripts that have recently been edited and published: a so-called merchant's conversational handbook in which Italian sentences

<sup>15</sup> It is possible that the catalogue of Trevisan's collection, kept in the *Archivio Statale dei Frari* in Venice (Misc. cod. 113) refers directly to the manuscript edited here.

34  
si peloni adhi in potito moxer: Malis pūib  
cōsulendū est: Se uole gscuarse ali mali pūen:  
Malozū cū i caute Amicis iūgimur culpis  
ligamur: Nos semetemo i colpi quādo se  
cōzōzemo ali amici catiui incautamente:  
Melius ē medicū iusto sup diuitias pētoz  
multas: Melior ē esset bon e pouero. ch ricco  
et catiuo: Melior ē uir paties uiro forti. et  
qui dñatur aīo suo expuatore urbium:  
Milior ē lomo patiete ch lomo forte. et  
colui dx signoriza laīo suo. dx colui ch pu  
la citade: Multi noīe diuorū thalamos itro  
iere pudicos: Molti soto color de sanctita  
son itradi nele iūgineccamere: Mala uolū  
tas diu occultari nō ualet: La mala uolū  
longamente nō si pucl occultar: **CII.**

**A**nima magis est ubi amat, q̄ ubi ani  
mat: Laīa ē pūi nela cosa amata da se  
dx nel suo corpo: Addeū ateneris asuescē  
multū est: Conferisce molto ala nra salute  
asuefarsi adio neli teneri aīi: Animalia  
eodem cibo uiuētia naturaliter se odunt:

C<sup>n</sup> + 2

**B**reue opusculum. Qorundam Nota  
billionum seu Auctoritatum multorum  
Sapientum. Feliciter Incipit: ~



VELTA cum legeret  
Sanctorū & eruditū  
ssimorū Virorum  
nec nō & oratorum  
et poetarū aliorū qz  
scriptorū uoluntia

ut facilius memorie cōmenderem: que ī eis  
eccelegie dicta sunt: et tūqz flosculos pul  
cherrimos & flagrantissimos sepius naribus  
apponerem: p̄sent: opusculū feci ad legētūz  
utilitatem: redigēs in volumē exigūū: que  
michi digna uisā sunt memoria & ueneratiōe.  
Per capitula huiusmodi dicta ordinata repiēt.

**A**lande de die Questo libro Sumariamēte  
si genera Auctorita elegantissime de Theo  
logi p̄bilosophi poeti & altri excellentissimi do  
ctori reducto a lingua uulgar ad istantia et  
opetition de la Venerabel & Generosa Sāmo  
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are translated into Middle Dutch, aimed at teaching its readers Italian,<sup>16</sup> and a manuscript, now in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, containing texts in Latin, Middle Dutch and French.<sup>17</sup>

On the basis of these data it may be assumed that this manuscript had never left Venice until it was bought by the Bodleian Library. After Trevisan's death the collection of more than 700 manuscripts passed to his brother Francesco; after the latter's death a large part of the collection came into the possession of Jacopo Soranzo (1685-1761), a Venetian statesman and major bibliophile and collector.<sup>18</sup> This period left no recognizable traces in the book. Approximately twenty years after Soranzo's death the major part of his collection was bought by another Venetian book collector, the Jesuit Matteo Luigi Canonici (1727-1805). In 1817, a large part of the manuscripts from his collection was bought by the Bodleian Library in Oxford. A smaller section, 829 manuscripts from the late Middle Ages, largely originating from the Veneto, was not bought until 1835 by the Reverend Walter Sneyd from Coventry.<sup>19</sup> A year later, on Saturday, 25 June 1836, Sneyd sold part of this collection of manuscripts through Sotheby's, the auction house. The book is listed in the catalogue of Italian and Latin manuscripts that were to be auctioned that day as lot nr. 177, *Raccolta di Sentenzi de Molti Saggi in Latino prima, e poi Spiegati Successivamente in Italiano, Ms. on vellum, Saec. xv, 8<sup>vo</sup>*. This description of the contents was copied (including some mistakes) from the book itself. Similar descriptions, with shelf marks, can also be found in many other books from this collection: they relate to the compilation of a catalogue that must have taken place between Canonici's death and Sneyd's acquisition.

Finally the flyleaf shows, prior to the text, that the book was bought by Thomas Rodd, bookseller in London, and

<sup>16</sup> DE BRUIJN-VAN DER HELM 2001.

<sup>17</sup> KIENHORST 1999.

<sup>18</sup> ROSSI 1907, p. 3-8.

<sup>19</sup> MEROLLE 1958, p. ix.

was subsequently sold by him to the British Museum (later the British Library) in January 1837, where it was catalogued under number *Additional MA 10,804*.

### c. The language

The text is consistently bilingual: a Latin saying is always followed by a translation into the *volgare*: the Italian vernacular. What distinguishes the two languages and how do the Latin text and its sources on the one hand relate to the Italian on the other?

#### *The Italian*<sup>20</sup>

The Italian in the text contains many northern dialect features which deviate from the present standard norm.<sup>21</sup>

1. A typically northern dialect feature is the lack of the double consonants that are usual in modern standard Italian: *abraci* (VIII, 10) instead of Italian *abbracci*; *inganato* (CVII, 25), *ingani* (XII, 14) for respectively Italian *ingannato* and *inganni*; *belezxa* (XIII, 13) for It. *bellezza*; *dubie* (XIII, 7) instead of It. *dubbie*; *tropo* (V, 12 and elsewhere) instead of It. *troppo*; *fiama* (XXIII, 18) instead of It. *fiamma*, and so on.

2. Another northern dialect feature is the sonorisation of consonants that are voiceless in standard Italian: *fatiga* (I, 6 and elsewhere) instead of standard Italian *fatica*; *algumo* (I, 9) instead of It. *alcuno*; *fuogo* (II, 15 and elsewhere) instead of It. *fuoco*; *beada* (XXI, 14) instead of It. *beata*; *maridar* (X, 23) for It. *maritare*; *peccadi* (XI, 3 and elsewhere) for It. *peccati*; *studare* (XXIII, 171) instead of It. *stutare*.

<sup>20</sup> For the description of the Italian language the following studies were used: ROHLFS 1966-1969 (general); STUSSI 1965, p. xxiv-lxxxiii; PELLEGRINI-STUSSI 1976, p. 424-452; SATTIN 1986, p. 1-126; TOMASONI 1994, p. 212-240; TUTTLE (1997) (Veneto-dialect).

<sup>21</sup> Standard Italian is the Italian language as it was derived from one of the many dialects that developed in the early Middle Ages from vulgar or spoken Latin, i.e. the dialect of Florence. This dialect, used by Florentine merchants and perfected by Dante, Petrarca and Boccaccio in their famous works, eventually became Italy's official language.

More specifically the Italian in the text contains features of the so-called Veneto dialects. The Veneto is the region in North-East Italy which extends from the river Po in the south to the foothills of the Alps in the north; from Lake Garda in the west to the river Tagliamento in the east. The most important dialects that form part of the Veneto group are Venetian, the dialects of Padua and Vicenza and the Veronese dialect.

3. In the text we find, for example, the following variants: *ažò* (X, 22) (It. *acciò*), *basi* (I, 25) (It. *baci*), *faša* (XXIII, 134) and *faža* (X, 15) (It. *faccia*), *ferože* (VI, 19) (It. *feroce*), *taxer* (VI, 9) (It. *facere*), *uxelli* (XXIII, 46) (It. *uccelli*). In these cases the palatalized affricate, in other words, the voiceless */tʃj/* (represented in Italian by single or double *-c-*), has become a dental affricate or has been further reduced to a sibilant (graphically represented by *ç*, *ž*, *s* and *x*).<sup>22</sup>

4. The same applies to *cason* (XVI, 6, and elsewhere), *caxon* (I, 21; XXIII, 110) (It. *cagione*), *raxon* (II, 16 and elsewhere) (It. *ragione*), *çoveni* (VII, 15) (It. *giovani*), *çovato* (XXIII, 23) (It. *giovato*), *maçor* (XXI, 7) (It. *maggiore*), *manžar* (II, 7) or *mançar* (XXIII, 169) (It. *mangiare*), *verçela* (XXIII, 79) (It. *vergella*). The palatalized affricate, in other words the voiced */dʒj/*, represented in Italian by single or double *-g-*, has been reduced to a sibilant. In the text this has been graphically represented by *s*, *x*, *ç* and *ž*.

5. In the variants *recordança* (XII, 12) (It. *ricordanza*), *sença* (III, 2 and elsewhere) (It. *senza*), *richeçe* (XXIII, 120) (It. *ricchezze*), *força* (XVII, 3) (It. *forza*), *meço* (XXIII, 91) (It. *mezzo*) the dentalized affricate, in other words, the voiceless */tʃ/* or the voiced */dʒ/*, represented in Italian by *-ç-* or *-ž-*, has been reduced to a sibilant. In the text this has been graphically represented by *ç*.

6. In the variants *creser* (III, 16) (It. *crescere*), *ferise* (X, 12) (It. *ferisce*), *laserai* (XXIII, 70) (It. *lasceraì*), *inbelise* (XXIII, 122) (It. *imbellisce*) and *bisa* (XXIII, 131) (It. *biscia*) the palatal sibilant, in other words the voiceless */f/*, has also been reduced to a sibilant.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. STUSSI 1965, p. xxv n. 64 and ALINEI 1978, p. xxiii on the development of dental affricates into sibilants in the Venetian dialect.

7. In the variants *meior* (I, 25) (It. *migliore*), *pia* (I, 32 and elsewhere) (It. *piglia*), *spoiato* (XXIII, 115) (It. *spogliato*) and *conseio* (XVI, 5) (It. *consiglio*) complete palatalization of the palatal lateral has taken place.

8. After *l*, *n*, *r* the unstressed final vowel *e* tends to be dropped: *ben* (XIX, 8 and elsewhere) (in addition to *bene*), *son* (XX, 20) (in addition to *sono*) and in the suffix *-ion*: *passion* (XXIII, 39 and elsewhere), *confusion* (XV, 9), *maridar* (X, 23), *peccar* (XXIII, 30), *dolor* (XXIII, 84).

9. Characteristic, especially for Venetian, is the preservation of the original Latin combinations with *-l*: *claro* (XXIII, 144) (It. *chiaro*), *plenamente* (X, 9) (It. *pienamente*), *exempli* (VII, 18 and elsewhere) (It. *esempi*) and in the proper name *San Blaxio* (It. *San Biagio*).

10. The clearly scholarly influence of Latin is apparent in the spelling of, for example, the following words: *malitia* (I, 18 and elsewhere), *tristitia* (II, 20 and elsewhere), *contention* (I, 23), where the Latin *-ti-* has been preserved; *sanctissimo* (XVIII, 1), *vincto* (VI, 23), *fructo* (XV, 13), *afflictione* (X, 4), *intellecto* (XVI, 17 and elsewhere), where respectively *-nct-* en *-ct-* has been preserved; *temptato* (VI, 16), *sumpto* (VI, 18), where *-mpt-* has been preserved; *secundo* (XXIII, 108), *umbra* (XXIII, 59), *periculosa* (XXIII, 9), *voluntà* (III, 3 and elsewhere), where both the stressed and unstressed *u* has been preserved; *exempli* (VII, 18 and elsewhere), *experto* (VII, 10), *lauda* (XXIII, 175), *laudato* (XXI, 12), preserving respectively *-x-* and *-au-*; *obscurità* (III, 3), *substenire* (XXIII, 17), *adversità* (XXIII, 61), *resguarda* (XIII, 6), *transpianata* (XVII, 18), *presumption* (XXIII, 9), in which the Latin prefixes have been preserved; *iusto* (XII, 5 and elsewhere), *iudicar* (XXII, 13) preserving initial *i*; *veneno* (XXIII, 31) without the occurrence of metathesis (*veleno*); many cases of etymological *b* as in *humili* (XVII, 20 and elsewhere), *haverai* (XIII, 21 and elsewhere), *homo* (XV, 8 and elsewhere), *albora* (XX, 19); finally there is frequent usage of Latin prepositions like *infra* (III, 2 and elsewhere), *ultra* (XXI, 21), *contra* (II, 16), *cum* (XIII, 10 and elsewhere) (in addition to Italian *con*), *et* (XVII, 8 and elsewhere) in addition to Italian *e*; and the frequent use of the word *omni* (III, 15 and elsewhere) in addition to Italian *ogni*.

Morphological and syntactic characteristics of the Veneto dialects are found in the following cases:

11. The verbal ending indicating the first person plural indicative: *-emo*. This ending (in modern Italian *-iamo*) is used in all conjugations: verbs ending in *-are*, *inclinemo* (XXIII, 138), in *-ere* (with long *e*), *volemo* (XXIII, 52), in *-ere* (with short *e*), *metemo* (I, 30) and *porgemo* (XXIII, 138).

12. The same applies to the third person plural. This ending (in modern Italian *-ano, -ono*) becomes *-eno* in all verbal endings: *veneno* (XVIII, 9), *cadeno* (XXIII, 36), *scoreno e caçeno* (XXIII, 71).

13. Finally, the gerund also has one single form for all verbs: *-ando* (in Italian *-ando* or *-endo*): *servando* (VI, 12), *habiando* (XXIII, 165).

14. No distinction is made between the verbal forms of the third and sixth person: *Va spiso ove è i savij homeni* (XVI, 10); *Le aque rubade è più dolçe et el pan ascosto è più suave* (XXIII, 99); *La tua humilità siano nel meço de ti* (XXIII, 91).

Finally at a lexical level the following words should be noted:

15. *bisa* (XXIII, 131) “field snake” (It. *biscia*), *verçela* (XXIII, 79) “stick, rod” (It. *vergella*) and *studare* (XXIII, 171) “extinguish” (It. *stutare*).

#### *The Latin: the orthography*

The Latin sources are quoted by the compiler in the *Breve opusculum* following medieval Latin rather than classical Latin orthography. This means that instead of the diphthongs *ae* and *oe* we always find that *e*; *ti*+vowel is often represented as *ci* (cf. *concuciente* (I, 9); *ambiciosi* (III, 5)); *h* is not always written, but is sometimes added hypercorrectly (cf. *abhominabile* (XI, 1); *probemio* (XII, 1); *cobartari* (XII, 18); *coboperantur* (XIII, 14); *preheminet* (XIX, 9)) and has occasionally been replaced by *ch* (cf. *nichil* (VI, 15 and 20)); instead of *-mn-* the combination *-mpn-*, which is easier to pronounce, is used repeatedly (cf. *dampnet* (VIII, 7); *dampni ... dampnum* (XXIII, 35)); *i* and *y* (cf. *abissus* (XII, 21)); *y* *ember* (XVII, 10); *y* *maginibus*



(XVIII, 5); *ymago* (XXIII, 26)) as well as *t* and *th* are often confused (cf. *tronus* (I, 4)).

All these changes are orthographic deviations from classical Latin that are found throughout the period in which medieval Latin was used in all geographical areas.<sup>23</sup> However, in the Latin orthography of the *Breve opusculum* we also find traces of elements that are characteristic of the vernacular – the Veneto – of the compiler or, as the case may be, of the scribe. For example, the lack of double consonants (as found in modern standard Italian) is a typical dialect feature of northern Italian.<sup>24</sup> We find this phenomenon not just in the Italian text of the *Breve opusculum* but also in the orthography of the Latin texts:<sup>25</sup>

*flam<m>as* (It. *le fiamme*) (I, 8); *flam<m>a* (It. *la fiamma*) (XXIII, 18); *as<s>uescere* (It. *asuefarsi*) (II, 2); *neces<s>ario* (It. *per necessità*) (III, 12); *neces<s>itate* (It. *necessità*) (XXIII, 20); *neces<s>ario* (It. *per necessità*) (XXIII, 23); *offer<r>i* (It. *offerir*) (VI, 17); *in<n>ocentia* (It. *inocentia*) (XII, 10); *oc<c>ulte* (It. *oculte*) (XX, 20); *tranquil<l>itates* (It. *tranquillità*) (XXI, 14); *expres<s>io* (It. *expresion*) (XXIII, 3); *mol<l>is* (It. *mole*) (XXIII, 87); *mol<l>emque* (It. *mole*) (XXIII, 148); *mel<l>is* (It. *miele*) (XXIII, 169); *fal<l>aci* (It. *falace*) (XXIII, 174); *cor<r>eptio* (It. *coreption*) (XXIII, 178).

The nasal consonant *-m* in vulgar Latin is no longer pronounced at the time of the transition to the Romance languages.<sup>26</sup> It was only at the end of short words, in particular monosyllables, that *-m* was retained in the form of its nasal

<sup>23</sup> Cf. STRECKER 1967, p. 59-60.

<sup>24</sup> See also *The Italian*, section 1.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. also I, 19 occur<r>ere; I, 26 flagel<l>a; I, 28 quip<p>e; II, 11 oc<c>ultare; III, 9 gres<s>us; V, 9 pal<l>escunt; VII, 18 com<m>ouetur; VIII, 9 inhor<r>escere; XV, 17 expel<l>it; XVI, 4 oc<c>asu; XVIII, 9 reces<s>erint; XXIX, 9 posses<s>ionem; XX, 1 as<s>idua; XX, 7 fer<r>e; XXII, 1 gres<s>us; XXII, 2 cal<l>is; XXII, 12 sol<l>icita; XXIII, 135 vicis<s>im; XXIII, 136 as<s>ociatos; XXIII, 152 inchoas<s>e; XXIII, 162 com<m>unicatione[m]; XXIII, 185 cor<r>uet.

<sup>26</sup> BOURCIEZ-BOURCIEZ 1967, p. 48: “A la finale des mots, la différence essentielle qu’il y eut entre l’écriture et le latin parlé, fut qu’on avait cessé de bonne heure d’y faire entendre le *m* (dans *portam*, *murum*, *turrem*, etc., prononcés *porta*, *mur*, *turre*)”.

variant *-n*.<sup>27</sup> The use of *-n* instead of *-m* in various places in the Latin orthography of this edition of the *Breve opusculum* is doubtless the result of the Romance background of the manuscript's compiler or scribe:

*tan* (VI, 6); *animun* (XX, 5); *animan* (XX, 15); *nanque ... pernicienque* (XXIII, 37); *nunquam* (XXIII, 34); *cun* (XXIII, 4); *consiliun* (XXIII, 15); *quispian* (XXIII, 191).

The influence of the compiler or scribe's Romance vernacular is also noticeable in those places where he represents the velar vowel *-u-* by its open variant *-o-*,<sup>28</sup> or, conversely, when instead of the more open velar vowel *-o-* he writes the rather closer velar variant *-u-*.<sup>29</sup> The same applies to *infedelis* (It. *infedel*) (XXIII, 193), where instead of the closed palatal vowel *-i-* we find the more open variant *-e-*.

The Latin letter *-x-* is the orthographic representation of the combination of the consonants *-ks-*. In this combination of consonants the sound *-k-* in Vulgar Latin has generally already been assimilated to the *-s-* sound following.<sup>30</sup> As a result a Latin word was sometimes – hypercorrectly – written using *-x-* instead of *-s-*. The words *senex* instead of *senes* (I, 24) and *vix* instead of *vis* (XXI, 20) are examples of this phenomenon. The Italian of this anthology, that is, the Veneto dialect, also used the letter *-x-* to indicate a sibilant; we find, for example, *cason* (XVI, 6; XXIII, 117) as well as *caxon* (I, 21; XXIII, 110).<sup>31</sup>

### *The transmission of the manuscript*

One of the first questions that needs to be addressed when discussing the transmission of the manuscript is whether our manuscript is an autograph. In other words, were the Latin

<sup>27</sup> Cf. *rem* – Fr. rien; *quem* – Sp. quien; *cum* – It. Sp. con; *tam* – Sp. tan; *sum* – It. sono. See BOURCIEZ-BOURCIEZ 1967, p. 48.

<sup>28</sup> II, 15 *amicos*; V, 9 *nerecondantes*; XXIII, 11 *voluntas*; XXIII, 166 *iracondiam*; XXIII, 192 *rompitur*.

<sup>29</sup> XIX, 18 *cuntemptum*; XXIII, 19 *spopundisti*; XXIII, 77 *cumpletur*.

<sup>30</sup> VÄÄNÄNEN 1967, p. 67-68: “*Visit* pour *vixit* fréquent dans les inscr. (voir DIEL, *Vulgärlat. Inscr.*, p. 160); It. *dissi*, Fr. *dis* < *dixi*; It. *coscia*, Fr. *cuisse* < *coxa*”.

<sup>31</sup> See also chapter 1.c *The Italian*, section 4.

and Italian of the *Breve opusculum* written down or copied directly into our manuscript from a draft version or outline without an intermediate exemplar. The transmission of the Latin texts in the *Breve opusculum* shows unequivocally that this question must be answered negatively: the *Breve opusculum* is not an autograph manuscript. This may be deduced from a number of errors in the Latin text, which are correct in the Italian translation and can only have entered the Latin, therefore, during the copying process from a draft version.

The first example of this procedure can be seen in saying II, 12, where the Latin text – unlike its source<sup>32</sup> – has the word *virtutem* instead of *verticem*, whereas the Italian *la cima* unambiguously renders the Latin word *verticem* as it must have appeared in the original draft version of the anthology edited here:

Attendite arborem: petit prius deorsum, ut sursum excrescat;  
figit radicem in humili, ut uirtutem tendat ad celum:

Vardate l'arbore: prima va di soto con le radixe ove che creschi in alto, si prima profunda nel humel terra, aciò che possa andare con la cima verso l'alto cielo (II, 12).

More evident proof that the text of the *Breve opusculum* edited here is a copy of a draft version made earlier, is found in saying XX, 19. Here the scribe – who may well have been the same person as the compiler of this collection of sayings – wrongly read *alimenta* when copying from his exemplar instead of the word *abstinentia*, which is found in both the source of this Latin saying<sup>33</sup> and in the Italian translation:

Alimenta corporis tunc preclara est, cum anima ieiunat a viciis:

Alhora è una abstinentia degna di corpo, quando l'anima ieiuna ali vicii (XX, 19).

<sup>32</sup> II, 12 Attendite – ad celum] AUG., *Serm.* 117 (PL 38, 671) Arborem attendite: ima petit prius, ut sursum excrescat; figit radicem in humili, ut verticem tendat ad caelum.

<sup>33</sup> XX, 19 Alimenta – vicii] PS. HIER., *Epist.* 148 (*Ad Celantiam matronam*, PL 22, 1214/ 15) Tunc, inquam, praeclara est abstinentia, tunc pulchra atque magnifica castigatio corporis, cum est animus ieiunus a vitiis.

In addition a number of places may be indicated in the text where part of the original, cited Latin source text is missing in the Latin version of the manuscript, while an Italian translation has been provided nevertheless. This, too, can be explained only as an erroneous omission made in the process of copying the sayings concerned from a draft version to the manuscript. Saying XX, 12, for example, is a quotation from the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*<sup>34</sup> ascribed to Cicero; curiously the second part of this quotation (*eadem exitus amarissimos adfert*) has been included by the Italian translator (*et i fini amari*), but is lacking from the Latin saying:

Assentatio habet iocunda principia:

Assentation ha principi dolçi et i fini amari (XX, 12).

The same scribal error is found in saying XXIII, 19 where the compiler cites Isidore of Seville.<sup>35</sup> However, in the version of the manuscript edited here the last part of the quotation from Isidore is missing (*et in opere difficilis*), whereas it has been included in the Italian translation:

Fac bonum quod spopundisti et non sis in verbis facilis:

Fa il ben promesso e non esser facile in parole et non difficile nelle tuoi facti (XXIII, 19).

Finally a last example of a similar nature. It concerns saying XXIII, 30, in which the compiler quotes a line from the classical poet Iuvenalis, which is also found in the *Polythecon* (c. 1300; CM 93), an extensive medieval collection of proverbs.<sup>36</sup> However, in the Latin tradition of the manuscript edited here the key-word of this Iuvenalis proverb (*peccandi*) is

<sup>34</sup> XX, 12 Assentatio – principia] *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 4, 15, 21 Habet assentatio iocunda principia, eadem exitus amarissimos adfert; THOM. AQ., *Summa theologiae secunda secundae* quaestio 38, articulus 1 a Tullio, qui dicit ... habet assentatio iocunda principia, eadem exitus amarissimos affert.

<sup>35</sup> XXIII, 19 Fac – facilis] ISID., *Synonyma de lamentatione animae peccatricis* 2, 57 (PL 83, 858B) Fac bonum quod spopundisti. Non sis in verbis facilis, et in opere difficilis.

<sup>36</sup> XXIII, 30 Ha<s> – uoluntas] Iuv. 13, 208 Ha patitur poenas peccandi sola uoluntas = *Polythecon* 7, 379 (in ORBÁN 1999).

missing,<sup>37</sup> while again it is present in its Italian translation (*del peccar*):

Ha<s> patitur penas sola uoluntas :

Sola la volontà del peccar sostene pene (XXIII, 30).

It should also be noted that in the Latin tradition of the anthology edited here there are a very large number of scribal errors that no doubt also originated when the text was copied from an exemplar or draft version. Below follows a small selection of such copying errors: *insultum* (II, 7) instead of *insulsum*; *ab impius* (II, 9) instead of *ab impiis*; *impui* (XI, 6) instead of *imperii*; *senex* (X, 18) instead of *senes*; *auditus* (XIII, 18) instead of *aditus*; *equis* (XVII, 24) instead of *equus*; *digit* (XX, 15) instead of *diligit*; *iustiam* (XX, 18) instead of *iustitiam*; *facti* (XXIII, 18) instead of *fati*; *dectionem* (XXIII, 7) instead of *delectationem*; *tempatio* (XXIII, 145) instead of *temptatio*; *respondet* (XXIII, 181) instead of *resplendet*.

### *The sources*

The *Breve opusculum* contains 672 sayings. Of these 213 have been derived from the Bible: 179 from the Old Testament (of which 90 from the book Proverbs alone) and 34 from the New Testament. The remaining 459 sayings are quotations from profane Latin literature. The most recent sources on which the compiler of the *Breve opusculum* draws, date from the first half or the middle of the thirteenth century A.D.: Iacobus Beneventanus (1200-1260)<sup>38</sup>, Albertanus of Brescia (first half of the thirteenth century)<sup>39</sup>, Thomas Aquinas (1223/25-1274)<sup>40</sup>, Iohannes de Garlandia (c. 1195-c. 1272)<sup>41</sup> and Salim-

<sup>37</sup> For the same errors see also: XXI, 7 *Virtus* <maior> est bene facere quam bene pati; XXIII, 114 *Memoria nostra* <comparabitur> cineri.

<sup>38</sup> In *Breve opusculum* I, 15; IX, 1; XVI, 8; XXIII, 32; XXIII, 47.

<sup>39</sup> In *Breve opusculum* I, 19; IX, 4; XXI, 21.

<sup>40</sup> In *Breve opusculum* III, 15; V, 8; V, 9; X, 2; X, 18; XV, 16; XVI, 13; XVIII, 2; XX, 12; XXI, 7; XXIII, 28; XXIII, 35; XXIII, 162.

<sup>41</sup> In *Breve opusculum* XIII, 16; XVIII, 10.

bene de Adam (1221-1287/88).<sup>42</sup> The middle of the thirteenth century may, therefore, be taken as the *terminus post quem* for the composition of the *Breve opusculum*.

The 672 sayings have been grouped into 24 *capita*. The first 23 chapters each begin with the same letter of the alphabet. However, the order of the Latin alphabet is not followed. This way of working results in an acrostic which was discussed earlier in the introduction. The last chapter (*caput* XXIII) is a kind of bonus chapter in which the compiler, as he states himself,<sup>43</sup> collected everything he had left. In this chapter the compiler again presents the first 75 sayings in alphabetical, although smaller, clusters. It is remarkable that here he does follow the order of the Latin alphabet: sayings 1 to 5 begin with the letter B, 6 to 15 with the letter C, 16 to 22 with the letter F, sayings 23 to 31 with the letter H and so on. From saying 75 onwards in this final chapter the compiler abandons this rigid alphabetical system. It should be noted in this context that, within a *caput* of sayings beginning with the same letter, he repeatedly presents small clusters from one and same source, as in the following examples:

II, 4 Amicus – fortis] Eccli. 6, 14; II, 5 Amico – comparatio] Eccli. 6, 15; II, 6 Aut – steterit] Iob 6, 5; II, 7 Aut – conditum] Iob 6, 6; II, 8 Aut – mortem] Iob 6, 6; II, 9 Auferetur – sua] Iob 38, 15; II, 10 Amor – coniungendam] Cíc., *Laelius de amicitia* 26; II, 11 Aperte – sententiam] Cíc., *Laelius de amicitia* 65; II, 17 Atria – apertis] Ov., *Met.* 1, 172; II, 18 Accipe – annos] Ov., *Amores* 1, 3, 5; II, 19 Accipe – fide] Ov., *Amores* 1, 3, 6; VIII, 9 Est ius – inhor⟨r⟩escere] BOETH., *Consol. philos.* 2, prosa 2; VIII, 10 Externa – amplexaris] BOETH., *Consol. philos.* 2, prosa; VIII, 11 Esse – aliena] BOETH., *Consol. philos.* 2, prosa 5; XVII, 8 Paucis – contenta est] BOETH., *Consol. philos.* 2, prosa 5; XVII, 9 Preclara – desistis] BOETH., *Consol. philos.* 2, prosa 5; XIX, 5 Si – detegas] BOETH., *Consol. philos.* 1, prosa 4; XIX, 6 Summum – queat] BOETH., *Consol. philos.* 3, prosa 2; XIII, 22 Difficile – diuersitas est] HIER., *In Isaiam* 11, praef., lin. 1;

<sup>42</sup> In *Breve opusculum* XI, 9; XI, 18; XIII, 17; XIII, 21; XVI, 6; XVI, 9; XVII, 7; XX, 13; XXIII, 12; XXIII, 60.

<sup>43</sup> Et ultimum, in quo omnia, que michi superfuerunt, inclusi.

XIII, 23 De – patet] HIER., *Vita Malchi* 3; XIX, 7 Sicut – deseritur] HIER., *Epist.* 140, 21; XIX, 8 Scias – animo] HIER., *Epist.* 85, 6; XIII, 4 Non – inuitis] CASSIOD., *Variae* 1, 38; XIII, 5 Ne – conceditur] CASSIOD., *Variae* 1, 38; XIII, 6 Nescit – equitatem] CASSIOD., *Variae* 3, 13; XXIII, 24 Omnis – est] CASSIOD., *Variae* 9, 3; XXI, 18 Veritatis – putes] *Epist. ad Hier.* 148, 19; XXI, 19 Vim – dilectio] *Epist. ad Hier.* 148, 4; XXIII, 33 Omne – est] Ov., *Fasti* 1, 493; XXIII, 35 O – uultu] Ov., *Met.* 2, 447; XXIII, 36 Omnia – ruunt] Ov., *Ex Ponto* 4, 3, 35-36; XXIII, 70 Time – malo] Prov. 3, 7; XXIII, 71 Tenebrosa – corruunt] Prov. 4, 19; XXIII, 72 Timet – malo] Prov. 14, 16; XXIII, 73 Timor – mortis] Prov. 14, 27; XXIII, 74 Turris – erunt] Prov. 18, 10; XXIII, 77 Desiderium – animam] Prov. 13, 19; XXIII, 78 Gratia – morabitur] Prov. 14, 9; XXIII, 79 Qui – filium] Prov. 13, 24; XXIII, 80 Vbi – est] Prov. 14, 4; XXIII, 81 Amici – multi] Prov. 14, 20; XXIII, 82 Errant – malum] Prov. 14, 22; XXIII, 83 Est – mortem] Prov. 14, 12; XXIII, 84 Risus – occupat] Prov. 14, 13; XXIII, 85 In – habundantia] Prov. 14, 23; XXIII, 86 Patienti – multa] Prov. 14, 29; XXIII, 87 Responsio – furorem] Prov. 15, 1; XXIII, 88 Praecedat – gloriam] Prov. 15, 33; XXIII, 89 Spiritum – dominus] Prov. 16, 2; XXIII, 92 Dominus – gratiam] Prov. 3, 34; XXIII, 93 Ne – malorum] Prov. 4, 14; XXIII, 121 Crimina – faceto] *Facetus* 11; XXIII, 122 Mente – vitam] *Facetus* 101; XXIII, 123 Ne – homo] *Facetus* 118; XXIII, 124 Quod – bonum] BOETH., *Consol. philos.* 2, prosa 5; XXIII, 125 O – desisti(s)] BOETH., *Consol. philos.* 2, prosa 5; XXIII, 134 Est – archana] HIER., *Epist.* 54, 13; XXIII, 135 Impera – iubeas] HIER., *Epist.* 5, 2; XXIII, 136 O mors – dissocias] HIER., *Epist.* 60, 2; XXIII, 137 Beatitudo – debitorem] HIER., *Epist.* 120, 1; XXIII, 138 Dum – flectimus] HIER., *Epist.* 120, 1; XXIII, 139 Infelicitas – pugnare] Ps. HIER., *Epist.* 5, 8 (*Ad amicum aegrotum*, PL 30, 72B); XXIII, 140 Eum non – laborum] Ps. HIER., *Epist.* 5, 5 (*Ad amicum aegrotum*, PL 30, 67D); XXIII, 141 Sicut – deseritur] HIER., *Epist.* 140, 21; XXIII, 142 Quid tenuari – intumescit] Ps. HIER., *Epist.* 148, 22 (*Ad Celantiam matronam*, PL 22, 1214); XXIII, 143 Tunc – uiciis] *Epist. ad Hier.* 148, 22; XXIII, 144 Summa – virtutibus] *Epist. ad Hier.* 148, 21;

XXIII, 146 Multum – latet] *Epist. ad Hier.* 148, 20;  
 XXIII, 147 Tantus – putes] *Epist. ad Hier.* 148, 19;  
 XXIII, 148 Facile – mentem] *Epist. ad Hier.* 148, 16;  
 XXIII, 149 Timendum – erroris] *Epist. ad Hier.* 148, 11;  
 XXIII, 150 Nichil – amore] *Epist. ad Hier.* 148, 4;  
 XXIII, 151 Quid – voluntatem] *Epist. ad Hier.* 148, 4;  
 XXIII, 152 Non – est] *Epist. ad Hier.* 148, 32; XXIII, 191  
 Securius – ei] *Eccle.* 4, 9; *Eccle.* 4, 11; *Eccle.* 4, 12;  
 XXIII, 192 Funiculus – rompitur] *Eccle.* 4, 12;  
 XXIII, 193 Displicit – promissio] *Eccle.* 5, 3; XXIII, 194  
 Felicius – nescis] *Eccle.* 6, 9.

On this basis we may conclude that the compiler most probably excerpted his *Breve opusculum* from one or more existing medieval, alphabetically arranged *auctores-florilegia*<sup>44</sup> rather than compiling it directly from the *auctores* concerned.<sup>45</sup> This is confirmed by the fact that the biblical proverbs and sayings of the *auctores* have rarely been cited according to the received manuscript tradition of the texts concerned (*textus receptus*), but are always quoted in their medieval form of a quotation that has been reduced to a standard saying.

A few examples will illustrate this. In our *Breve opusculum*, saying IX, 5 Nulla pestis efficacior ad nocendum quam familiaris inimicus is a quotation from Boethius' *De consolazione philosophiae* 3, prose 5, where Boethius asks the rhetorical question: Quae vero pestis efficacior ad nocendum quam familiaris inimicus?, "Which pest does more effective harm than an enemy who is part of the family?" This question obviously invites the answer: "No single pest ..." In this form Boethius' rhetorical question has become a saying in the Middle Ages, as exemplified by Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sententiae* series 3, sententia 122 Nulla pestis efficacior ad nocendum quam familiaris inimicus; *Historia Compostellana* 1, 109 Sed ut ait Boetius: Nulla pestis efficacior ad nocendum quam

<sup>44</sup> For an example of an alphabetically arranged *auctores-florilegium*, see TALBOT 1956, p. 145-146; 157; 164-165.

<sup>45</sup> This contradicts the compiler's words in his preface that he has read many books by the "saintly and other authors" and that he has selected from them the most significant statements as the finest and most fragrant flowers.



familiaris inimicus. It is in this medieval form that the compiler quotes this Boethian sentence.

Here is another example from profane literature. The famous proverbial saying “in time of prosperity, friends will be plenty” is a heartfelt remark by Ovid when he is a badly disappointed exile on the Black Sea. In his *Tristia* 1, 9, 5 he writes: *Donec eris sospes, multos numerabis amicos*. This saying is cited twice in the *Breve opusculum*. In the bonus chapter, caput XXIII, 12, it reads as follows<sup>46</sup>: *Cum fueris felix, multo(s) numerabis amicos*. The difference between Ovid’s words and the saying just quoted is obvious: instead of Ovid’s *donec eris sospes* the compiler has *cum fueris felix*, a medieval variant of Ovid’s saying, found literally in, for example, Salimbene de Adam (1221-1290), *Cronica*, p. 292, lines 1-2 *Item alius poeta: Cum fueris felix, multos numerabis amicos*; Gualterus Anglicus (c. 1175), *App. pr.* 16, 3 *Cum fueris felix omnes numerabis amicos*; Guillelmus Wheatley (early fourteenth century), *Expositio in Boethii De consolatione philosophiae* 2, 15 *Item alibi: Cum fueris felix, multos numerabis amicos*; Guillelmus Peraldus (c. 1250), *De eruditione principum* 1, 11: *Cum fueris felix, multos numerabis amicos*.

Saying XXIII, 13 offers further incontrovertible proof that the compiler of the *Breve opusculum* quotes from *auctores florilegia* rather than directly from a manuscript text by one of the auctores concerned: here he quotes Juvenalis 1, 167 as a standardized medieval proverb, but does so incorrectly. Saying XXIII, 13 will be discussed in greater detail below.

The Bible, too, is frequently quoted by the compiler in a form that evidently does not derive from the *Vulgata* (or the *Vetus Latina*), but – like the profane *auctores* – one that has become a standardized medieval proverb.<sup>47</sup> We shall limit ourselves to providing just a few examples:

<sup>46</sup> The other instance of this quotation from Ovid in the *Breve opusculum* reads: XIII, 21 *Donec eris felix, multos numerabis amicos*.

<sup>47</sup> ROUSE-ROUSE 1979, p. 125 also conclude that the quotations in a particular *florilegium* are usually based on earlier collections: “*Florilegia* such as the *Manipulus florum* are a literary world apart. Their customary sources are ear-

I, 14 Multa bona habebis, si timueris deum] Tob. 4, 23 (*Vulgata*) Multa bona habebimus, si timuerimus deum – ALBERT. BRIJ., *Sermo* 4 (Super doctrina timoris domini, ed. W. Ahlquist, 2000) Nam dixit Tobias filio suo: Multa bona habebis, si timueris deum; *Epistulae Guiberti* 48 (CM 66/66A) Habebis multa bona, si timueris Deum. XII, 19 Iusti possidebunt terram et habitabunt in seculum seculi super eam] Ps. 36, 29 (*Vulg.*) Iusti autem hereditabunt terram et inhabitabunt in saeculum saeculi super eam – HIER., *Comm. in Is.* 16, 58 14 de qua in alio loco canitur: iusti possidebunt terram et habitabunt in saeculum saeculi super eam. III, 1 A domino egredietur iudicium singulorum] Prov. 29, 26 a domino iudicium egreditur singulorum – HERM. WERDIN., *Hortus deliciarum Sacrae Scripturae textus, Parabolae Salomonis* 29, 25 a Domino egredietur iudicium singulorum. VII, 19 In multiloquio non deerit peccatum] Prov. 10, 19 (*Vulg.*) In multiloquio peccatum non deerit – *Florilegium Frisingense* (CLM 6433) 353 = ANDR. S. VICTORE, *Expositiones historicae in libros Salomonis – in Parab.* lin. 1455 = BENED. ANIAN., *Concordia regularum* 9, p. 130 In multiloquio non deerit peccatum; SALIMB. ADAM, *Cronica* p. 113, lin. 6 Prover. X: In multiloquio non deerit peccatum. XII, 21 Iudicia dei abyssus multa] Ps. 35, 7 (*Vulg.*) Iudicia tua abyssus multa – APPON., *In Cant. cant.* 8, lin. 532 ut ait propheta David: Iudicia Dei abyssus multa; Aug., *Enarr. in Psalm.* 35, 10 Iudicia dei abyssus multa = BEDA, *Expos. Act. Ap.* 19 = ANSELM. CANTUAR., *De casu diaboli* vol. 1, 23 = Anselm. Cantuar., *Orationes sive meditationes* vol. 3, 14 = BERN. CLARAEV., *Sententiae* series 3, sent. 92 = GUILL. DE TYR., *Chronicon* 21, 29.

The Latin text of the *Breve opusculum* also contains errors which the compiler of this anthology either copied wrongly from his sources, or were already present in those sources.

lier *florilegia*, and their most frequent literary heirs, subsequent *florilegia*". See also BRUNHÖLZL 1964, p. 65: "Daß mittelalterliche Schriftsteller oft nicht unmittelbar aus den Werken geschöpft haben, deren Kenntnis sie durch Zitate verraten scheinen, ist bekannt. Vielfach war die direkte Quelle ein sogenanntes *Florilegium*, eine jener Sammlungen wörtlicher Exzerpte aus älterer oder zeitgenössischer Literatur, die im Mittelalter sehr verbreitet waren".

The Italian translator then follows these erroneous readings, which often require great ingenuity before any sense can be made of the Latin.<sup>48</sup>

In saying III, 6 Seneca, *Ad Lucilium* 97, 10 is quoted: *Ad deteriora faciles sumus*, “we easily go from bad to worse [things]”. However, instead of *faciles* “easily go” our anthology reads *felices* “happy”, as a result of which the translator saw himself forced to translate *deteriora* “bad to worse things” by “sadder things”:

*Ad deteriora felices sumus:*

*Noi semo felici ale cose più triste* (III, 6).

Saying V, 7 is a quotation from the elegies by the sixth-century poet Maximianus, in which he states that “reason has more effect than blind violence”: Maximianus, *Eleg.* 2, 71 *Plus ratio quam uis ceca ualere potest*. However, instead of the feminine noun *uis* (or: *vis*) in combination with the feminine adjective *ceca* (“blind violence”), the compiler writes an impossible Latin grammatical combination: the neuter noun *ius*, determined by the feminine adjective *ceca*. The Italian translator manages to make some sense of it all by writing *la iustitia ceca*<sup>49</sup>:

*Ratio plus quam ius ceca valere potest:*

*La raxon val più che la iustitia ceca* (V, 7).

In saying XXIII, 26 a curious error made by the compiler or already present in his manuscript source may be noted. It concerns a quotation from Seneca, *Thyestes* 635-36<sup>50</sup>: *Haeret in vultu trucis imago facti*, “the image of a cruel deed attaches visibly to the face”. Instead of *trucis*, the genitive of *trux* “cruel, terrible” the compiler reads *crucis*, the genitive of

<sup>48</sup> In spite of such errors the *florilegia* remain an important source for the transmission of Latin texts.

<sup>49</sup> A correct translation of the word *uis* is found in saying III, 1:

*Grandem uim obtinet vera dilectio.*

*El vero amor ha una gran forza.*

<sup>50</sup> See also in Walther 10626b.

*crux* “cross”. The Italian translator has a hard job of making something more or less intelligible of it:

Heret in vultu crucis ymago facti:

Nel legno dela croce appare quello fo facto (XXIII, 26).

In the context from which saying II, 2 is derived, Virgil argues that young plants should not be transferred abruptly to an environment that is totally new for them. “For,” says Virgil, “it is so important that they accustom themselves to it in their tender youth”, Virgil, *Georg.* 2, 272 *adeo in teneris consuescere multumst*. This phrase became proverbial in the Middle Ages.<sup>51</sup> As such the compiler used it in his *Breve opusculum*, with one important difference: instead of *adeo* “so very” he read *ad deum* “to / for God”. In the Italian translation this led to the addition of *ala nostra salute* to make the sentence intelligible:

Ad deum a teneris as(s)uescere multum est:

Conferisce molto ala nostra salute asuefarsi a dio neli teneri anni (II, 2).

One of the most curious wrongly cited sayings in the *Breve opusculum* is, surprisingly, a quotation from the Bible. In XXIII, 190 the compiler quotes *Proverbia* 30, 33: *Qui autem fortiter premit ubera ad eliciendum lac, exprimit butyrum*, literally, “but who presses strongly on the udders to elicit milk, pushes out butter”. To begin with the original word order has become mixed up, with dire consequences: the word *lac*, milk, that belongs with *ad eliciendum*, now becomes a direct object with *exprimit*, as a result of which *butyrum* “butter”, the original direct object of *exprimit*, is thrown out as being redundant. Further the compiler read *uerba* instead of *ubera*. A completely nonsensical saying is the result:

Exprimit lac, qui ad eliciendum uerba proponit:

Colui exprime late che propone parole per aluxegar (XXIII, 190).

<sup>51</sup> Cf. *Polythecon* 9, 390 (in ORBÁN 1990) *adeo in teneris inolescere multum est*; Walther 12097: *In teneris consuescere multum est*.

Saying XXIII, 13 derives from Juvenal 1, 167. Juvenal's line of verse became an independent proverb in the Middle Ages and is attested as such in Walther 3786: *Criminibus tacita sudant praecordia* (*var. cum pectora*) culpa. These isolated words by Juvenal, now regarded as a proverb, have, however, been incorrectly taken out of context: in the medieval, proverbial variant the term *criminibus* is quite unconnected, has only been included *metri causa* (so as to be able to quote the complete hexameter), belongs grammatically with the previous part of line 1, 166-67 and depends as *ablativus causae* on *frigida*: Juvenalis 1, 166-67 *rubet auditor cui frigida mens est / criminibus, tacita sudant praecordia culpa*, "the listener blushes and his spirit is chilled by (the sense of) the sins and his conscience sweats from the silent guilt". Finally our compiler copies the medieval proverbial variant of Juvenal 1, 167 with a reading error, *tactis* instead of *tacita*, as a result of which the Italian translator can hardly make sense of it:

*Criminibus tactis sudant praecordia culpa:*

L'omo incolpato del peccato suda e commove el pecc<a>to et tuti li interiori (XXIII, 13).

A final example. In saying IIII, 6 psalm 44, 14 (*Vulgata*) is quoted: *Omnis gloria eius filiae regis ab intus in fimbriis aureis*, "All the glory of the king's daughter is within in golden borders".<sup>52</sup> However, our compiler does not quote Psalm 44, 14 according to the *Vulgata*, but according to a proverbial medieval Latin version that he found in a medieval *florilegium*, and that is attested, for example, in the *Sermones festivos* 95, lin. 83 (CM 64) by the twelfth-century author Hermannus de Runa: *Omnis enim gloria filiarum Sion ab intus, gloria vero filiarum saeculi de foris est*, "For all the brightness of the daughters of Sion is inside, but the brightness of the daughters of the world is outside". However, the compiler read in his source *deformis* "ugly" instead of the adverb *de foris* "outside", which in the original context forms the antithesis with

<sup>52</sup> Translation Douai-Rheims Bible. In the King James Bible this verse (45, 14) reads: "She shall be brought unto the king in raiment of needlework."

*ab intus* “inside”. The Italian translator realized that the Latin sentence now lacked an antithesis and decided to create a new one: he simply added on his own initiative the word *bella* to the Italian sentence as an antithesis with incorrect *deforme*:

Gloria filiarum huius seculi defor[m]is est, decor autem filiarum Syon ab intus in fimbreis aureis:

La gloria dele fiole de questo mundo si è defor[m]e, ma la gloria dele fiole de Syon si è bella dentro con centure d’oro (III, 6).

*The translation or rendition of the Latin text into Italian*

A special feature of this Latin *florilegium* is that it was translated into the vernacular or *volgare*, while the Latin is retained. In the process a bilingual text resulted, in which the Italian phrases are a direct translation of the Latin. However, what is the exact relationship between the Latin and the Italian? How did the compiler approach his task?<sup>53</sup> Was a certain strategy followed when the Latin text was translated into Italian?

In general it may be said that, as a general characteristic feature of the vernacular languages, the synthetic elements of Latin have been replaced by analytic elements. This we find in all translations or *volgarizzamenti* of Latin texts.<sup>54</sup>

Of greater interest is the translation technique in this specific work.<sup>55</sup> As a first impression it appears that the translator worked carefully and accurately when rendering the one language, Latin, as the other, Italian. In other words, he translates *verbum de verbo*, with the Italian closely following the Lat-

<sup>53</sup> The prologue mentions *autorità ... reducte a lingua vulgar*, “authoritative statements ... rendered in Italian.” Cf. also Buridant 1983: 96-100 on the different terms used for translating into the Romance language.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. PFISTER 1978; in the present edition of the *Breve opusculum* examples abound. See, for instance

Amici sunt dona tribuentis:

Li amici sonno doni di quello che dà (XI, 9).

Dominus nouit abscondita cordis:

Dio ha cognosuto li secreti del core (XIII, 3).

<sup>55</sup> See CHIESA 1995.

in. From a large number of such instances, two will suffice to illustrate this way of working:

Rotat fortuna fatum:

La fortuna rivolta el fato (XXII, 10).

and

Omnia tempus habent:

Omni cosa ha il suo tempo (XXIII, 4).

Adherence to this principle sometimes results in a kind of Italian that may be designated as syntactic latinism.<sup>56</sup> This is obvious especially in those cases where in the Italian phrase non-Italian inversion has been used:

Miserius est nocere quam ledi:

Più misera cosa è de nuoxer che de esser offeso (I, 13).

In the next sentence the translation also employs non-Italian syntax:

In com<m>unicatione[m] omnis amicitia est:

L'amicitia in una certa conversation consiste (XXIII, 162).

While painstakingly translating the one language into the other, the translator sometimes takes liberties. He translates and interprets at the same time and in principle works in accordance with the idea of the *fidus interpres*,<sup>57</sup> a well-tried concept in the Middle Ages that originated with Horace. In such cases he translates according to the sense of the text (*sensus de sensu*) rather than to the letter.<sup>58</sup> We see this in sentences like the following:

<sup>56</sup> PFISTER 1978, p. 80.

<sup>57</sup> Nec verbo verbum curabis reddere fidus interpres “As a reliable translator you must take care not to translate word for word”, *De Arte Poetica*, 133-134.

<sup>58</sup> On the basis of two medieval French translations of a Latin text BURDANT 1997 has shown that a translation can be both literal and interpretative. In this way a *fidus interpres* may be at the same time an *expositor* and *orator*. Cf. also ANDERSEN 2004, p. 1-3 and KELLY 1997, p. 58: “Translation and *interpretatio* are fundamental strategies in medieval composition”.

Virtutes alias frustra conaris habere, si uirtus fidei deficit ipsa tibi :

Invan se cercha l'altre virtù, manchando la fede (XXI, 13).

Bonum est prestolari cun silentio :

Bono è ad aspectare et tacer (XXIII, 4).

Erit de hoste vindicta tanto celerior, quanto purior frequentiorque fuerit fusa oratio :

Qua(n)to la oration serà puramente più frequentata, tanto più presto serà vinto lo inimico (XVIII, 13).

In the course of his interpretation the translator may both simplify and amplify the text (*amplificatio*). The following translations are examples of simplification :

Nichil agas in operibus iniurie :

Non operar iniuria (XIII, 2).

Est in uicio, quicquid supra modum est :

Ogni tropo è vicioso (XVIII, 8).

Vbi non est auditus, non effundas sermonem :

Dove non è orechie, non parlar (XXI, 8).

Alimenta varia contraria sunt bone valetudini :

Ala sanità li è contrarii la diversità di cibi (XX, 8).

A deliberate simplification is evident in :

Non diligamus uerbo neque lingua, sed uerbo et ueritate :

Non amamo con le parole, ma cum la verità (XIII, 12).

While translating this saying the translator avoids the incorrect Latin version as compared to its source (I John 3, 18), which reads as follows: [Filioli] non diligamus uerbo nec lingua, sed in opere et ueritate, “[My little children], let us not love in word nor in tongue, but in deed and in truth”.<sup>59</sup> For this reason he simplifies the translation: *uerbo neque lingua* is

<sup>59</sup> Translation Douai-Rheims Bible.



rendered by *parole*; *verbo et ueritate* by *verità*, and in this way he also avoids the incorrect use of the second word *uerbo*.

In the previous chapter more examples have been discussed of cases where the translator has to go to great lengths to give a reasonable translation of a Latin saying that included a reading error in its transmission.

When the translator desires to extend the Latin text, he has two techniques at his disposal: he may add further explanation (*explicatio*) or a paraphrase (*paraphrasis*). In the case of an *explicatio* the Italian text usually provides an addition, beginning *.i.* (= *id est*) “that is”, *cioé* “that is to say” or *over* “or rather”:

Primus enim dies disponit extremum:

El primo dì dispone l'ultimo, .i. el naser et morir (XVII, 28).

Vincit cuncta labor:

La fatiga vince ogni cosa, over homo fa fructo dove se afatiga (XXI, 25).

Qui parcit uirge, odit filium:

Colui che perdona ala verçela, çoé disciplina, ha in odio el fiolo (XXIII, 79).

Oratio iugis infirmitas hostis:

La continua oratione sconfige lo inimico, çioé el demonio (XXIII, 38).

Quidquid agitur, venit ex alto:

Tuto quello che se adopera vien da alto, zoé da dio (XXIII, 58).

In the last example, a quotation from Seneca, *Oedipus* 984, the translator provides an *explicatio* that suits the context of his own time. The addition gives the quotation a Christian meaning: that which comes from above, is automatically embodied by God.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>60</sup> A similar Christian interpretation is found in I, 33, where *sanctità* is a translation of *diuorum*.

The technique of *paraphrasis* is applied in many different ways. Often a Latin word is translated by two equivalent Italian words, as in :

Ruit enim ad ima, qui nimis alta petit :

Colui score al baso el qual cercha le cose tropo alte et sublime (V, 12).

Ante orationem prepara animum tuum et non temptabis deum :

Avanti la oration prepara et dispone el tu' animo e non tempterai dio (III, 8).

Est turpis omnis fraus :

Bruto et sorcio è ogni ingano (XVIII, 6).

Cum fueris felix, multo < s > numerabis amicos

Quando serai felice, te numererai molti et asa' amici. (XXIII, 12)

Qui amat et qui non, sola procella docet :

Una piccola aversita insegna e dimostra chi ama e chi non ama (XXIII, 61).

In the Italian translation a Latin word may also be further specified :

Non capit regnum duos :

Un regno non sta ben in man de do (VI, 2).

Non solum nobis nati sumus :

Non solamente a nui, anche per altri siamo nati (VI, 22).

Tardat arena pedes :

El sabion tarda l'andar di piedi a color che camina per quello (XXIII, 63).

Retinet alga ratem tardat arena pedes :

La lega retien alcune volte la barcha, el sabion tarda i piedi ad andar (V, 2).

In a number of cases the translator feels free to change the Latin construction. In the example below a direct object is

turned into a subject in the passive form. In this way a proper understanding of the sentences is made easier :

Quos amor iungit, terrarum longitudo non separet :

Le persone che, conçonte per amor, non se separano per longa distantia deli luogi (XXIII, 45).

A sentence that was originally neutral in tone may acquire more significance by being turned into an explicit question :

Timor domini fons vite, ut declines a ruina mortis :

El timor del signo<r> è fonte de vita et perché? Açò che non vadi nela via dela morte (XXIII, 73).

Qui alterum doces, te ipsum non doces :

Tu che insegni ad altri, perché non te insegni ancora a te? (XXIII, 53).

New words may also be added. In the following sentence the translator has created a new antithesis in the Italian text by adding, as a contrast with *deforme*, the adjective *bella* :

Gloria filiarum huius seculi defor[m]is est, decor autem filiarum Syon ab intus in fimbreis aureis :

La gloria dele fiole de questo mundo si è defor[m]e, ma la gloria dele fiole de Syon si è bella dentro con centure d'oro (III, 6).

As we saw in the previous chapter, this measure was necessitated by the fact that the Latin text which the translator had at his disposal, had been copied incorrectly from the original source. The implications of this example were also discussed in the previous section.

### *The translator's aids*

Is it possible that the translator had any books at his disposal to help him with his task? This possibility must not be excluded. There may, for example, have been a word-list for him to consult. From the end of the fourteenth century and throughout the fifteenth century simple word lists were published in Northern Italy, which listed Latin side-by-side with

the vernacular.<sup>61</sup> The vernacular part is usually in a dialect. In this connection a fourteenth-century Latin-Italian glossary (ms. 1329 UB Padua)<sup>62</sup> and the *Vocabularium breve* by Gasparino Barzizza (1360-1431) are particularly noteworthy. The latter contains a list of Latin-Venetian words and was printed in 1514.<sup>63</sup>

## 2. *The socio-cultural context*

In what kind of social and cultural context should the text be positioned? What is the function of a *florilegium*? Who reads a *florilegium* or has it read out to him or her? Who writes of has it written? Is this specific anthology intended solely for personal use?

### *Florilegia*

The present edition of the *Breve opusculum* presents a selection of sayings by authoritative authors from sixteen earlier centuries. Moreover – and unusually – these Latin sayings have been translated into Italian. As regards the transmission and the understanding of ancient texts two traditional techniques are joined in this way: the traditions of excerpting and of paraphrasing.<sup>64</sup> Both offered a satisfactory way of becoming acquainted with the intellectual and literary works of the past.

By means of the technique of paraphrasing ancient texts were meant to become accessible and more easily understood. This was done by using explication and commentary as well as translation. In this edition of the *Breve opusculum* the compiler carefully provides each of the 672 Latin sayings with an Italian translation. His translation technique was discussed in chapter 1.c.

<sup>61</sup> DELLA VALLE 1993, p. 29-31.

<sup>62</sup> ARCANGELI 1997, p. 52.

<sup>63</sup> GUALDO 1999.

<sup>64</sup> HAMESSE 1995.

The technique of excerption was another way of making texts available for a wide audience. This way of transforming texts, which was extremely popular in the Middle Ages, eventually led to the development of two literary genres: the summary (*compendium*, *abbrevatio*) and the selection of texts (*florilegium*). For the latter genre the most important passages of authoritative source texts, the *auctoritates*, were selected. In this form, compressed into one single text and often made easily accessible by some kind of rubrication, these texts were presented to users under the name *florilegium*. In this way *florilegia* constitute a collection of transmitted and selected texts and as such form a reservoir of older ancient and Christian thinking.

*Florilegia* flourished in the Middle Ages.<sup>65</sup> They have survived in many manuscripts and served a multitude of purposes: from basic material for sermons to practical assistance for teachers and students in educational environments. Often they were also used for private purposes. The prologue and epilogue of this edition of the *Breve opusculum* make clear that the compilation was commissioned by one single person. Written for a nun, the text may have been intended for meditation purposes.

Although the term *florilegium* was not in use in the Middle Ages<sup>66</sup>, other titles used to designate collections in fact denote the same type of compilation. Apart from the more technical terms such as *auctoritates*, *axiomata*, *proverbia* or *sententiae* the more neutral terms *flores*, *collectio*, *dicta*, *notabilia* and similar words are used. The prologue of a collection of this kind usually explains what the compiler intended. In the title of the *Breve opusculum* edited here two terms occur that belong explicitly to the genre of the anthology: *auctoritates* and *notabilia*. In the preface we also come across the term *flosculi*, as a metaphor for the sayings selected.

<sup>65</sup> For a survey, see RAUNER 1989; DELHAYE 1964; also the contributions by MUNK OLSEN 1982; ROUSE-ROUSE 1982; HAMESSE 1982.

<sup>66</sup> The word *florilegium* is a modern neologism, modelled on *spicilegium*, from the classical adjective *florilegus*. Cf. HAMESSE 1990, p. 209-230.

As regards their organisation, different types of *florilegia* may be distinguished.<sup>67</sup> Sayings arranged in alphabetical order: this type of anthology contains quotations arranged alphabetically according to their initial letter or to a common lemma. Examples are the *Repertorium auctoritatum Philosophi secundum ordinem literarum alphabeti*<sup>68</sup> and the *Manipulus florum*<sup>69</sup>; sayings arranged according to subject: here the quotations from various authors have been systematically organized thematically. Examples are the *Florilegium morale Oxoniense*<sup>70</sup> and Defensor of Ligugé, *Liber scintillarum*<sup>71</sup>; sayings arranged according to the author or the *auctoritas* himself. Examples are the *Florilegium Treverense*<sup>72</sup> and the *Parvi flores*.<sup>73</sup> The *Breve opusculum* edited here does not fit any of the three types seamlessly. Although the sayings collected in this volume have been derived from the works of different authoritative authors, they have been neither arranged by author<sup>74</sup> nor by subject. The different sayings have been organized into chapters according to a particular letter of the alphabet. However, the initials letters do not follow the alphabet as they are to form an acrostic.<sup>75</sup>

### *Latin versus volgare*

A remarkable feature of the *Breve opusculum* edited here is that the Latin quotations have been provided with translations in the *volgare*: Italian. Innumerable Latin anthologies were made in the Middle Ages, while from the thirteenth cen-

<sup>67</sup> See MUNK OLSEN 1982, p. 152-153; ROUSE-ROUSE 1982, p. 166-169; HAMESSE 1994, p. 299-300.

<sup>68</sup> Ms. Bibl. Nat. Paris 14718, ff. 1-110.

<sup>69</sup> Preface edited by ROUSE-ROUSE 1979, p. 236-238.

<sup>70</sup> Ms. Bodl. 633. *Prima pars: Flores philosophorum*, edited by DELHAYE 1955 and *Secunda pars: Flores auctorum*, edited by TALBOT 1956.

<sup>71</sup> Edited by ROCHAIS 1957 in CCSL, 117.

<sup>72</sup> Edited by BRUNHÖLZL 1966.

<sup>73</sup> Many manuscripts, described by HAMESSE 1994.

<sup>74</sup> Although in each chapter small clusters may be indicated.

<sup>75</sup> MA AGRNIEN SAI DNE A PESAURO.

tury onwards some appear in the vernacular. However, bilingual anthologies are a rarity.<sup>76</sup>

The use of the *volgare* beside Latin in this work may be viewed in the socio-cultural context of the urban milieu in Venice.<sup>77</sup> From the thirteenth century onwards many documents in the vernacular are produced in this city. In particular it concerns an overwhelming number of mercantile texts, such as accounts, book-keeping records and letters. A Venetian merchant, who at that time would have had many international contacts, had to be able to read and write. This he does by preference in the vernacular. He learns it in one of the new lay schools, which were founded at this time to provide education in addition to the traditional schools which were often connected with the church. In the lay schools pupils were taught reading and writing as well as arithmetic and book-keeping. An important aspect of their tuition was that texts in the vernacular were used for these purposes. This *curriculum*, as Grendel points out (1989), “emerged from the practical experience and lay culture of the Italian merchant community of the later Middle Ages”.<sup>78</sup>

The *Fiore di Virtù*, in the Middle Ages an extremely well-known collection of sayings in Italian, was used in this context of lay education.<sup>79</sup> The *Breve opusculum* edited here, consisting of Latin sentences with an Italian translation, also fits this context of a community that no longer reads Latin only, and feels the need for the dissemination of knowledge in the vernacular. It is by no means impossible that this compilation,

<sup>76</sup> In the *Florilegium Treverense* for example, edited by BRUNHÖLZL (1966), lines 1701-2015 are bilingual (Latin-German):

Errat ovis, quoniam lupus ipsi querat obesce.

Wo der Wolff zu hirte wirt, Damit sint die scaff veryrrt (1710-1712). There is also a Byzantine florilegium, “Melissa”, which is bilingual: Greek side-by-side with Old Russian. For an edition see SEMENOV 1968.

<sup>77</sup> ROUSE-ROUSE 1982, p. 180 emphasize “the usefulness of *florilegia* as reflections of their times”.

<sup>78</sup> GRENDL 1989, p. 274.

<sup>79</sup> The concise and well-structured sayings of the *Fiore di Virtù* made the book highly suitable for educational purposes. CORBELLINI 2000, p. 34 notes that this work did indeed function in the vernacular *curriculum* in much the same way as the *Dicta Catonis* in education in Latin.

in manuscript form produced as a “bella copia” for personal use, also circulated in wider circles of the lay environment in late medieval Venice.

### 3. *Conclusion*

On the basis of the results of our analysis we may now try to answer the central question as it was posed in the *Introduction*. What kind of a bilingual text is this? When, where and by whom was it written? For whom and with what purpose in mind was this compilation of sayings put together?

The text edited here forms part of a tradition of so-called *florilegia*, collections of quotations from previous centuries. Many of them were produced in large numbers in the Middle Ages, and, being a reservoir of profane as well as Christian ideas, they are an important source for the study of the survival of Latin texts, even though the process of transmission may have led to the incorporation of numerous mistakes.

The exact date when the manuscript of the *Breve opusculum* edited here was produced is not known. After the manuscript title the *British Library* catalogue states the fifteenth century as a date of composition. The youngest sources used by the compiler offer some certainty. These provide sayings derived from various authors writing in the middle of the thirteenth century. This period may be taken as the *terminus post quem*. The script used suggests manufacture in the fifteenth or late fifteenth century.

The text as it has survived is without any doubt a copy, not an autograph manuscript. An analysis of the Latin in the text has shown that many errors occur in it that can only have been introduced during the copying process. In the original Latin sources, as also in the Italian translation, these errors do not occur. It would seem that not only the Latin, but also the Italian part of the text was copied directly from an exemplar, without words being crossed out or other corrections.

Both the Latin and the Italian in the text show characteristics of the place where the text originated: Venice and the district around it. The Italian displays many northern dialect features, more specifically features of the Veneto dialects. The



Latin has also undergone the influence of the text's geographical origin: there are many traces in the Latin orthography that are characteristic of the compiler or scribe's native language, that is, the Veneto. Moreover, the Latin quotations are cited according to the rules of medieval Latin orthography, rather than in the classical manner.

The compiler is anonymous. Perhaps he wanted to reveal his name by means of an acrostic formed from the initial letters of successive chapters. From information in the prologue and epilogue with which the anthology begins and ends, we may infer that the text was commissioned by Lady Alamira from Pesaro. This venerable nun is asked to accept the attractively written text, decorated with beautiful flower motifs, as a present, and proof of his love. It is for her that the author selected 672 sayings from authoritative profane and Christian sources. Next he translated these Latin sayings one by one (or had them translated) into Italian. Then they were bound together in twenty-four chapters. The result is a very special bilingual anthology and a rarity in its kind.

The bilingual aspect of the book is probably a direct result of the fact that the book was commissioned. Apparently the patroness did not have a sufficient command of Latin and wanted to read these remarkable sayings in her native language. This would seem to fit the historical context within which the *Breve opusculum* originated: the urban environment of late medieval Venice. In this milieu, in which merchants played leading roles, reading matter was no longer exclusively in Latin. As a result a need was felt for information in the vernacular. It is not surprising, therefore, that many documents in the vernacular appear at this time.

#### 4. *The edition of the text*

The edition of the *Breve opusculum* is supplemented by apparatus relating to: (a) The sources of the Latin text. The majority of these have been traced and are cited parallel to the edition; (b) Emendations and paleographical annotations. They are listed in the critical apparatus; (c) Philological comments. These are found in the footnotes.

*Editorial policy*

In transcribing and editing the text, the editors have aimed throughout to present the text as it appears in the manuscript. The following points need to be observed:

*a. For the entire text*

Abbreviations are expanded silently and are represented by means of italics.

Obvious errors have been retained in the edited text, but have been corrected by means of emendations in the critical apparatus.

Where the text is illegible, this is marked by ...

Where additions to the text are necessary, these are enclosed by < >.

Excisions are enclosed by [...].

Capital letters have been used according to modern practice.

Punctuation has been added according to modern practice.

*b. For the Latin text*

The Medieval Latin orthography of the manuscript has been retained throughout.

*c. For the Italian text*

Words are separated or joined according to modern practice: *dolce mente* is written as *dolcemente*, *per che* as *perché*.

The spelling of *u* and *v* and of *i* and *j* has been modernized.

Accents and apostrophes have been added according to modern usage. In a number of cases these have been added to distinguish between homographs (usually words of one syllable): *da* 'da' (prep.), *dà* 'dâ'; *di* 'di', *dì* 'dì'; *de* 'di', *dé* 'deve'; *e* 'e', *è* 'è', *e'* 'ella'; *ha* 'ha', *ha'* 'hai'; *sì* 'sì', *si* 'si' or 'se' (conj.), *sì'* 'sii'.

*Abbreviations used*

<i>a.c.</i>	ante correctionem
<i>cod.</i>	codex
<i>exp.</i>	expunctum
<i>in marg. vert.</i>	in margine cum litteris verticalibus
<i>in marg. dext.</i>	in margine dextra
<i>in marg. sin.</i>	in margine sinistra
<i>ss.</i>	superscriptum

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\* English translation of the introduction by Dr. Thea Summerfield, University of Utrecht.

| Breve opusculum quorundam notabil[*l*]ium seu auctoritatum f. 2<sup>r</sup>  
multorum sapient<*i*>um. Feliciter incipit:

Multa cum legerim sanctorum et eruditissimorum uirorum nec non et oratorum et poetarum aliorumque scriptorum uolumina, ut facilius memorie commendarem, que in eis egregie dicta sunt, et tanquam flosculos pulcherrimos et flagrantissimos sepius naribus apponerem, presens opusculum feci ad legentium vtilitatem, redigens in volumen exiguum que mihi digna uisa sunt memoria et ueneratione. Per capitula huiusmodi dicta ordinata reperiuntur.

A laude de dio questo libro sumariamente si *contenerà* autorità elegantissime de theologi, philosophi, poeti et altri excelentissimi doctori, reducte a lingua vulgar ad instantia et epetition de la venerabel et generosa *sanc*timonial | Madona Alamira da f. 2<sup>v</sup>  
Pensauro in San Blaxio. Et da quello è distintamente ordinato certi capituli a una certa nomination et aziò più comodamente se atrova i principii de quelì notabili et autorità.

Capitula huius libel<*l*>i hic incipiunt.

### C. I

1. Misericordiam et veritatem diligit deus:  
Dio ama la misericordia et la verità.
2. Momentaneum est, quod delectat, eternum uero, quod cruciat:  
Quello che delecta è temporale e pasa presto, ma quello che tormenta è eterno.
3. Multum eum requirit, qui seruiendo tacet:  
Colui rechiede asa' che serve tacendo.

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Prol., 14 monial] nial<sup>in marg. vert.</sup>

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I, 1 Misericordiam – deus] Ps. 83, 12

I, 2 Momentaneum – cruciat] cf. CAES. AREL., *Serm. Caesarii vel ex aliis fontibus hausti* 41, 3 (CC SL 103) miseranda condicio est, ubi cito praeterit quod delectat, et permanet sine fine quod cruciat; PELB. THEM., *Serm. Pomerii dei sanctis II [Pars aestivalis], Sermo LXXVII* Sic facit diabolus tamquam medicus pessimus peccati venenum sub dulcedine delectationis occultans et sic propinans, unde Gregorius: Momentaneum est, quod delectat, aeternum, quod cruciat

4. Misericordia *et* veritas custodiunt regem et clementia roborabitur tronus eius:  
Per la misericordia e per la verità se salva el re e per la clementia se fortifica el suo trono.
5. Manum meam ponam super os meum:  
Pongo la mia man sopra la mia bocha.
6. Minuit enim laborem ponderis premiorum spes:  
La speranza del premio mitiga la fatiga.
7. Miser [non] | non potest amare nisi cum timore: f. 3<sup>r</sup>  
L'omo misero non pò amare senza timore.
8. Mota face vidi educere flam⟨m⟩as:  
Io vidi moverse le fiamme et a usir fuora movendo la faxella.
9. Mori nullo concuciente vidi:  
Vidi morir *quelo non percoso*, necat[h]o da alguno.
10. Munera cecant hominem:  
Li doni acciecano l'omo.
11. Meliora teneo:  
Da più cose io tengo le m⟨i⟩gliore.
12. Mens male conscientie propriis agitur stimulis:  
La mente de una cativa *conscientia vien protratacta* et agitata da i proprii stimuli.

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I, 8b vidi] di<sup>66</sup>

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I, 4 Misericordia – eius] Prov. 20, 28 (roboratur clementia *Vulgata*)

I, 5 Manum – meum] Iob 39, 34

I, 6 Minuit – spes] AUG., *De magnificentiis S. Hier.* (PL 22, 286) = AUG.(?), *Appendix* (PL 33, 1124) Minuit enim laborem ponderis, praemiorum spes

I, 8 Mota – flammas] cf. Ov., *Amores* 1, 2, 11 Vidi ego iactatas mota face crescere flammas

I, 9 Mori – vidi] Ov., *Amores* 1, 2, 12 Et vidi nullo concutiente mori. Cf. SEN., *Controversiae* 2, 2, 8 Naso dixit: Vidi ego iactatas mota face crescere flammas et rursus nullo concutiente mori; *Polythecon* 7, 246-47 Vidi ego iactatas mota face crescere falammas / Et vidi nullo concutiente mori

I, 10 Munera – hominem] Walther 15651a Munera cecant

I, 12 Mens – stimulis] ISID., *Synonyma de lamentatione animae peccatricis* (PL 83, 859B) mens enim mala conscientiae propriis agitur stimulis; GUIBERT.

13. Miserius est nocere *quam* ledi :  
Più misera cosa è de nuoxer che de esser offeso.
14. Multa bona habebis, si timueris deum :  
Tu averai molti beni, si temerai dio.
15. Mutari nescit *inveteratus* amor :  
L'amor invecchiato *non* sa mutarse.
16. Mors pecc(ato)rum pessima *est* :  
La morte di peccatori è pessima.
17. Moderans sermones suos doctus et prudens *est* :  
L'omo savio è quello che modera el suo parlare.
18. Multe hominibus ad malitiam vie sunt :  
Molte sono le vie del homo ala malitia.
19. Melius *est* ante | tempus occur(r)ere *quam* post exitum f. 3<sup>v</sup>  
vindicare :  
Melio è de prevegnire avanti el tempo che vendicarse  
dappo la fin.
20. Mitibus *et* gratis nemo nocere solet :  
Niuna sole noxer ali homini grati e piacevoli.
21. Memoria nostra et si causas retinet, uerba commutat :  
La nostra memoria, benché la retegni la caxon, *commuta*  
*però* le parole.

---

Nov., *Quo ordine sermo fieri debeat* [= *Moralia in Genesin*] lin. 483 (CM 127) Dicit sanctus Gregorius [*Moralia in Iob* 12, 21] quia nichil simplici mente felicius, contra quod quidam ait quia mens male conscia propriis semper agitur stimulis

I, 13 Miserius – ledi] SEN., *Ad Lucilium* 95, 52

I, 14 Multa – deum] Tob. 4, 23 Multa bona habebimus, si timuerimus deum ; ALBERT. BRIX., *Sermo* 4 (Super doctrina timoris domini, ed. W. Ahlquist, 2000) Nam dixit Tobias filio suo: Multa bona habebis, si timueris deum ; *Epistulae Guiberti* 48 (CM 66/66A) Habebis multa bona, si timueris Deum

I, 15 Mutari – amor] IAC. BENEV., *Carmina moralia* 359

I, 16 Mors – est] Ps. 33, 22 (est] *om.* Ps.)

I, 17 Moderans – est] Prov. 17, 27 (moderans] qui moderatur *Prov.*)

I, 18 Multe – vie sunt] Rezende 1952: 3647

I, 19 Melius – vindicare] ALB. BRIX., *Sermo* 3 Melius est in tempore occurrere quam post exitum iudicare

I, 20 Mitibus – solet] Walther 14950a (Ps. BERN. CLAR., *De improb. vitiorum* c. 3)

I, 21 Memoria – conmutat] CASSIOD., *Variae* 11, 38

22. Multa promissa fidem leuant :  
Molte cosse *promese* lieva la fede.
23. Magnum profecto felicitatis genus est obtinere sine contemptiombus principatum :  
De certo è una gran felicità a obtegnire el principato senza *contention*.
24. Magna est res uocis et s[c]ilentiū temperamentum :  
Una gran cosa è la *temperantia* nel parlare e nel tacere.
25. Meliora sunt uulnera diligentis quam o[b]scula fraudulenta odientis :  
Sono meior le ferite del amico che i basi falsi del inimico.
26. Multa flagel⟨l⟩a peccatorum :  
Molte sono le *punition* statuite ali peccatori.
27. Multa bona perdet, qui in uno peccauerit :  
Molti beni perderà quello che *in* uno peccerà.
28. Magna quip⟨p⟩e laus est, si, cui potuisti nocere, parcas :  
Grande laude è certamente | si perdoni a chi ai potuto f. 4<sup>r</sup>  
nuoxer.
29. Malis presentibus consulendum est :  
Se vole, *cons*[c]iarse ali mali presenti.

---

I, 22 Multa – leuant] HOR., *Epist.* 2, 2, 10 Multa fidem promissa levant; Walther 15386; *Epistularium Iohannis Sarisberiensis* 290, p. 660 Sed quia fidem multa promissa leuabant

I, 23 Magnum – principatum] CASSIOD., *Variae* 8, 2 (est] *om. Cassiod.*; *contentionibus Cassiod.*)

I, 24 Magna – temperamentum] PUBLIL., in: E. Woelfflin, *Publilius Syri Sententiae*. Leipzig (Teubner) 1869, p. 142, lin. 74

I, 25 Meliora – odientis] PROV. 27, 6 (oscula – odientis] *fraudulenta odientis oscula Prov.*)

I, 26 Multa – peccatorum] PS. 31, 10 (peccatoris *Vulgata*); AMBR., *Epist.* 2, 7, 41; CASSIAN., *Conl.* 6, 11; HIER., *In Matth.* 4, lin. 1616; CASSIOD., *Exp. Ps.* 31, lin. 280; CASSIOD., *Exp. Ps.* 90, lin. 180

I, 27 Multa bona – peccauerit] cf. ECCLE. 9, 18 Qui in uno peccaverit, multa bona perdet

I, 28 Magna – parcas] DEF. LOCOGIAC., *Liber scintillarum*, prol. 2, lin. 49 (quippe laus est] est gloria *Defensor*)

I, 29 Malis – est] cf. ERASMUS, *Adagia* 4, 9, 77 Praesentibus rebus consulendum

30. *Malorum cum incaute amicis iniungimur, culpis ligamur:*  
Noi se metemo *in* colpi, quando se conzonzemo ali amici  
cativi incautamente.
31. *Melius est modicum iusto super diuitias peccatorum mul-*  
*tas:*  
Melio è esser bon e povero che ricco et cativo.
32. *Melior est uir patiens uiro forti et qui dominatur animo*  
*suo expugnatore urbium:*  
Miliore è l'omo *patiente* che l'omo forte et colui che  
signoriza l'*animo* suo che pia citade.
33. *Multi nomine diuorum thalamos introiere pudicos:*  
Molti soto color de sanctità son *intradi* nele *verginee* ca-  
mere.
34. *Mala uoluntas diu occultari non ualet:*  
La mala volu(n)tà longamente *non* si puol ocular.

## C. II

1. *Anima magis est, ubi amat quam ubi animat:*  
L'*anima* è più nela cosa amata da sé che nel suo corpo.
2. *Ad deum a teneris as(s)uescere multum est:*  
Conferisce molto ala *nostra* salute asuefarsi a dio neli te-  
neri *anni*.

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I, 34b volu(n)tà] a<sup>65</sup>

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I, 30 *Malorum – ligamur*] GREG. M., *Regula pastoralis* 3, 22; PETR. DAM., *Epist.* 4, 165; SEDUL. SCOT., *Collect.* 13, 28 (*amicis iniungimur*] *amicitiis iungi-*  
*mur* *Greg. M., Petr. Dam., Sedul. Scot.*; *alligamur* *Sedul. Scot.*)

I, 31 *Melius – peccatorum multas*] Ps. 36, 16

I, 32 *Melior – urbium*] Prov. 16, 32 (*uir*] *om. Prov.*; forte *Prov.*)

I, 33 *Multi – pudicos*] Ov., *Met.* 3, 281-82 (*introiere*] *inire* *Ov.*)

I, 34 *Mala – ualet*] Auctor incertus / ANAST. BIBLIOTH., *Acta sincera S. Petri*  
(PL 129, 693B)

II, 1 *Anima – animat*] cf. BERN. CLAR., *Liber de praecepto et dispensatione* 60 (vol.  
3, p. 292) *Neque enim praesentior spiritus noster est ubi animat, quam ubi*  
*amat*

II, 2 *Ad deum – multum est*] VERG., *Georg.* 2, 272 *adeo in teneris consues-*  
*cere multumst*; *Polytheon* 9, 390 *adeo in teneris inolescere multum est*; Wal-  
ther 12097 *In teneris consuescere multum est*



3. Animalia eodem cibo uiuentia naturaliter se odiunt :  
| Li *animali* i quali usano un medemo cibo naturalmente f. 4<sup>v</sup>  
se hanno in odio.
4. Amicus fidelis *protectio* fortis :  
L'amico fidele è una defension forte.
5. Amico fideli nulla *est comparatio* :  
Non è da comparar niun'altra cosa al amico fidel.
6. Aut bos mugiet, cum ante ipsum *presepe plenum* [t] steterit :  
El bove sol mugliare, quando el vede el presepe pien de feno avanti sé.
7. Aut poterit comedi *insultum*, quod non est sale *conditum* :  
Quel cibo che non è condito con el sale, si pò anche manzar senza tale.
8. Aut poterit quis gustare, quod *gustatum* affert mortem :  
L'*anima* famelica, le cose amare li solano parer dolze.<sup>80</sup>
9. Auferetur ab impius lux sua :  
Li homini crudeli perderanno la luce et lo intellecto.
10. Amor *enim* ex quo amicitia *nominata* est, princeps *est ad beniuolentiam coniungendam* :  
L'amore dal quale nasce l'amicitia, è principio dela benivolentia.
11. Aperte *enim* amare uel odisse magis *ingenuum est quam* fronte oc(c)ultare *sententiam* :

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II, 7a insultum] *lege* insulsum

II, 9a impius] *lege* impiis

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II, 4 Amicus – fortis] Eccli. 6, 14

II, 5 Amico – comparatio] Eccli. 6, 15

II, 6 Aut – steterit] Iob 6, 5 (mugiet bos *Iob* ; ipsum] *om. Iob*)

II, 7 Aut – conditum] Iob 6, 6 (insulsum *Iob*)

II, 8 Aut – mortem] Iob 6, 6 (poterit quis] potest aliquis *Iob*)

II, 9 Auferetur – sua] Iob 38, 15 (impiis *Iob*)

II, 10 Amor – coniungendam] Cic., *Laelius de amicitia* 26

II, 11 Aperte – sententiam] Cic., *Laelius de amicitia* 65 (amare – ingenuum] vel odisse magis ingenui *Cic.*)

<sup>80</sup> This saying is not a translation of the preceding Latin saying.

Amar *overo* haver odio *apertamente* è più nobel cosa che *con* la fronte celar il suo *concepto*.

12. Attendite arborem: petit | prius deorsum, ut sursum ex- f. 5<sup>r</sup>  
crescat; figit radicem in humili, ut uirtutem tendat ad ce-  
lum:  
Vardate l'arbore: *prima* va di soto *con* le radixe ove che  
creschi in alto, si *prima* profunda nel humel terra, ciò  
che possa *andare* con la cima *verso* l'alto cielo.
13. Auaritia fidem, probitatem ceterasque artes bonas sub-  
uertit:  
L'avaritia *subvertise* la fede, la bontà *et* tutte le altre bone  
arte.
14. Ante munienda sunt arma quam possit flagitare necessitas:  
Le arme se vogliono aparechiare avanti dil bisogno.
15. Aurum igne probatur, amicos autem in aduersitate discri-  
minis:  
L'oro si prova *con* il fuoco, li amici *con* le auersità.
16. Aduersus periculum naturalis ratio permittit se deffendere:  
Contra li pericoli la *raxon naturale* noi difende.
17. Atria nobilium valuis celebrantur apertis:  
I palaci di nobili se festiza *con* le porte aperte.
18. Accipe, qui tibi per multos deseruiat annos:  
Acostate a *persona* che te *serua per* asai anni.

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II, 12a uirtutem] *lege* uerticem

II, 12b si<sup>in marg. vert.</sup>

II, 15a amicos] *lege* amicus

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II, 12 Attendite – ad celum] AUG., *Serm.* 117 (PL 38, 671) Arborem attendite: ima petit prius, ut sursum excrescat; figit radicem in humili, ut verticem tendat ad caelum

II, 13 Auaritia – subuertit] SALL., *De coni. Catil.* 10, 4 (subvortit Sall)

II, 14 Ante – necessitas] CASSIOD., *Variae* 1, 40 (munienda] distribuenda Cassiod.)

II, 16 Aduersus – deffendere] GAIUS, *Digesta* 9, 2, 4

II, 17 Atria – apertis] OV., *Met.* 1, 172

II, 18 Accipe – annos] OV., *Amores* 1, 3, 5 Accipe, per longos tibi qui deseruiat annos

19. Accipe, *qui* pura norit amare fide :  
Acostate a persona che te | ama de pura fede. f. 5<sup>v</sup>
20. A tristitia festinat mors :  
Dala tristitia vien la morte.

## C. III

- 1 A domino egredietur iudicium *singulorum* :  
Da dio tuti serano iudicati.<sup>81</sup>
2. Aspiciunt oculi *superum* mortalia iusti :  
Li ochi iusti di quelli di sopra risguardano le cose mor-  
tale et eterne.
3. Acute sunt uoluntates iuuenum et *non* inique :  
Le volontà deli zoveni sono acute e *non* sono inique.
4. Animo beneficia et *iniurie* constant :  
Con l'animo si manifesta le *inzurie* et i beneficii.
5. Ambiciosi liberales sunt :  
L'omeni ambiciosi son liberali.
6. Ad deteriora felices sumus :  
Noi semo felici ale cose più triste.
7. Assiduitas iurandi *periurii consuetudinem* facit :  
La asiduità del iurar fa una *consuetudine* de *periurar*.

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III, 7a assiduitas] assiuta<sup>d.c.</sup>

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II, 19 Accipe – fide] Ov., *Amores* 1, 3, 6

II, 20 A – mors] Eccli. 38, 19 (tristitia + enim *Eccli.*)

III, 1 A domino – *singulorum*] Prov. 29, 26 a domino iudicium egreditur *singulorum*; HERM. WERDIN., *Hortus deliciarum Sacrae Scripturae textus, Parabola Salomonis* 29, 25 a Domino egredietur iudicium *singulorum*.

III, 2 Aspiciunt – iusti] Ov., *Met.* 13, 70 Adspiciunt oculis superi mortalia iustis; Walther 1583

III, 4 Animo – constant] SEN., *Ad Lucilium* 81, 5 (Animo + et *Sen.*)

III, 5 Ambiciosi – sunt] cf. *Aristoteles sec. translationem quam fecit Boeth.* – *Analytica priora* (rec. B) 2, 27 Nam ambitiosi liberales, Pittacus autem ambitiosus

III, 6 Ad – sumus] SEN., *Ad Lucilium* 97, 10 (felices] faciles *Sen.*)

III, 7 Assiduitas – facit] DEFENS. LOCOGIAC., *Liber scintillarum* 39, 21

<sup>81</sup> Cf. III, 17

8. Ante orationem prepara *animum* tuum *et* non temptabis deum :  
Avanti la oration prepara et dispone el tu' animo e non tempterai dio.
9. Ante tempus senectam adducit cogitatus :  
I pensieri fanno mediare avanti el tempo.
10. Auerte pedem tuum a malo :  
Removi i tuo' piedi dal mal.
11. Acquiesce iustitie, *quia* mundus letatur : f. 6<sup>r</sup>  
Consenti ala iustitia, però che il mondo dessa sì s'alegra.
12. Amicorum est idem uelle *et* idem nolle :  
Li amici hanno un medesmo voler et non voller.
13. Amantium ire integratio est amoris :  
Le ire *et* sdegni de li amanti soliano integrare *et* confirmare l'amore.
14. A cane non magno sepe tenetur aper :  
El porcho silvestre vien alcuna volta preso da un picol cane.
15. Ad suum terminum naturaliter omnia tendunt :  
Naturalmente omni cosa cerca de andare al suo fin.

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III, 8 Ante – deum] cf. Eccli. 18, 23 Ante orationem praepara animam tuam et noli esse quasi homo qui temptat Deum

III, 9 Ante – cogitatus] Eccli. 38, 20

III, 10 Auerte – malo] Prov. 4, 27

III, 11 Acquiesce – letatur] cf. CASSIOD., *Variae* 3, 24 Acquiescite iustitiae, qua mundus laetatur

III, 12 Amicorum – nolle] THOM. DE AQ., *In I Sentent.* dist. 48, qu. 1, art. 4, sed contra 2 Praeterea, scundum Tullium, amicorum est idem velle et nolle; THOM. AQ., *Summ. Theol.* II-II, qu. 29, art. 3 et Tullius dicit, in libro de amicitia, quod amicorum est idem velle et nolle; SALL., *De coni. Catil.* 20, 4 nam idem velle atque idem nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est; AELR., *De spiritali amicitia* 1, lin. 227.271 amicitia ... idem velle et idem nolle

III, 13 Amantium – amoris] TER., *Andria* 554 amantium irae amoris integratio

III, 14 A cane – aper] OV., *Rem.* 422; ALBERT. STAD., *Troilus* 4, 170

III, 15 Ad suum – tendunt] cf. THOM. AQ., *Scriptum super sententiis* lib. 4 d. 49 q. 1 [CTH 1] 4 unaquaeque res naturaliter desiderat finem suum ... ad quem tendunt omnia levia

16. Auget et non minuit mala *consuetudo reatum* :  
La trista *consuetudine non* minuisse, ma fa crescer el peccato.
17. A domino egredietur iudicium *singulorum* :  
Da dio tuti seranno iudicati.<sup>82</sup>
18. Apud deum *non est* iniquitas :  
A presso a dio non è iniquità.

## C. IIII

- 1 Grandem uim obtinet vera dilectio :  
El vero amor ha una *gran* forza.
2. Gens sine iustitia et regimine est nauis in undis :  
La zente sença iustitia *et* rezimento è come una nave infra le unde.
3. Gaudet homo in luce *et* tristatur in tenebris :  
L'omo ha piacer de | la luce *et* tristitia da obscurità. f. 6<sup>v</sup>
4. Gerere bellum, cum quo familiariter uixeris, turpius est :  
Bruta cosa è a far bataglia con colui *con* el qual se vixò familiarmente per el pasato.

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III, 16b peccato] o<sup>ss</sup>

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III, 16 Auget – reatum] *De christiana femina* 2, 54 Auget, non minuit mala consuetudo reatum. Gens sine iustitia, sine remige navis in unda; Walther 1755b: Wegeler 1877: 10061

III, 17 A domino – singulorum] Prov. 29, 26 a domino iudicium egreditur singulorum; HERM. WERDIN., *Hortus deliciarum Sacrae Scripturae textus, Parabola Salomonis* 29, 25 a Domino egredietur iudicium singulorum. Cf. supra III, 1

III, 18 Apud – iniquitas] AUG., *Epist.* 186, 6 = *De Genesi ad litt.* 11, 3 = *De civ. Dei* 20, 1 = *De natura boni* 31 Non est iniquitas apud deum

III, 1 Grandem – dilectio] *Epist. ad Hier. (exc. Epist. Augustini)* 148, 4 (vol. 56)

III, 2 Gens – undis] *De christiana femina* 2, 54 Gens sine iustitia, sine remige navis in unda; Walther 10275b (cf. supra III, 16)

III, 4 Gerere – est] AELR., *De spiritali amicitia* 3, lin. 291 Turpe enim nimis est cum eo huiusmodi gerere bellum, cum quo familiariter vixeris

<sup>82</sup> Cf. III, 1.

5. Generatio mala signum querit:  
La generation cativa cercha segno.
6. Gloria filiarum huius seculi defor[m]is est, decor autem  
filiarum Syon ab intus in fimbreis aureis:  
La gloria dele fiole de questo mundo sì<sup>83</sup> è defor[m]e, ma  
la gloria dele fiole de Syon sì è bella dentro con centure  
d'oro.
7. Grata sunt deo omnia, que fiunt simplici corde:  
Le cose facte con simplicità de core si piace a dio.
8. Gloria mea me spoliauit:  
La mia gloria sì<sup>84</sup> me ha spoiato.
9. Gres<s>us hominis considerat deus et oculi eius super uias  
eorum:  
Dio intende et considera li andar degli homi<ni> et i sui  
ochi sopra le sue vie.
10. Graue est consueta repellere:  
L'è g<r>ave cosa a scazar le cose consuete.
11. Gaudere cum gaudentibus, flere cum flentibus:  
Alegrarsi con chi è aliegro, pianger con chi piange.

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IV, 9b Dio – vie] *in marg. sin.*

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III, 5 Generatio – querit] CHROM. AQUIL., *In Math.* 54, lin. 1

III, 6 Gloria – aureis] Ps. 44, 14 Omnis gloria eius filiae regis ab intus in  
fimbriis aureis; HERM. RUNA, *Serm. festuales* 95, lin. 83 Omnis enim gloria fi-  
liarum Sion ab intus, gloria vero filiarum saeculi deforis est

III, 7 Grata – corde] cf. Walther 37138b Grata sunt deo profecta, corde que  
sunt simplici; AUG., *De sermone Domini in monte* 2, 45 Placere in conspectu  
dei, si fiant simplici corde

III, 8 Gloria – spoliauit] Iob 19, 9 Spoliavit me gloria mea

III, 9 Gressus – eorum] Iob 34, 21 oculi enim eius super vias hominum et  
omnes gressus eorum considerat; Prov. 5, 21 respicit dominus vias hominis  
et omnes gressus illius considerat.

III, 10 Graue – repellere] THOM. KEMP., *De imit. Christi* 1, 11 = Walther  
10463a Grave est assueta dimittere

III, 11 Gaudere – flentibus] Rom. 12, 15

<sup>83</sup> Cf. *GDLI*, s.v. nr. 7

<sup>84</sup> Cf. *GDLI*, s.v. nr. 7

12. Gratiam haberi *non* oportet his, qui neces(s)ario prof[ f. 7<sup>r</sup>  
[f]uerunt :  
Non bisogna render gratia a quelli che te hanno zovato  
per necessità.

## C. V

1. Reges a recte regendo dicti sunt :  
I re sono diti re dal regere.
2. Retinet alga ratem, tardat arena pedes :  
La lega retien alcuna volta la barcha, el sabion tarda i piedi ad andar.
3. Remunerator bonorum omnium *est* deus :  
Dio è remunerador de tuti boni.
4. Rerum *in* exemplis *est* informatio uera :  
Da li ex(e)mpli *con* se *prehende* vera information.
5. Rari sermonis esto, sed loquentium patiens :  
Si' raro nel parlar *et* piacente ad aldir altri.

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V, 2a Retinet] t<sup>ss</sup>.

V, 4b con se prehende] *lege* se comprehende

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III, 12 Gratiam – profuerunt] CIC., *De inventione* 1, 30, 46 = MAR. VICT., *Explanations in Ciceronis rhetoricam* 1, 29 = 1, 44 iis, qui necessario profuerunt, haberi gratiam non oportet

V, 1 Reges – sunt] *Collectio canonum in V libris* 1, 240 (dicti] uocati *Collectio*)

V, 2 Retinet – pedes] cf. OV., *Heroid.* 7, 172 Nunc levis eiectam continet alga ratem; OV., *Heroid.* 10, 20 Alta puellares tardat harena pedes

V, 3 Remunerator – deus] SIG. GEMBL., *Gesta abbatum Gemblacensium*, p. 540, lin. 34 (omnium est] *om. Sig*)

V, 5 Rari – patiens] MART. BRACAR., *Formula vitae honestae* 4, p. 246 Rari sermonis ipse, sed loquacium patiens, severus ac serius; ALB. BRIX., *Sermo Ianuensis* Quare Seneca dicit, De formula honestae vitae: Nullius inprudenciam despicias, rari sermonis ipse, sed loquentium patiens, severus ac serus; ALB. BRIX., *Liber consolationis et consilii* 4 Et etiam Seneca, De formula honestae vitae, dixit: Nullius inprudenciam despicias, rari sermonis ipse, sed loquentium patiens auditor, severus non saevus; RUD. LIEB., *Pastorale novellum* 5, 830-31 Ipseque sermonis rari sis atque loquentum / serius auditor, patiens tamen atque seuerus

6. Refferenti non licet aliquid *immutare*:  
Non è licito a referir altramente de quello che ai *inteso*.
7. Ratio plus *quam* ius ceca valere potest:  
La raxon val più che la iustitia ceca.
8. Rationi omnia *consonant*:  
Ala raxon omni cosa è *consonevele*.
9. Rubescunt uerecondantes, mortem autem timentes pal<l>lescunt:  
Queli che se *ver*<go>gnano *deventano* rosia, *queli* che temeno la morte *deventano* pallidi.
10. | Ratio preteriti scire futura facit: f. 7<sup>v</sup>  
La *experiencia* dele cose passate fa cognoser le cose che *devegna*.
11. Regnanti felicitas est fama latens amara:  
Al nome de uno che regna non publicato da amaritu <di>ne <è felicità> a quello.
12. Ruit enim ad ima, qui nimis alta petit:  
Colui score al baso el qual cerca le cose tropo alte et sublime.

## C. VI

1. Nemo bene iudicat, quod ignorat:  
Niun ben zudega quello che 'l non *intende*.

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V,7a ius] *lege* uis

V,12a enim] cito<sup>ss</sup>

V,12b score] presto<sup>ss</sup>

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V,6 Refferenti – *immutare*] CASSIOD., *Variae* 6, 17

V,7 Ratio – potest] MAXIMIN., *Eleg.* 2, 71 (ratio plus] plus ratio *Maximin.*)

V,8 Rationi – consonant] THOM. AQ., *Sententia libri Ethicorum* lib. 1, l. 19-20 omnia consonant rationi; cf. Walther 26365a Rationi nulla resistant

V,9 Rubescunt – pallescunt] THOM. AQ., *Summa Theologiae* IIIa q. 72 unde verecundati erubescunt, timentes mortem pallescunt

V,10 Ratio – facit] GUALT. ANGL., *Fab.* 49, 12 = *App. pr.* 57, 4 (Ratio preteriti] Preteriti ratio *Gualt.*) = Walther 26364

VI,1 Nemo – ignorat] GREG. M., *Moralia in Iob* 27, 3; LATH., *Ecloga de Morali-  
libus Iob quas Gregorius fecit* 27, lin. 27



2. Non capit regnum duos :  
Un regno non sta ben in man de do.
3. Non bene *conueni*(un)t *et in* una sede morantur maiestas  
*et amor* :  
L'amor con la inegualità non stano ben insieme *et non*  
*convegnino*.
4. Nam <qui> *rationem* diuinitatis ignorat, elinguis *et* mu-  
tus, licet sit *omnium* disertissimus :  
Colui che non cognosce la divinità è senza lengua,  
benché 'l sia de altre cose eloque(n)tissimo.
5. Non quos reprehendimus, inmitamur :  
Non sequitamo coloro che sono represi.
6. Nichil tan difficile est, quin querendo inuestigari potest :  
Niuna cosa è tanto difficile che cercandola non se aquista.
7. Nec prorsus taceat, sed medium teneat :  
L'omo in tuto non taxa, ma tegni | la via del mezo. f. 8<sup>r</sup>
8. Non placet vanis animi submittere rebus :  
Non ti piaccia de sumettere l'animo ale cose vane.
9. Nec nimium taceas nec uerba superflua[s] dicas :  
Non taxer tropo né [non] parla(r) superfluo.

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VI, 3a et] *lege* nec

VI, 5a inmitamur] *lege* inmitemur

VI, 8a animi] *lege* animum

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VI, 2 Non – duos] SEN., *Thyestes* 444; Walther 17357a

VI, 3 Non – amor] OV., *Met.* 2, 846-47; GUALT. ANGL., *App. pr.* 6, 3-4 (et]  
nec OV., *Gualt.*); Walther 17277

VI, 4 Nam – disertissimus] LACT., *Divinae institutiones* 4, 26, 8 Nam qui ratio-  
nem diuinitatis ignorat, is vere elinguis et mutus est, licet sit omnium  
disertissimus

VI, 5 Non – inmitamur] cf. AMBR., *Expos. evang. sec. Lucam* 7, lin. 595 Nemo  
ipse debet quod in alio reprehendit imitari

VI, 6 Nichil – potest] TER., *Heautontimorumenos* 675 (= 4, 2, 8) nil tam diffi-  
cilest, quin quaerendo investigari possiet; Walther 16654 (possit)

VI, 8 Non – rebus] PROSP. AQUIT., *Epigr.* 81, 5 (placeat ... animum *Prosp.*  
*Aquit.*); Walther 18228

VI, 9 Nec – dicas] *Pamphilus* 105 (superflua *Pamphil.*); Walther 16229; Walther  
18100

10. Noli puero subtrahere disciplinam:  
Non voler subtrazer la disciplina al puto.
11. Non semper gladio, sed sepe seruitio uincitur inimicus:  
Non sempre con l'arme, ma spese volte con el furtio se  
venze lo inimicho.
12. Nullum ledit obse(r)uata iustitia:  
Servando la iustitia non se offende ad aguno.
13. Nullus ea, que impossibilia sunt et apparent, sibi appetit:  
Niuno desidera quello che cognosce esser impossibile a  
conseguirlo.
14. Nolite velle, quod fieri non po[te]st:  
Non voliate quel che esser non puol.
15. Nichil agendo homines male agere discunt:  
Li homeni che non se adopera imparano a far mal.
16. Non facile capitur a temptatore, qui bono uacat exerci-  
tio:  
Non cusì facilmente è azonto dal temptato l'omo che se  
exercita in bon exercitio.
17. Nichil ditius deo offer(r)i potest uoluntate bona:  
Niuna cosa più richa si puol offerir a | dio che la buona f. 8<sup>v</sup>  
voluntà.

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VI, 16a uacat] t<sup>ss</sup>

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VI, 10 Noli – disciplinam] Prov. 23, 13 Noli subtrahere a puero disciplinam;  
cf. THOM. CHOB., *Summa de commendatione et extirpatione virtutum* 1, lin. 389 Et ite-  
rum in Proverbiis XXIII: Noli subtrahere disciplinam a puero tuo

VI, 11 Non semper – inimicus] BERN. CLAR., *Epist.* 456 (PL 182, 649B)

VI, 12 Nullum – iustitia] CASSIOD., *Variae* 9, 10

VI, 14 Nolite – potest] SEDUL. SCOT., *Collect.* 56, lin. 174 Nolite igitur id velle  
quod fieri non potest

VI, 15 Nichil – discunt] COLUM., *Res rustica* 11, 1 Nam illud verum est M. Ca-  
tonis oraculum: “Nihil agendo homines male agere discunt”; Walther  
16627b

VI, 16 Non – exercitio] PETR. LOMB., *Sententiae* 4, 1, 5

VI, 17 Nichil – bona] GREG. M., *Homil. XL in evang.* 1, 5, 3 = FROW. ENGELB.,  
*Explanatio dominicae orationis* 5, 2 = RUPERT. TUTT., *De gloria et honore* 3, lin. 1047  
Nihil quippe offertur deo ditius voluntate bona

18. Non *prodest* cibus, qui statim sumptus emittitur:  
Non zuova el cibo che dapo sumpto se buta.
19. Nemo adeo ferus est, ut non mit[t]escere possit:  
El non è niun sì feroze, che non se pose far mansueto.
20. Nichil minus hominis esse uidetur quam non respondere in amore his, a quibus prouocatur:  
Non è cosa che fr <...> l'omo da mancho che non responder in amor da chi è incitado.
21. Non conualescit planta, que sepe transfertur:  
La pianta che se trapianta più volte non va ben.
22. Non solum nobis nati sumus:  
Non solamente a nui, anche per altri siamo nati.
23. Non est in sua potestate animus passionibus uinctus:  
El non è in sua podestà l'animo che è dale passion vincto.

## C. VII

1. Iuuenes seducibiles sunt; sperant enim facile:  
I zoveni se seducono, ma sperano facilmente.
2. Insidie, que latent, magis nocent:  
Le insidie che stanno ascose, molto più nosano.

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VI, 19b mansueto] o<sup>ss</sup>

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VI, 18 Non – emittitur] SEN., *Ad Lucilium* 1, 2, 3 Non prodest cibus nec corpori accedit, qui statim sumptus emittitur; IOH. FONTE, *Auctoritates Aristotelis, Senecae, Boethii etc.* 21, 7 Non prodest cibus corpori cum statim sumptus emittitur; Walther 18287a

VI, 19 Nemo – possit] HOR., *Epist.* 1, 1, 39; Walther 16316

VI, 20 Nichil – prouocatur] CIC., *Epist. ad M. Iunium Brutum* 1, 1, 1 Nihil enim mihi minus hominis videtur quam non respondere in amore iis a quibus provocare

VI, 21 Non conualescit – transfertur] SEN., *Ad Lucilium* 2, 3; IOH. FONTE, *Auctoritates Aristotelis, Senecae, Boethii etc.* 21, 9; Walther 17403a

VI, 22 Non – sumus] Walther 39002 (Plato)

VII, 2 Insidie – nocent] SEN., *Controversiae* 1, praef. 21 magis nocent insidiae, quae latent; Walther 14192a

3. Ius est in armis :  
La raxon è nele arme .i.<sup>85</sup> a chi più puol.
4. In deformi corpore regnat mala anima :  
| In un bruto corpo habita cativa anima. f. 9<sup>r</sup>
5. In utraque fortuna fides :  
In ciascuna fortuna è la fede.
6. In humilitate tua patientiam habe, quoniam in igne probatur aurum :  
Habi patientia nela tua umilità, perché nel fuocho se prova l'oro.
7. In celis est testis meus et conscius meus in excelsis :  
In cielo<sup>86</sup> è el mio testimonio et il secretario dela mia mente.<sup>87</sup>
8. In amicitia autem nichil fictum est, nichil simulatum :  
Niente fincto et simulado dé essere nela amicitia.
9. Inductum in fauorem non debet retorqueri in lesionem :  
La cosa aducta in favor non se dé ridurre et revocare in ofension.
10. Iudicare sane difficile est nisi expertum :  
Iudicar dretamente è difficile, salvo al experto.

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VII, 4a regnat] t<sup>ss</sup>.

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VII, 3 Ius – armis] SEN., *Hercules Furens* 253

VII, 6 In humilitate – aurum] Eccli. 2, 4-5 (habe patientiam *Eccli.*)

VII, 7 In celis – excelsis] Iob 16, 20 (celis est] caelo *Iob*)

VII, 8 In amicitia – simulatum] AELR., *De spiritali amicitia* 2, lin. 134

VII, 9 Inductum – lesionem] GREG. IX, *Decretales* = INNOC. III, *Regesta* (PL 216, 678D-679A) Cum ea quae in favorem alicuius introducta sunt, in eius laesionem non debeant redundare

VII, 10 Iudicare – expertum] CIC., *Laelius de amicitia* 62 et iudicare difficile est sane nisi expertum

<sup>85</sup> .i. = id est

<sup>86</sup> The Italian translation in the singular follows the tradition of the Vulgate

<sup>87</sup> The Italian translation 'dela mia mente' was probably translated on the basis of Latin 'mentis', an erroneous reading of 'meus'.

11. Incolumis langore insatiata fames :  
La fame che non si satia *per* infirmità è sana.
12. Inebriat falsa uoluntas :  
I falsi piaceri *inebria* l'omo.
13. Ideo sanari negligimus, *quia* nos ignorare ignoramus :  
*Però*<sup>88</sup> *non* curamo sanarse, perché noi *non* cognosciamo  
la *nostra* ignorantia.
14. Iuvenile uitium est non posse regere inpetus :  
Non poter | reger li imperi è un vicio zovenil. f. 9<sup>v</sup>
15. Iuvenes sunt sectatores passionum :  
I çoveni son sectatori dele passion.
16. Impia sub dulci melle venena latent :  
Soto il dolze mele se nasconde lievi deli veneni.
17. Impudentis *et* stulti *est* in rebus absurdis auxilium im-  
plorare diuinum :  
L'è offitio de homo stolto *et* impudente nele cose brute  
et desoneste domandar aiuto a dio.
18. Instructus redditur animus *in* futuris, *quando* preteritorum  
com<m>ouetur exemplis :  
Per li exempli dele cose passate l'*animo* se coreze nele  
cose future.

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VII, 11b che<sup>in marg. sin.</sup>

VII, 17b offitio] -o<sup>ss</sup>.

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VII, 11 Incolumis – fames] ALAN. INS., *Planct.* 5, 4 Incolumis languor, et satiata fames

VII, 14 Iuvenile – impetus] SEN., *Troades* 250 Iuvenile vitium est regere non posse impetum; Walther 13333

VII, 16 Impia – latent] OV., *Amores* 1, 8, 104; ALBERT. STAD., *Troilus* 6, 296; Walther 11594

VII, 18 Instructus – exemplis] CASSIOD., *Variae* 5, 44 (commonetur *Cassiod.*)

<sup>88</sup> Cf. *GDLI*, s.v. nr. 3

19. In multiloquio *non deerit peccatum* :  
Il longo parlar *non* è senza peccato.
20. Inclina aurem tuam et audi *uerba sapient<u>* :  
Inclina la tua rechia et aldi le parole di savii.
21. In teneris annis iacitur, quod matura etate *seruatur* :  
Nela età matura si<sup>89</sup> se farà *que*lla che nelli teneri anni si se pianta.
22. *Iniqui regnum dei non possidebunt* :  
Li *iniqui non possideranno* el regno de dio.
23. Insontem uitam pacis amator agat :  
L'omo, amator dela pace, mena la sua vita *innocente*.
24. In qua *mensura mensi fueritis, remetietur uobis* :  
| In quella *mensura mensurarete* ad altri serà *mensurato* a f. 10<sup>r</sup> vui.
25. *Iniuriarum remedium est obliuio* :  
El *dementecarsi* è el *remedio dele ingurie*.
26. In diuitiis fides amicitie latet :  
Nele ricchezze la fede dal amicitia se nasconde.
27. *Ira enim viri iustitiam dei non operatur* :  
La ira del homo *non opera* la iustitia de dio.

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VII, 19 In – peccatum] Prov. 10, 19 (peccatum non deerit *Prov.*); *Florilegium Frisingense* (CLM 6433) 353 = ANDR. S. VICT., *Expositiones historicae in libros Salomonis – in Parab.* lin. 1455 = BENED. ANIAN., *Concordia regularum* 9, p. 130 In multiloquio non deerit peccatum

VII, 20 Inclina – sapientium] Prov. 22, 17

VII, 21 In – seruatur] CASSIOD., *Variae* 3, 11 (iacitur] acquiritur *Cassiod.*; seruatur *Cassiod.*)

VII, 22 Iniqui – possidebunt] I Cor. 6, 9

VII, 23 Insontem – agat] PAULIN. NOL., *Carm. app.* 1, 56; Walther 12517a (agat] habet *Walther*)

VII, 24 In qua – uobis] Marc. 4, 24

VII, 25 Iniuriarum – obliuio] PUBLIL., *Sententiae*, littera I, versus 21; Walther 12430

VII, 26 In – latet] cf. AELR., *De spiritali amicitia* 3, lin. 437 Fides amicitiae. ... Ipsa tamen fides in prosperis quidem latet

VII, 27 Ira – operatur] Iac. 1, 20

<sup>89</sup> Cf. *GDLI*, s.v. nr. 7

28. *Impatiens operatur stultitiam* :  
L'omo *impaciente* adopera stultitia.
29. In die bonorum ne *inmemor* sis malorum et in die malorum ne *inmemor* sis bonorum :  
Quando tu hai ben, recordate del mal et quando ay male, recordate del ben.

## C. VIII

1. Est confusio adducens peccatum et confusio adducens gloriam et gratiam :  
L'è alcuna *confusion* che mena el peccato et è alcuna *confusion* che mena gloria et grazia.
2. Et pecunie obediunt omnia :  
Ala pecunia ogni cossa è subzeta.
3. Eu quam difficile est crimen non prodere uultu :  
Quanto è difficil cosa a celare el peccato con el volto.
4. Est homo uas uacuum deficiente fide :  
L'omo senza fede è un vaso vacuo.
5. Equidem recti constant inesse malis :  
Li homeni boni se manifestano per el esser de li cativi.
6. Esse magis bonus quam uideri stude :  
| Sforzate de esser più presto bon che de aparere. f. 10<sup>v</sup>
7. Et si te non dampnet publica fama, dampnet te propria conscientia :  
Se la fama publica non ti *condampna*, *condampna* la propria conscientia.

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VII, 28 *Impatiens* – *stultitiam*] Prov. 14, 17 (*operatur*] *operabitur* Prov.)

VII, 29 In die – sis bonorum] Eccli. 11, 27

VIII, 1 Est – gratiam] Eccli. 4, 25 (et confusio] et est confusio Eccli.)

VIII, 2 Et – omnia] Eccli. 10, 19 (*obedient* Eccli.)

VIII, 3 Eu – uultu] Ov., *Met.* 2, 447 (heu Ov.)

VIII, 4 Est – fide] RICH. VENUS., *Comedia de Paulino et Polla* 578 (Du Ménil 1854: 166); Walther 7490a

VIII, 5 Equidem – malis] PROSP. AQUIT., *Epigr.* 7, 2 (*equidem*] et quiddam *Prosp. Aquit.*; constat *Prosp. Aquit.*)

VIII, 6 Esse – stude] cf. Walther 36589d *Esse malis quam uideri vir bonus*

VIII, 7 Et si – conscientia] ISID., *Synonyma de lamentatione animae peccatricis* (PL 83, 859B) Et si te non damnat publica fama, condemnat propria conscientia

8. Ex pomorum dulcedine generosi seminis arbor cognoscitur:  
Per la dolceza di pomi [de li pomi] se cognosce l'arbore  
esser di un seme generoso.
9. Est ius mari nunc strato equore blandiri, nunc procellis ac  
fluctibus inhor<u>escere:  
La raxon<sup>90</sup> del mar è esser hora in tranquillità, hora esser in  
tempesta.
10. Externa bona quid pro tuis amplexaris?:  
Perché abracci tu le cose aliene come si fusseno tue?
11. Esse tua nunquam faciet fortuna, que a te natura rerum fe-  
cit aliena:  
La fortuna ma<i> non farà quele cose esser tue, le q<u>al  
la natura de quale la fate aliene.
12. Esse bonum nego illud, quod nocet habenti:  
Io niego quello esser bon che nuoxe al possidente.

## C. IX

1. Notus in aduersis omnis amicus erit:  
Ogni amico se cognosce nele adversità.

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VIII, 8b de li pomi] *exp*

VIII, 11b qual] a<sup>ss</sup>.

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VIII, 8 Ex – cognoscitur] HIER., *Apologia adversus libros Rufini* 2, 23 (cognoscitur] agnoscitur Hier.)

VIII, 9 Est ius – inhorrescere] BOETH., *Consol. philos.* 2, prosa 2 (est ius] ius est Boeth.)

VIII, 10 Externa – amplexaris] BOETH., *Consol. philos.* 2, prosa 5 (Quid externa bona ... Boeth.)

VIII, 11 Esse – aliena] BOETH., *Consol. philos.* 2, prosa 5 (Esse – faciet] numquam tua faciet esse Boeth.)

VIII, 12 Esse – habenti] IOH. FONTE, *Auctoritates Aristotelis, Senecae, Boethii etc.* 25, 22.23 (esse – illud] illud nego bonum esse Ioh. de Fonte)

IX, 1 Notus – erit] IAC. BENEV., *Carmina moralia* 339; Walther 18851b

<sup>90</sup> Cf. GDLI, s.v. *ragione* nr. 5



2. Non consentiunt, qui errant :  
Quelli errano, *consenteno*.
3. Noscit solus *deus* cor filiorum hominum :  
Solo dio | cognosce el cuor deli homeni. f. 11<sup>r</sup>
4. Nescit amor uehemens ad queque pericula rumpi :  
Non si frange amor *vehemente* neli pericoli.
5. Nulla pestis efficacior ad nocendum quam familiaris inimicus :  
Niuna peste è più efficace a nuoxer che <...> inimico familiare.
6. Non potest *servire* deo et mamone :  
Non saper servir a dio *et* al demonio.
7. Nichil sine ratione faciendum est :  
Non è da far alguna cosa senza raxon.
8. Nichil est, quod non assidua meditatione facillime redeat :  
Niuna cosa è che *per* assidua meditation deve se rendere.

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IX, 2b consenteno] -o<sup>sr</sup>.

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IX, 2 Non – errant] IUSTIN., *Digesta* 2, 1, 15

IX, 3 Noscit – hominum] cf. I Reg. 16, 7 Homo enim videt ea quae parent, dominus autem intuetur cor

IX, 4 Nescit – rumpi] GODEFR. WINTON., *Epigrammata* 232, 7 (Wright 1872: 144); ALBERT. BRIx., *De amore* 4, 23 Et Martialis quasi idem perversus dixit: ... Nescit amor vehemens ad queque pericula rumpi, / Nec funis triplex rumpitur ex facili; Walther 16552

IX, 5 Nulla pestis – inimicus] BOETH., *Consol. philos.* 3, prosa 5 Quae vero pestis efficacior ad nocendum quam familiaris inimicus?; BERN. CLAR., *Sententiae* series 3, sententia 122 Nulla pestis efficacior ad nocendum quam familiaris inimicus; *Historia Compostellana* 1, 109 Sed ut ait Boetius: Nulla pestis efficacior ad nocendum quam familiaris inimicus

IX, 6 Non – mamone] Matth. 6, 24 = Luc. 16, 13 Non potestis Deo servire et mamonae

IX, 7 Nichil – est] SEN., *De beneficiis* 4, 10, 2 Nihil enim sine ratione faciendum est; IOH. FONTE, *Auctoritates Aristotelis, Senecae, Boethii etc.* 24, 32 Nihil sine ratione faciendum est

IX, 8 Nichil est – redeat] cf. VEG., *Epitoma rei militaris* 1, 19, 2 nihil enim est, quod non assidua meditatio facillimum reddat; SEDUL. SCOT., *Collect.* 20, 3 Nichil est quod non assidua meditatio facillimum reddat

9. *Non est per solium* iacienda seges :  
La biada non è da esser sparsa *per* la terra.
10. *Noli uinci a malo*, sed uince *in bono malum* :  
Non voler esser vinto dal mal, ma vince il mal in bon.

## C. X

1. *Sapiens* silebit *usque ad tempus* :  
L'omo savio *taxerà infino* al tempo.
2. *Superbia est peruerse celsitudinis* appetitus :  
La *superbia* è uno *apetito* de una *altezza perversa*.
3. *Si est seruus fidelis*, sit tibi sicut *anima* tua :  
Tiene caro come l'*anima* tua el fedel servo.
4. *Spes, que differtur*, affligit *amicum* : f. 11<sup>v</sup>  
La *speranza con* *induxa* dà *afflictione*.
5. *Sera dies leta uenit* :  
El tardo gorno suol *vegnir iocundo*.
6. *Sic numina poscunt* :  
Cusì è la *voluntà* di dei.
7. *Seruia[n]t exemplum* doctrine :  
Li *exempli* son *uteli* ad *insignare*.

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IX, 9 *Non – seges*] Walther 17696 *Non est pro lolio reicienda seges*

IX, 10 *Noli uinci – malum*] Rom. 12, 21

X, 1 *Sapiens – tempus*] Eccli. 20, 7 *Homo sapiens tacebit usque ad tempus*

X, 2 *Superbia – appetitus*] AUG., *De civ. Dei* 14, 13 *Quid est autem superbia nisi perversae celsitudinis appetitus?* = FROW. ENGELB., *Explanatio dominicae orationis* 2, 2 = 5, 1 = 7, 3; THOM. AQ., *Summae theologiae secunda secundae quaestio* 162, articulus 1, responsio et argumentum 2 Augustinus dicit, in XIV de civ. Dei, quod *superbia est perversae celsitudinis appetitus*

X, 3 *Si est – tua*] Eccli. 33, 31 *Si est tibi servus (fidelis), sit tibi quasi anima tua*; Ps. ISID., *Testimonia divinae script.* 29, lin. 8 = DEFENS. LOCOGIAC., *Liber scintillarum* 62, 15 = RATH. VERON., *Praeloquia* 1, lin. 962 *Si est tibi servus fidelis, sit tibi sicut anima tua (si est) si enim Defens. Locogiac.*

X, 4 *Spes – amicum*] Prov. 13, 12

X, 6 *Sic – poscunt*] VERG., *Aen.* 11, 901

X, 7 *Seruia[n]t – doctrine*] GAUFR. VINOS., *Poetria nova* 272 (Gallo 1971), *Seruia[n]t exemplum doctrinae*; Walther 28158a

8. Si malus *est dominus*, populus sitque malus :  
Si l'è cativo el signor, similmente el populo.
9. Speculatio prima *non bene deseruit nec plene* :  
I pensieri e imagination *prima non* fue ben, né ancor plenamente.
10. Sepe occasio peccandi *voluntatem* facit :  
L'abilità del peccar fa volontà del peccar.
11. Sermo dei potestate plenus :  
El parla de dio è pien de podestà.
12. Semper hunc deus uulnerat, quem ad salutem perpetuam parat :  
Dio sempre ferise onde flazela quello el quale l'aparechia *et induce ala perpetua salute*.
13. Sufficientia *nostra ex deo est* :  
La sufficientia *nostra* men da dio.
14. Securita<ti>s magna portio est nichil inique [inique] facere :  
Abstignirse dale operation inique fa l'omo *contegnir securitade*.
15. Sepe tacens odii semina uultus habet :  
La faza del homo che tace sol aver *in sé semenza [de odio]*  
| de odio.

f. 12<sup>r</sup>


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X, 8a sitque] *lege* sicque  
X, 15b *pr.* de odio] *in marg. vert.*

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X, 8 Si – malus] *Facetus* 454; Walther 28611b (populus sicque] fit populusque *Facetus*; Walther)  
X, 10 Sepe – facit] ISID., *Synonyma de lamentatione animae peccatricis* (PL 83, 849B)  
X, 11 Sermo – plenus] Eccle. 8, 4 (dei] illius *Eccle.*)  
X, 12 Semper – parat] GREG. M., *Moralia in Iob* 6, 25 Duobus modis omnipotens deus vulnerat, quos reducere ad salutem curat  
X, 13 Sufficientia – est] II Cor. 3, 5  
X, 14 Securitatis – facere] SEN., *Ad Lucilium* 105, 7; Walther 27794d (securitatis *Seneca*; Walther)  
X, 15 Sepe – habet] OV., *Ars* 3, 512; Walther 27329 (odii] sceleris *Walther*)

16. Sapiaientia *hominis* lucet in eius uultu :  
La sapientia del homo resplende nel suo volto.
17. Sepius repetita veritas maiori soliditate firmatur :  
La verità, spesse volte repetita, se suole meio fermarse.
18. Senex *increduli sunt propter experientiam* :  
Li homeni vechi sono *increduli* per la *experientia*.
19. Sinceritas *mentis* uultus alacritate *monstratur* :  
La *sincerità* dela *mente* se adimustra per l'alegreza del volto.
20. Simulata *equitas* duplex iniquitas :  
Un ben apparente et simulado è dopia iniquità.
21. Silent leges *inter arma* :  
Infra le arme el taxe le lege.
22. Superbia bonis *operibus insidiatur*, ut pereant :  
La *superbia* pone *insidie* ale bone operation, azò che periscano.
23. Si qua uoles apte nubere, nube pari :  
Si tu te vuoi bene maridar, tuòì uno tuo equale.

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X, 18a senex] *lege* senes

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X, 16 Sapiaientia – uultu] Eccle. 8, 1 (vultu eius *Eccle.*)

X, 18 Senes – experientiam] THOM. AQ., *Summa Theologiae* Ia – IIae q. 40, art. 5, arg. 2 In II Rhetoric., quod senes sunt difficilis spei, propter experientiam

X, 19 Sinceritas – monstratur] cf. ANSO LOB., *Vita Erminonis Lobiensis* p. 464 Sinceritatem mentis vultus sui serenitate monstrabat

X, 20 Simulata – iniquitas] AUG., *Enarr. in Ps.* 63, 11 Simulata aequitas non est aequitas, sed duplex iniquitas; Walther 29664 Simulata equitas, duplex iniquitas

X, 21 Silent – arma] CIC., *Pro Milone* 4, 10; Walther 29623a; cf. PETR. DAM., *Carm.* 1, 69, 1 Inter bella silent leges

X, 22 Superbia – pereant] AUG., *Regula tertia vel Praeceptum* p. 420, lin. 29; AUG., *Epist.* 211, 6 (bonis] in bonis *Aug., Epist.*)

X, 23 Si – pari] OV., *Heroid.* 9, 32; Walther 28890; *Carmina Burana* 155a, 2

24. Si fratres esse vere diuites cupitis, veras diuitias amate:  
Fratelli, se veramente volete esser ricchi, amate le vere ricchezze.
25. Si tollas oia, perire cupidinis arcus:  
Si tu toli via l'ocio, el vicioso amor<sup>91</sup> mancherà.
26. Superbis | resistit deus, humilibus autem dat gratiam: f. 12<sup>v</sup>  
Dio resiste ali superbi e dà la sua gratia a color che sono humili.

## C. XI

1. Abhominabile<sup>92</sup> est deo cor prauum:  
Dio ha *in* abhomination il cuor cativo.
2. Animus constrictus sceleribus sanari uix potest:  
L'animo *constrito* ale cose selerate <...> a pena sanar può.
3. Animos auditorum sepe offendere uidentur grauius qui  
aliena flagitia aperte dixerunt quam eos, qui commiserunt:  
L'anime deli auditori spiso <...> vogliono esser *offensi*  
più *presto* da *quelli* chi publicano i peccadi che da coloro  
che li fano.

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X, 26a superbis] bis *in marg. vert.*

X, 26b gratia] -a<sup>ss</sup>.

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X, 24 Si – amate] GREG. M., *Homil. XI in evang.* 1, 15, 1 (si – diuites] si ergo, fratres carissimi, diuites esse *Greg. M.*)

X, 25 Si – arcus] OV., *Rem.* 139 (Otia si tollas, periere *Or.*)

X, 26 Superbis – gratiam] Iac. 4, 6 = I Petr. 5, 5 Deus superbis resistit

XI, 1 Abhominabile – prauum] Prov. 11, 20

XI, 3 Animos – commiserunt] PS. CIC., *Invectiva in C. Sallustium Crispum* 8, 22  
Saepe enim vidi grauius offendere animos auditorum eos qui aliena flagitia aperte dixerunt quam eos qui commiserunt

<sup>91</sup> In the Italian, Christiniazied translation ('el vicioso amor') the originally Ovidian image ('arcus cupidinis' 'arrows of love') has been lost.

<sup>92</sup> Both in the Latin 'abhominabile' and in the Italian 'abhomination' we find the medieval practice of adding initial *b* to Latin *abominabile*. See Engels 1961 for the medieval etymology.

4. Ad penitendum *properat*, *qui* cito iudicat :  
Chi zudega *presto*, se aparechia de *presto* pentirse.
5. Auget *semper* principes obseruata iustitia :  
La iustitia observata exalta i principi.
6. Auida est imp(er)ii natura mortalium :  
La natura di mortali è desiderosa dela pietade.
7. Ab alio expectas, quod alteri fecisti[s] :  
Expeta da altri quel che hai fato ad altri.
8. Amor *confirmatur* ex beneficio accepto :  
| L'amor se *conferma* per el beneficio accepto. f. 13<sup>r</sup>
9. Amici sunt dona tribuentis :  
Li amici sonno doni di quello che dà.
10. Ad bona cupiens omnia tarda puta[n]t :  
Quello che desidera le cose a fin de ben, penssa ogni cosa  
esser tarda.
11. Ad opem brevis hora ferenda est :  
A dover aidar brevemente et senza *induxio* l'omo se dé  
promover.
12. Amorem dilectionemque similitudo *conciliat* :  
La similitudine *concilia* l'amor da dilection.

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XI, 4 Ad – iudicat] PUBLIL., *Sententiae*, littera A, 32; Walther 418; Iohannes Sarisberiensis, *Policraticus* 5, 6 (qui] quisquis *Iohannes Sarisberiensis*)

XI, 5 Auget – iustitia] CASSIOD., *Variae* 4, 12 (auget *semper*] *semper* auget *Cassiod.*)

XI, 6 Auida – mortalium] SALL., *De bello Iugurthino* 6, 3 natura mortalium auida imperi

XI, 7 Ab – fecistis] PUBLIL., *Sententiae*, littera A, versus 2 = LACT., *Divinae institutiones* 1, 16, 10 Ab alio expectes, alteri quod feceris = Walther 120

XI, 8 Amor – accepto] CIC., *Laelius de amicitia* 29 *confirmatur* amor et beneficio accepto et studio perspecto

XI, 9 Amici – tribuentis] PROV. 19, 6 (tribuenti *Prov.*); SALIMB. ADAM, *Cronica*, p. 169, lin. 4; p. 292, lin. 8; p. 298, lin. 2; p. 556, lin. 14 (tribuentis)

XI, 10 Ad – putat] HENR. SEPTIMELL., *Elegia* 912 Ad bona nam cupiens omnia tarda putat

XI, 11 Ad – est] OV., *Met.* 4, 696 (ferendam *Or.*); Walther 417a

XI, 12 Amorem – conciliat] BOETH., *De musica* I (PL 63, 1169A) sed amorem delectationemque (ut dictum est) similitudo conciliat

13. *Amicus et sermone et visione delectabilis est* :  
L'amico è delectabile e per vision et per parlar.
14. *Amicitia est circa operationes et sermones* :  
La amicitia è cercha le operationi et li parlari.
15. *Amor aliquando nocet* :  
L'amor alcune volte nuoxe.
16. *Amicitie uinculum potens est* :  
El vinculo dela amicitia è alcuna volta potente.
17. *Aiunt diem auferre egritudinem hominibus* :  
El se dixe che 'l tempo lieva la malinconia ali homeni.
18. *Avaro tam deest, quod habet, quam quod non habet* :  
L'auaro, cusì gli manca quello che lui ha come | quello f. 13<sup>v</sup>  
che non ha.

## C. XII

1. *In prohemio distincta melius seruantur* :  
Le cose distincte et ordenate meglio si reservano.

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XI, 15b alcune] l<sup>ss</sup>.

XI, 18a quam<sup>in marg.</sup>

XI, 18b avaro] o<sup>ss</sup>.

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XI, 13 *Amicus* – est] IOH. FONTE, *Auctoritates Aristotelis, Senecae, Boethii etc.* 12, 194 *Amicus est consolatio amici visione et sermone*

XI, 14 *Amicitia* – sermones] cf. THOM. AQ., *In III sentent.* dist. 33, qu. 1, art. 3 *iustitia est circa operationes*; THOM. AQ., *Summ. Theol.* II-II, qu. 79 *iustitia consistit circa operationes et res exteriores*

XI, 15 *Amor* – nocet] SEN., *Ad Lucilium* 35, 1 (*aliquando + etiam Sen.*)

XI, 16 *Amicitie* – est] VALER. MAX., *Facta et dicta* 4, 7 (est] *om. Valer. Max.*)

XI, 17 *Aiunt* – hominibus] TER., *Heautontimorumenos* 419-420 *quod volgo audio / dici, diem adimere aegritudinem hominibus*

XI, 18 *Avaro* – habet] HIER., *Epist.* 53, 11 *Antiquum dictum est: Avaro tam deest, quod habet, quam quod non habet*; HIER., *Epist.* 100, 15 *avarus ... cui tantum deest, quod habet, quantum quod non habet*; PUBLIL., *Sententiae* 628; SALIMB. ADAM, *Cronica*, p. 680, lin. 7 *Hinc Ieronimus ait: Avaro tam deest quod habet quam quod non habet*; Walther 1879

XII, 1 *In prohemio* – seruantur] MACROB., *Saturnalia* 1, 1, 6 *In animo melius distincta servantur*

2. Imprudentis non seruabit tempus :  
L'omo imprudente non considera il tempo.
3. Impia est promissio, que scelere adimpletur :  
La promission è crudel che si satisfa con peccato.
4. Inspiratio optima dat intelligentiam :  
La ispiration de dio dà intelligentia.
5. Iustum et impium iudicabit deus :  
Dio zudegerà il homo iusto et crudele.
6. Infelix nimis est prosperitate sua :  
Colui che è tropo infortunio è per la sua prosperita.
7. Indu<l>get fortuna malis, ut ledere possit :  
La fortuna perdona ali cativi per poserli castigare.
8. Iuris executio non habet iniuriam :  
La execution [de] dela raxon non ha iniuria.
9. In hoc summa consistunt, ut non facias alteri, quod ab altero pati nolis :  
In questo consiste tuto, che tu non facci quello ad altri che tu non vuoi sia facto a ti.
10. In<n>ocentia vera est, que nec sibi nec alteri nocet :  
La vera inocentia è quella che non | noxe a sí né ad altri. f. 14<sup>r</sup>

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XII, 4a optima] *lege fortasse omnipotentis*

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XII, 2 Imprudentis – tempus] DEFENS. LOCOGIAC., *Liber scintillarum* 16, 29

XII, 3 Impia – adimpletur] PETR. LOMB., *Sententiae* 3, 39, 9

XII, 4 Inspiratio – intelligentiam] Iob 32, 8 (optima] omnipotentis Iob)

XII, 5 Iustum – deus] Eccle. 3, 17

XII, 6 Infelix – sua] Walther 12302b Infelix nimis est proprietate sua homo

XII, 7 Indulget – possit] *Dicta Catonis* 2, 23, 2; *Polythecon* 1, 713 (ut] ubi *Polythecon*); Walther 12275

XII, 8 Iuris – iniuriam] IUSTIN., *Digesta* 1, 1, 3

XII, 9 In hoc – nolis] LACT., *Divinae institutiones* 6, 23, 32 Nam fere in hoc iustitiae summa consistit, ut non facias alteri quidquid ipse ab altero pati nolis

XII, 10 Innocentia – nocet] PROSP. AQUIT., *Expos. psalm. C-CL*, 100, lin. 20; PROSP. AQUIT., *Liber sententiarum* 1, lin. 1; PS. ISID., *Testimonia divinae scripturae et patrum*, Test. patrum 6



11. Insonthem vitam pacis amator agat :  
L'omo, amator della pace, meni la sua vita *innocente*.
12. Iniuriarum memoria tenax est :  
La recordança dele iniurie è tenaze.
13. In maleficiis voluntas spectatur *et non exitus* :  
Neli maleficii la volontà si sguarda *et non* el fin.
14. In insidiis suis capientur iniqui :  
Li iniqui seranno presi con li suoi ingani.
15. Iustis retribuentur bona :  
Li iusti seranno retribuiti de asai beni.
16. Illud stude agere, quod bonum est :  
Sforzate de far *quello* che è ben.
17. Inter caras coniunctasque personas pietatis iura seruentur :  
Sianno servate le raxon de la pietà *infra* le care *et conzonte* persone.
18. Importuna nec[c]essitas nulla potest iuris regula cohartari :  
La necessità inportuna non si pò *constrenzer* con regula de raxone.

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XII, 11 Insonthem – agat] Ps. PAULIN. NOL. [= Ps. PROSP. AQUIT.], *Poema coniugis ad uxorem* 55; Walther 12517a (agat] habet *Walther*)

XII, 12 Iniuriarum – est] Iohannes Sarisberiensis, *Policraticus* 7, 96 (tenax est] camelo tenaciter residet *Iohannes Sarisberiensis*)

XII, 13 In – exitus] IUSTIN., *Digesta* 48, 8, 14 (ed. Mommsen & Krueger, Berlin 1954) Divus Hadrianus in haec verba rescripsit: In maleficiis voluntas spectatur, non exitus; GRATIAN., *Decretum*, pars 2, 33, 3, de paenitentia, dist. 1, canon 25 In maleficiis voluntas pro opere reputatur; Walther 37424i In maleficiis voluntas penditur, non exitus

XII, 14 In – iniqui] Prov. 11, 6

XII, 15 Iustis – bona] Prov. 13, 21

XII, 16 Illud – bonum est] *Dicta Catonis*, Prologus (Monosticha) 55 Illud stude agere quod iustum est

XII, 18 Importuna – cohartari] ANDR. CAPELL., *De amore* 3, 356

19. Iusti possidebunt terram *et* habitabunt in *seculum seculi* super eam:  
Li iusti possederanno la terra et habiteranno sempre sopra de quella.
20. Id facere laus est, quod decet *et* quod non licet:  
Laudabil cosa è a far quello che fa convien | et non in quel- f. 14<sup>v</sup>  
la che se pò.
21. Iudicia dei abyssus multa:  
L'ituditii de dio son profu(n)di.

## C. XIII

1. Dominus omnes peccatores disperdet:  
Dio disperderà tuti i peccatori.
2. Dimittite et dimittetur uobis:  
Perdonate et seravi perdonato.
3. Dominus nouit abscondita cordis:  
Dio ha cognosuto li secreti del core.
4. Dominus dat escam vniuerse carni:  
Dio sì<sup>93</sup> dà el cibo a tuta la carne.

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XII, 19 Iusti – eam] Ps. 36, 29 (possidebunt] hereditabunt ... habitabunt] inhabitabunt *Psalm*); cf. HIER., *In Isaiam* 16, 58 14 de qua in alio loco canitur: iusti possidebunt terram et habitabunt in saeculum saeculi super eam  
XII, 20 Id – licet] SEN., *Octavia* 454; Walther 11352 (et – licet] non quod licet *Sen.*; Walther)

XII, 21 Iudicia – multa] Ps. 35, 7 (dei] tua *Vulg*); cf. APPON., *In Cant. cant.* 8, lin. 532 ut ait propheta David ...: Iudicia Dei abyssus multa; AUG., *Enarr. in Ps.* 35, 10 vide: Iudicia dei abyssus multa; BEDA, *Expos. Act. Ap.* 19 iudicia dei abyssus multa = ANSELM. CANT., *De casu diaboli* vol. 1, 23 = ANSELM. CANT., *Orationes sive meditationes* vol. 3, 14 = BERN. CLAR., *Sententiae* series 3, sent. 92

XIII, 1 Dominus – disperdet] Ps. 144, 20

XIII, 2 Dimittite – uobis] = AUG., *Epist.* 153, 5; 171A, 1 etc.; cf. Luc. 6, 37  
Dimitte et dimittemini

XIII, 3 Dominus – cordis] Ps. 43, 22 (Dominus] deus *Ps.*)

XIII, 4 Dominus – carni] Ps. 135, 25 Qui dat escam omni carni

<sup>93</sup> Cf. *GDLI*, s.v. nr. 7

5. Diligitur nemo, nisi cui fortuna secunda est :  
Niuno è amato, son non a chi la fortuna è prospera.
6. Dominus respicit orationem humilium et non spernit preces eorum :  
Dio risguarda la oration deli humili et no dispriegia le loro pregieri.
7. De dubiis ne diffinias :  
Le cose dubie non presumen a voler definirse.
8. Dei ueneratio non proficit ad salutem, nisi precepta impleueritis conditoris :  
L'onore de dio non vale ala salute senza obedientia et satisfatione deli sui comandamenti.
9. Dulcedo humane felicitatis multis | amaritudinibus con- f. 15<sup>r</sup>  
spersa est :  
La dolceza dela felicità humana è sparsa infra molte amaritudine.
10. Dividere carta non debet, quos amor mutuus copulauit :  
Le persone conzonti per amore non se debbano separare per la carta.
11. Deformior multum est illa superbia, que sub humilibus signis latet :  
La superbia socto specie de humilità è molto più deforme et illaudabile.

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XIII, 5 Diligitur – est] Ov., *Ex Ponto* 2, 3, 23; *Polythecon* 2, 754

XIII, 6 Dominus – eorum] Ps. 101, 17-18 (respexit ... sprexit Ps.; precem Ps.)

XIII, 7 De – diffinias] IOH. FONTE, *Auctoritates Aristotelis, Senecae, Boethii etc.* 23, 1 (ne deffinias] non definies *Iob. de Fonte*); Walther 5055 De dubiis temere cito diffinire cavebis = HILDEB. CENOM., *De quattuor virtutibus* (PL 171, 1057B)

XIII, 8 Dei – conditoris] HIER., *Epist.* 78, 2 Nec dei veneratio proficiet ad salutem, nisi praecepta conditoris impleveris

XIII, 9 Dulcedo – est] BOETH., *Philos. cons.* 2, prosa 4 Quam multis amaritudinibus humane felicitatis dulcedo respersa est!

XIII, 10 Diuidere – copulauit] HIER., *Epist.* 7, 1 Non debet charta dividere, quos amor mutuus copulavit

XIII, 11 Deformior – latet] *Epist. ad Hier.* 148, 20 Multo illa deformior est superbia, quae sub quibusdam humilitatis signis latet

12. *Dum* uirtus antecedit, tutum erit omne vestigium :  
Omni vestigio over andamento è seguro el qual sequità  
da virtù.
13. Dignitas fortune aut morbo aut vetustate deflorescit :  
La dignità dela corporal bellezza per infirmità overo per  
antiquità si desfiorisse.
14. Diligentibus deum omnia co[h]operantur in bonum :  
Ai amatori de dio tutte le cose li succedano ben.
15. Dabit deus his quoque finem :  
Dio darà fin a queste cose.
16. Dicam, quid sit amor: amor est insania mentis :  
Dirò che è amor: amor è una | insania de mente. f. 15<sup>v</sup>
17. Depredari cupit, qui thesaurum publice in uia portat :  
Colui ha volia de esser rubato che publicamente nela via  
porta el thesoro.
18. *Dum* furor in cursu est, currenti cede furori. Difficiles  
a[u]ditus impetus omnis habet :  
Quando la ira è accesa, dà li loco, però che in ogni cosa  
furiosa iè mala intrata.
19. Date et dabitur uobis :  
Date et serà tuto a voi.

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XIII, 12 *Dum* – vestigium] SEN., *De vita beata* 13, 4 (*dum*] *agedum Sen.*)

XIII, 13 Dignitas – deflorescit] *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 4, 27, 37 Formae dignitas aut morbo deflorescit aut vetustate extinguitur; *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 4, 27, 38 Formae dignitas aut morbo deflorescit aut vetustate ... Deflorescit formae dignitas aut morbo aut vetustate ... Aut morbo aut vetustate formae dignitas deflorescit

XIII, 14 Diligentibus – bonum] ROM. 8, 28

XIII, 15 Dabit – finem] VERG., *Aen.* 1, 199

XIII, 16 Dicam – mentis] IOH. GARL., *Epithalamium virginis* 9, 249 (Paetow 1927: 114); Walther 5579a

XIII, 17 Depredari – portat] SALIMB. ADAM, *Cronica*, p. 500, lin. 17 (*cupit*] desiderat *Salimb. de Adam*); cf. THOM. CHOB., *Sermo* 1, lin. 66 beatus Gregorius: Depredari desiderat qui thesaurum in via publica portat

XIII, 18 *Dum* – habet] OV., *Rem.* 119-120; *Polytbecon* 8, 8; THOM. CHOB., *Summa de arte praedicandi* 2, lin. 145; Walther 6541

XIII, 19 Date – uobis] LUC. 6, 38

20. Dulcior est apium mage labor, si malus ora prius sapor edat :  
L'è più dolçe el miele, quando l'omo ha ma<n>giato qua<l>che aspra cosa.
21. Donec eris felix, multos numerabis amicos. Tempora si fuerint nubila, solus eris :  
Per *infin* che serai *in* felicitade tu haverai de molti amici.  
Ma se el tempo lo renubilirà çoé, se diventerai povero, serai solo.
22. Difficile *inmo* impossibile est placere omnibus ; nec tanta vultuum *quanta* sententiarum diuersitas est :  
L'è difficile cosa, anci impossibile piacer a tuti et non sono tante le diversità di volti, *quante* è de pareri.
23. De ouili ouis que egreditur, lupi s<t>atim morsibus | pa- f. 16<sup>r</sup>  
tet :  
La pecora che esce fuora del grege va *incontenente in* bocha de lupo.

## C. XIII

1. Non sufficit abstinere a malo, nisi fiat, *quod bonum* est :  
Non basta astegnir-se dal mal, si *non* se fa quel che sia ben.
2. Nichil agas in operibus iniurie :  
Non operar *iniuria*.

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XIII, 20 Dulcior – edat] BOETH., *Philos. cons.* 3, carmen 1, 5-6

XIII, 21 Donec – solus eris] *Polythecon* 2, 740-741; cf. Ov., *Trist.* 1, 9, 5-6 Donec eris sospes, multos numerabis amicos : / tempora si fuerint nubila, solus eris; SALIMB. ADAM, *Cronica*, p. 292, lin. 1-2 Item alius poeta : Cum fueris felix, multos numerabis amicos; / nubila si fuerint tempora, solus eris; Walther 6277 (felix)

XIII, 22 Difficile – diuersitas est] HIER., *In Isaiam* 11, praef., lin. 1

XIII, 23 De – patet] HIER., *Vita Malchi* 3 (de ouili ouis que] ouis quae de ouili Hier.)

XIII, 1 Non – est] PROSP. AQUIT., *Liber sententiarum* 86; GRATIAN., *Decretum*, pars 2, causa 22, quaest. 5, canon 18

XIII, 2 Nichil – iniurie] Eccli. 10, 6

3. Non debet alteri per alterum iniqua condicio inferri:  
Una iniqua condition non se dé dare a uno per un altro.
4. Non est beneficium, quod prestatur inuitis:  
Non è beneficio quello che se concede contra voluntà.
5. Ne <c>uique utile, quod aduersa uoluntate conceditur:  
Non è utile a niuno quello che se conciede contra voluntà.
6. Nescit[ur] personas respicere, qui meram cogitat equitatem:  
Chi pensa usar equità, non resguardi persona.
7. Non qui patitur, sed qui facit contumeliam, miser est:  
Quelo che fa la iniuria et contumelia et non è quello che la substene, è misero.
8. Nisi caput sit sanum, om<n>ia menbra erunt in uitio:  
Si el capo non sta ben, niun menbro pò star bene.
9. Non vestis tenera clericum facit, sed caste mentis intentio:  
El clerico non è chiericho [per] | per la tenera veste, ma f. 16<sup>v</sup>  
per la mente honesta.
10. Numquam la[c]tenti apta turba dolo:  
La turbation non è mai manifesta cum un duolo nascoso.

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XIII, 8a caput] t<sup>ss</sup>.

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XIII, 3 Non debet – inferri] IUSTIN., *Digesta* 50, 17, 74

XIII, 4 Non – inuitis] CASSIOD., *Variae* 1, 38

XIII, 5 Ne – conceditur] CASSIOD., *Variae* 1, 38 (ne] nec *Cassiod.*; utile + videtur *Cassiod.*)

XIII, 6 Nescit[ur] – equitatem] CASSIOD., *Variae* 3, 13 (nescit *Cassiod.*)

XIII, 7 Non – est] HIER., *Epist.* 17, 1; DEFENS. LOCOGIAC., *Liber scintillarum*, prol. 2, lin. 18

XIII, 8 Nisi – uitio] cf. I Cor. 12, 26 Et si quid patitur unum membrum, compatiuntur omnia membra

XIII, 9 Non vestis – intentio] Ps. HIER., *Epist.* 42 (PL 30, 289C) Non vestis tenera clericum facit, aut sacerdotem: sed casta mentis intentio

XIII, 10 Numquam – dolo] STAT., *Thebais* 10, 242-243 Numquam apta latenti / turba dolo; Walther 19224a

11. Nullus qui timet, amat:  
Niun che teme ama.
12. Non diligamus uerbo neque lingua, sed uerbo *et* ueritate:  
Non amamo con le parole, ma cum la verità.
13. Nichil tam delectat animum, ut amicitia fidelis et dulcis:  
Niuna cosa tanto deleta al animo, quanto che in amicitia fedel et dolçe.
14. Nequit enim coherceri animus semel praua uoluntate uiciatus:  
L'animo non se pò constrençer viciato una volta dala cativa voluntà.
15. Non reddet sterilis semina iacta seges:  
La biada sterile non rende fruto.
16. Non dederis in tristitiam cor tuum, sed repelle eam a te:  
Non dar il cuor tuo a tristitia, ma caççala da te.
17. Nam scelus intra se tacitum qui cogitat ullum, facti crimen habet:  
Colui che dentro da sé pensa qualche selerança ha el peccato, come se l'havesse commesso.

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XIII, 12a uerbo<sup>2</sup>] *lege* opere

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XIII, 11 Nullus – amat] cf. AUG., *Serm. novissimi* 19D (=130A), 5 Non autem omnis qui timet amat, omnis qui amat timet

XIII, 12 Non – ueritate] I Ioh. 3, 18 (neque] nec I Ioh.; 2. uerbo] opere I Ioh.)

XIII, 13 Nichil – dulcis] SEN., *De tranquillitate animi* 7, 3 (tam delectat] tamen aequè oblectauerit Sen.)

XIII, 14 Nequit – uiciatus] Iohannes Chrysostomus, *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum* cap. 2 (PG 56, col. 644) Coherceri omnino nequit animus prava semel uoluntate uiciatus

XIII, 15 Non – seges] MART., *Epigr.* 5, 42, 4; Walther 18348a

XIII, 16 Non – a te] Eccli. 38, 21 (tristitia Eccli.)

XIII, 17 Nam – habet] Iuv. 13, 209-210; *Polythecon* 7, 380-381; Walther 15860

18. Nulla est tanta humilitas, que dulcedine glorie non tangatur: f. 17<sup>r</sup>  
 Non è sì gran humilitade che dala dolceça dela gloria non sia tocchata.
19. Ne des mulieri potestatem anime tue:  
 Non dar ala doma podestà del anima tua.
20. Noli esse sicut leo in domo tua euertens domesticos tuos  
*et* op⟨p⟩rimens subiectos tibi:  
 Non voler esser come un leon in casa tua, che tu consumi li toi domesticchi *et* facci oppressione ali toi soggetti.
21. Nichil sic offendit deum quam post peccata erecta ceruix  
*et* ex desperatione contemptus:  
 Niuna cosa così offende dio quanto dapo el peccato andar a capo levato *et* per desperation despreciar dio.

## C. XV

1. Er⟨r⟩are non uide⟨n⟩tur, qui nichilo indigere nituntur:  
 Non par che errano coloro che se sforçano non havien bisogno de niente.
2. Etenim sunt multa, que non nisi percus⟨s⟩a sanantur:  
 Molte sono le cose che non se possano sanare, se non sono percosse.

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XV, 2b possano] *pr.* o<sup>ss</sup>

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XIII, 18 Nulla – tangatur] VALER. MAX., *Facta et dicta* 8, 14, 5; VINC. BELVAC., *De morali principis institutione* 23 Ut enim ait Valer. Max., libro VIIIo: Nulla est tanta humilitas que dulcedine glorie non tangatur

XIII, 19 Ne – tue] Eccli. 9, 2 (ne] non Eccli.)

XIII, 20 Noli – tibi] Eccli. 4, 35

XIII, 21 Nichil – contemptus] HIER., *In Isaiam* 5, 22, 12

XV, 1 Errare – nituntur] BOETH., *Consol. philos.* 3, prosa 2 Num enim videntur errare hi qui nihilo indigere nituntur?

XV, 2 Etenim – sanantur] Ps. HIER., *Epist.* 5 (PL 30, 63B/C = PL 57, 924B) <Etenim sunt multa] Multa sunt enim Ps. Hier.>



3. Est *enim* semper fidele et gratum obsequium, quod ab amore magis quam quod a metu recipitur:  
El servitio facto per amore è molto più grato che se è fatto per paura.
4. | Est facies speculum mentis et taciti oculi mentis fatentur f. 17<sup>v</sup>  
archana:  
La faccia è il specchio dela mente et li ochi taciti confessano li secreti del animo.
5. Eum qui bene facit, noli prohibere:  
Non voler molestar chi ben fa.
6. Est nichil tristius invidia, que protinus ipsum auctorem torquet excruciatque suum:  
Non è pigior cosa che la invidia, la qual dà pena et tormento a chi la possede.
7. Esca ventri et uenter escis. Deus autem et hunc et illam destruet:  
Il cibo al ventre et lo ventre al cibo. Ma idio distruggerà l'uno et l'altro.

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XV, 3b servitio] *pr.* i<sup>ss</sup>; o<sup>ss</sup>

XV, 3b per paura] *in marg. vert.*

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XV, 4 Est – archana] HIER., *Epist.* 54, 13 Speculum mentis est facies et taciti oculi cordis fatentur arcana

XV, 5 Eum – prohibere] Prov. 3, 27 Noli prohibere benefacere eum qui potest; cf. GILB. HOIL., *Serm. in Cant. Salom.* 23, 4 Noli prohibere eos qui bene faciunt

XV, 6 Est – suum] HIER., *Comm. in IV epist. Paul. – Ad Galatas* 3, col. 445 Pulchre quidam de neotericis, Graecum versum transferens, elegiaco metro de invidia lusit, dicens: Iustius invidia nihil est: quae protinus ipsum auctorem rodit, excruciatque animum; ISID., *De diff. verborum* 610, col. 70 Pulchre autem quidam Graecum versum transferens elegiaco metro, de Invidia lusit decens: Iustius invidia nihil est: quae protinus ipsum auctorem rodit, excruciatque animum; GUILL. CONCH., *Glosae super Boetium in Consol.* 1, in metrum 4 ut ait quidam: Iustius invidia nichil est, quae protinus ipsum / auctorem rodit excrucians animum; Iohannes Sarisberiensis, *Policraticus* 7, 24 Recte quidem, cum et ethicus dicat quia Iustius invidia nihil est, quae protinus ipsum / auctorem rodit, excrucians animum; Walther 13310 Iustius invidia nihil est, que protinus ipsos / Corripit auctores excruciatque suos  
XV, 7 Esca – destruet] I Cor. 6, 13 (illam] haec I Cor.)

8. Esse viri dolor *non* debet *flagrantior* equo nec vulnere maior:  
Lo dolor del homo *non* debe esser maior del ragione-  
vele né dela [*per*] cosa che ha ricevuta.
9. Est confusio adducens peccatum et *confusio* adducens  
*gloriam* et *gratiam* :  
L'è alcuna *confusion* che mena il peccato et è alcuna *con-*  
*fusion* che mena gloria *et* gratia.
10. Eunt anni more fluentis aque:  
Li *anni* scorreno come aqua.
11. Ex *desperatione* clausis crescit audacia :  
Ali desperati li cresce l'audacia.
12. | Est *carum* tacere *quemquam*, quando loqui nichil prosit : f. 18<sup>r</sup>  
Caro è di tacere, *quando* el parlare te nuoxe.
13. Esse fructuosus debet publicus labor :  
La fatica publica dé esser *con* fructo.

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XV, 8b dela] a<sup>ss</sup>.

XV, 11b audacia] cia<sup>in marg. vert.</sup>

XV, 12a carum] *lege* rarum

XV, 13b fructo] t<sup>ss</sup>.

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XV, 8 Esse – maior] IUV. 13, 11-12 Flagrantior aequo / non debet dolor esse viri nec vulnere maior = *Polythecon* 4, 370-371 = Walther 9625a

XV, 9 Est – gratiam] Eccli. 4, 25 (est + enim *Eccli.*; et + est *Eccli.*)

XV, 10 Eunt – aque] *ALCUIN.*, *Carm.*. 80, 1, 2

XV, 11 Ex – audacia] *VEG.*, *Epitoma rei militaris* 3, 21, 2 Sed clausis ex desperatione crescit audacia

XV, 12 Est carum – prosit] *AMBR.*, *De officiis* 1, 2, 5 = *Ps. BERN. CLAR.*, *De ordine vitae* cap. 4 (PL 184, 569B) Rarum est tacere quemquam, cum sibi loqui nihil prosit; *AMBR.*, *De officiis* 1, 10, 35 Rarum est tacere quemquam, cum sibi non prosit loqui

XV, 13 Esse – labor] *CASSIOD.*, *Variae* 3, 19 Fructuosus esse debet publicus labor

14. Est faciliior uia ad *intellectum* per oculos *quam* per sermonem:  
Più facilmente se intende una cosa de veçuta che audita.
15. Est finis *precepti* caritas de corde puro:  
El fin del comandamento sì<sup>94</sup> è la carità de un puro core.
16. Eadem exitus amarissimos affert, cum assentatio habet iocunda pri(n)cipia:  
I fini sonno amaro, quando la assentation ha principii dolci.
17. Expel(l)it peccatum timor domini:  
El timor de dio descaccia il peccato.

## C. XVI

1. Amicitia nichil dulcius in humanis rebus:  
Non è niente più dolce nel mondo che la perfecta amicitia.
2. Amicitia sine amore numquam consistit:  
La amicitia sença amor mai non sta.

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XV,14 Est faciliior – sermonem] BEDA, *De ratione temporum* (PL 90, 363) Et quia faciliior ad intellectum per oculos via est, id quod sermo descripsit  
XV,15 Est – puro] AUG., *De baptismo* 3, 16, 21; BONAV., *Collationes in Hexaemeron* 2, 4 (est finis] finis enim Bonav.)

XV,16 Eadem – principia] *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 4, 15, 21 Habet adsentatio iucunda principia, eadem exitus amarissimos adfert; THOM. AQ., *Summa theologiae secunda secundae* quaestio 38, articulus 1 a Tullio, qui dicit ... habet assentatio iucunda principia, eadem exitus amarissimos affert

XV,17 Expellit – domini] Eccli. 1, 27 Timor dei expellit peccatum

XVI,1 Amicitia – rebus] PETR. BLES., *De amicitia Christiana* 3 (PL 207, 874C) In rebus humanis nihil dulcius amicitia invenitur

XVI,2 Amicitia – consistit] AELR., *De spiritali amicitia* 3, lin. 17 Amor sine amicitia esse potest, amicitia sine amore numquam

<sup>94</sup> Cf. GDLI, s.v. nr. 7

3. Amplior securitas solet grauius discrimen habere :  
Una gran securità sole haver un gran periculo.
4. Ab oc(c)asu describe diem, non solis ab ortu :  
Discrivi el çorno al tramontar | e non al nascer del sol. f. 18<sup>v</sup>
5. A sapiente consilium semper perquire :  
Cerca el conseio dal homo savio.
6. Adolescens, loquere in causa tua uix :  
Tu adolescente, parla in la tua cason pocho.
7. Absque labore graui uix premia magna dabuntur :  
Gran premii non si dà sença faticha.
8. Ars bona prebet opes :  
L'arte bona dà le richeççe.
9. A uiciis nescit desistere, quando senescit :  
L'omo non si sa partire dali vicii, quando vien vechio.

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XVI, 3b avere] h-<sup>ss</sup>.

XVI, 4b tramontar] tar<sup>in marg. vert.</sup>

XVI, 6b adolescente] c<sup>ss</sup>.

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XVI, 3 Amplior – habere] VEG., *Epitoma rei militaris* 3, 22, 10 Necessario autem amplior securitas gravius solet habere discrimen; LIUDPR., *Antapodosis* 4, 20 ut Vegetius Renatus in libro rei militaris ait, quod “necessario amplior securitas gravius solet habere discrimen”

XVI, 4 Ab occasu – ortu] GAUFRED. VINOS., *Poetria nova* 283 (occasu] casu *Gaufred. Vinos.*)

XVI, 5 A – perquire] Tob. 4, 19 Consilium semper a sapiente perquire

XVI, 6 Adolescens – uix] Eccli. 32, 10 (adulescens *Eccli.*); DEFENS. LOCOGIAC., *Liber scintillarum* 16, 35; GREG. M., *Regula pastoralis* 3, 25 Hinc per quendam sapientem dicitur: Adulescens loquere in causa tua vix; SALIMB. ADAM, *Cronica*, p. 141, lin. 28 = p. 353, lin. 31 Eccli. XXXII: Adolescens, loquere in tua causa vix

XVI, 7 Absque – dabuntur] *Rudium doctrina* 49 (premia] munera *Rudium doctrina*); Walther 201

XVI, 8 Ars – opes] IAC. BENEV., *Carmina moralia* 565; Walther 1383a

XVI, 9 A – senescit] SALIMB. ADAM, *Cronica*, p. 114, lin. 5 (desistere] recedere *Salimb. de Adam*); IOD. BADIUS ASC., *In Parthenicen Catharinariam Baptiste Mantuani exp.*, 3, lin. 915 (desistere] discere *Badius*); Walther 117

10. Ad loca prudentum tendas vestigia sepe:  
Va spiso ove è i savii homeni.
11. Augēt et non minuit mala consuetudo reatum:  
La mala consuetudine augmenta et non menuise el peccato.
12. Adulatores euitare difficillimum continentie opus est:  
È una gran difficultà ala continentia a scivar li adulatori.
13. Amatores adulationis multi sunt:  
Li amatori dele adulation sonno molti.
14. Alimenta varia sunt contraria bone valetudini:  
Ala sanità li è contrarii la diversità deli cibi.
15. A natura non effīcīmur boni uel mali:  
Da natura non | siamo boni né cativi. f. 19<sup>r</sup>
16. Amicus fidus habet fidum consilium:  
El fedel amico ha el fidel consiglio.
17. Aditum fides intellectui aperit, infidelitas claudit:  
La fede apre l'intellecto et la infidelità s<sup>95</sup> il serra et obfusca.

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XVI, 10 Ad – sepe] *Facetus* 129 Ad loca prudentum tendat vestigia sepe; Walther 378

XVI, 11 Augēt – reatum] *De christiana femina* 2, 54 Augēt, non minuit mala consuetudo reatum. Gens sine iustitia, sine remige navis in unda; Walther 1755b

XVI, 12 Adulatores – est] MART. BRACAR., *Formula vitae honestae* 4, p. 244 Difficillimum continentiae opus est adsentationes adulantium repellere

XVI, 13 Amatores – sunt] THOM. AQ., *Summa theologiae secunda secundae* quaestio 27, articulus 1, argum. 2 Sed sicut dicit philosophus, in VIII ethic., multi magis volunt amari quam amare, propter quod amatores adulationis sunt multi

XVI, 14 Alimenta – valetudini] SEN., *Ad Lucilium* 108, 18 Colligebat bonae valetudini contraria esse alimenta varia

XVI, 15 A natura – mali] THOM. AQ., *Tabula libri Ethicorum* cap. 14, vox 26, ref. 2 II Quod potentes sumus a natura, boni autem vel mali non effīcīmur a natura

XVI, 17 Aditum – claudit] AUG., *Epist.* 137, 4; PROSP. AQUIT., *Liber sententiarum* 128 (aditum – intellectui] intellectui fides aditum Aug., intellectui fides viam *Prosp. Aquit.*)

<sup>95</sup> Cf. *GDLI*, s.v. nr. 7

## C. XVII

1. Plenitudo legis est dilectio :  
La plenitudine de la legge è dilectione.
2. Per que peccat quis, per hec torquetur :  
Per quello che il homo pecca, per *quello* è tormentà.
3. Parum est nemini nocere, nisi studeat multis prodesse :  
Pocha cosa è a non noxer ad alcuno, si non se força de ço-  
var a molti.
4. Puluere qui ledit scribit, in marmore lesus :  
Quello che offende scrive nela polvere, et *quello* che è of-  
feso nel marmore.
5. Pugnañtes contraria videntur velle :  
Quelli che pugnano vogliano le cose contrarie.
6. Pessimus *quid* est? qui ad se ipsum *et* ad amicos utitur  
malitia :  
Quello è pessimo che usa malitia *cum sí et cum* li amici.
7. Perdit au<c>toritatem docendi, quouis opere sermo des-  
truitur :  
Quello *perde* la autorità del amaistrar | del cui parlar è f. 19<sup>v</sup>  
guasto per l'opera.

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XVII, 7a quouis] *lege* cuius

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XVII, 1 Plenitudo – dilectio] Rom. 13, 10

XVII, 2 Per – torquetur] Sap. 11, 17 (hec] haec et Sap.)

XVII, 3 Parum – prodesse] PROSP. AQUIT., *Liber sententiarum* 86 (studeas  
*Prosp. Aquit.*)

XVII, 4 Puluere – lesus] Walther 22886 Pulvere, qui ledit, sed lesus mar-  
more scribit; *Philosophia Patrum* 2317

XVII, 6 Pessimus – malitia] THOM. AQ., *Tabula libri ethicorum* cap. 14, vox 16,  
expos. 1 Quod pessimus est qui ad se ipsum et ad amicos utitur malicia;  
IOH. FONTE, *Auctoritates Aristotelis, Senecae, Boethii etc.* 12, 87 Pessimus est ille  
qui non solum utitur malitia ad se sed etiam ad alios

XVII, 7 Perdit – destruitur] HIER., *Epist.* 69, 8 = DEFENS. LOCOGIAC., *Liber  
scintillarum* 32, 40 = PETR. ABAEL., *Theologia christiana* 2, 41 Perdit enim auctori-  
tatem docendi, cuius sermo opere destruitur (enim] *om. Defens. Locogiac.*; di-  
cendi Petr. Abael.); SALIMB. ADAM, *Cronica*, p. 614, lin. 24 Item Ieronimus:  
Perdit auctoritatem docendi, cuius sermo opere destruitur

8. *Paucis minimisque rebus natura sepe contenta est:*  
La natura spese volte se *contenta* dele minime et piccole cose.
9. *Preclara opum mortalium beatitudo, quam cum adeptus fueris, securus esse desistis:*  
Bella et degna cosa è la beatitudine del homo, la qual *com-*  
*mo* l'omo l'aquistada, diventa sicuro *et* mancha de pen-  
sieri.<sup>96</sup>
10. *Preceps ymber subitus et nimi<u>s arua subuertit:*  
La piova subita *et* furiosa subverte i campi.
11. *Pluuia optima est illa, que sensim descendit ad terras:*  
Quella è bona piova che pian pian desende nella terra.
12. *Perfecisse enim iustitia est:*  
Mandare a perfectione una cosa è acto de iustitia.
13. *Placant homines munera deosque:*  
Li doni humilia i dei *et* li homeni.
14. *Proprie in mente et non in corpore consistit sanitas:*  
La sanità propriamente sta nella mente *et non [in]* nel cor-  
po.

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XVII, 8 *Paucis – contenta est*] BOETH., *Consol. philos.* 2, prosa 5 *paucis enim minimisque natura contenta est*

XVII, 9 *Preclara – desistis*] BOETH., *Consol. philos.* 2, prosa 5

XVII, 10 *Preceps – subuertit*] HIER., *Epist.* 54, 10 *Subitus et nimius imber praeceps arva subvertit*; DEFENS. LOCOGIAC., *Liber scintillarum* 10, 22 *Pluvia illa obtima est, quae sensim descendit in terra*; *subitus et nimius imber in praeceps arva subvertit*; PETR. CANTOR, *Summa quae dicitur Verbum abbreviatum* 2, 43 *Pluvia illa optima est, que sensim descendit in terram*; *subitus et nimius ymber preceps arva subvertit*

XVII, 11 *Pluuia – terras*] HIER., *Epist.* 54, 10 (*illa optima est Hier.*; ad] in *Hier.*); cf. XVII, 10

XVII, 12 *Perfecisse – est*] *Epist. ad Hier.* 148, 32 (*enim*] *om. Epist. ad Hier.*)

XVII, 13 *Placant – deosque*] OV., *Ars am.* 3, 653 *Munera capiunt hominesque deosque*

<sup>96</sup> Cf. XXIII, 125

15. Penitentie *non* abhorret laborem, qui ueraciter penitet :  
Quello *non* recusa la fatigha dela penitentia che veramente se pente.
16. Pena sui *est ipsa* | nequitia : f. 20<sup>r</sup>  
Essa nequitia è pena de sé stessa.
17. Perfectus nemo, nisi omnes gradus uirtutis impleuit :  
Niuno è *perfecto*, se *non* ha adimpito tuti li gradi di *perfectione et* de virtù.
18. Planta, que sepe transfertur, *non* conualelescit :  
La pianta che se *transpianta* spesso raro s'apiglia.
19. Preteriti mali habet secura recordatio delectationem :  
Una *secura recordatione* del mal passato ha *delectation*.
20. Posuit *deus* in sublimi humiles :  
Dio ha posto li humili in alto.
21. Pacem habete inter uos :  
Abiate pace intra vui.
22. Perfecta[s] caritas foras emittit timorem :  
La *perfecta* carità *manda* via el timor.
23. Plus alios *quam* se quis nisi stultus amat :  
Niuno ama più altri che sé, salvo si 'l *non* fuse mato.

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XVII, 15 Penitentie – penitet] BERN. CLAR., *Liber de gradibus humilitatis et superbiae* 47 Qui enim veraciter paenitet, laborem paenitentiae non abhorret  
 XVII, 16 Pena – nequitia] PUBLIL., *Sententiae*, littera N, versus 13 Nequitia ipsa poena sui est ; Walther 16503 Nequitia pena maxima ipsamet sui est  
 XVII, 17 Perfectus – impleuit] LACT., *Divinae institutiones* 5, 14, 18 Nemo perfectissimus nisi qui omnes gradus virtutis inpleverit  
 XVII, 18 Planta – conualelescit] IOH. FONTE, *Auctoritates Aristotelis, Senecae, Boethii etc.* 21, 9 Nec conualescit planta quae saepe transfertur = Walther 21552a (sepius *Walther*)  
 XVII, 19 Preteriti – delectationem] CIC., *Epist. ad famil.* 5, 12, 4 Habet enim praeteriti doloris secura recordatio delectationem  
 XVII, 20 Posuit – humiles] Iob 5, 11 Qui ponit humiles in sublimi  
 XVII, 21 Pacem – uos] MARC. 9, 49  
 XVII, 22 Perfecta – timorem] I Ioh. 4, 18 (emittit] mittit I Ioh.)  
 XVII, 23 Plus – amat] RICHARD. VENUS., *Comedia de Paulino et Polla* 430 (p. 150) ; Walther 21667a



24. Paucis esto familiaris, om⟨n⟩ibus equis :  
Habbi familiarità con pochi *et* si' iusto a tuti.
25. Prudens falli non potest nec fallere uult :  
L'omo savio non pò esser inganato *et non* vuole inganar.
26. Pollicitum est, quod lege est, non quod natura :  
Quello che è de leggi *et non* quello ch'è da *natura* è im-  
promesso.
27. | Palma qui capitur, gloriam finis habet : f. 20<sup>v</sup>  
Colui che ha la palma ha la *gloria* del fin.
28. Primus *enim* dies disponit extremum :  
El primo dì dispone l'ultimo, .i.<sup>97</sup> el naser *et* morir.
29. Principatus virum ostendit :  
La dignità over offitio fa cognoser l'omo.
30. Perturbata mente latius se ac longius fundit appetitus :  
Quando la *mente* è turbata, allora lo appetito sença ra-  
gione s'è dilatata.

## C. XVIII

1. Est fides sanctissimum humani peccatoris bonum :  
La fede è un ben sanctissimo del peccator humano.

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XVII, 24a equis] *lege* equus

XVII, 26b impromesso<sup>in marg. vert.</sup>

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XVII, 24 Paucis – equis] IOH. FONTE, *Auctoritates Aristotelis, Senecae, Boethii etc.*

23, 18 (equis] *aequus Ioh. de Fonte*)

XVII, 25 Prudens – uult] MART. BRACAR., *Formula vitae honestae* par. 2, p. 239

Prudens fallere non vult, falli non potest

XVII, 27 Palma – habet] PROSP. AQUIT., *Epigr.* 1, 30, 8 = *Polythecon* 4, 455 Pal-  
mam, qua capitur gloria, finis habet

XVII, 29 Principatus – ostendit] IOH. FONTE, *Auctoritates Aristotelis, Senecae, Boethii etc.* 12, 86

XVII, 30 Perturbata – appetitus] AMBR., *De officiis* 1, 47, 229 Perturbata  
enim mente latius se ac longius fundit appetitus

XVIII, 1 Est – bonum] SEN., *Ad Lucilium* 88, 29 (est] *post* bonum *Sen.* ; pec-  
catoris] *pectoris Sen.*)

<sup>97</sup> .i. = id est

2. Egris oculis odiosa est lux :  
Ali occhi infermi la luce è odiosa.
3. Est *enim* iuvenile viciu*m* non posse regere impetus :  
Non posser regere li impeti è vicio çovenil.
4. Est auditor cordis *et* non uocis deus :  
Dio è auditor del core *et* non dela voce.
5. Error non sua sponte, sed uariis incitatus ymaginibus  
culpe se implicat :  
Lo errore non per sé, ma per diverse circumstantie, se im-  
plica nella colpa.
6. Est turpis omnis | fraus : f. 21<sup>r</sup>  
Bruto *et* sorcio è ogni ingano.
7. Est mentibus hominum veri boni naturaliter inserta cupi-  
ditas, sed ad falsa deuius error adducit :  
Nele mente humane naturalmente è inserta la cupididade  
del vero bene, ma pur ali falsi beni per errore lo homo è  
menato.
8. Est in uicio, quicquid supra modum est :  
Ogni tropo è vicioso.

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XVIII, 2 Egris – lux] THOM. AQ., *In IV Sentent.*, dist. 14, quaestio 2, art. 3, quaestiuncula 2, resp. ad argum. 3 sicut oculis aegris odiosa est lux; Anonymus Bonnensis, *Comm. super sequentiam 'Ave praeclara maris stella'* p. 480, lin. 1118 quia egris oculis odiosa est lux, que sanis est amabilis

XVIII, 3 Est – impetus] SEN., *Troades* 250 Iuvenile vitium est regere non posse impetum

XVIII, 4 Est – deus] TERTULL., *De oratione* 17 deus autem non vocis, sed cordis auditor est

XVIII, 5 Error – implicat] VALER. MAX., *Facta et dicta* 9, 9 error ... non sua sponte, sed vanis concitatus imaginibus culpa se implicat

XVIII, 6 Est – fraus] AMBR., *De officiis* 9 (PL 16, 163D) Turpis est itaque omnis fraus; cf. CIC., *De officiis* 3, 15, 64 Numquam igitur est utile peccare, quia semper est turpe

XVIII, 7 Est – adducit] BOETH., *Consol. philos.* 3, prosa 2 (est + enim *Boeth.*; adducit] abducit *Boeth.*)

XVIII, 8 Est – est] HIER., *In Isaiam* 9, 30, 21 In utraque enim parte quicquid supra modum est, in vitio est

9. Et nisi vitia *non* reces<s>erint, virtutes *non* subeunt :  
Si i vicii *non* se parteno, le virtude *non* veneno.
10. Est cuique velle suum nec uoto viuitur uno :  
Ogn'omo ha il suo voler *et* ogn'omo *non* vive ad un modo.
11. Est quoque cunctarum nouitas gratissima rerum :  
Tute le cosse nuove piaceno.
12. Est nulla res longa mortalium, omnisque felicitas seculi dum tenetur amittitur :  
Niuna cosa humana è longa et ogni felicità mondana, finché se tene, tutavia se ne va.
13. Erit de hoste vindicta tanto celerior, quanto purior frequentiorque fuerit fusa oratio :  
Qua<n>to la oration serà puramente più frequentata, tanto più presto serà vinto lo inimico.
14. | Est sincera benignitas or[di]namentum omnium bonorum : f. 21<sup>v</sup>  
Una benignità sincera è uno or[di]namento de tuti li boni.<sup>98</sup>
15. Est omnis fraus turpis<sup>99</sup> :

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XVIII, 9b parteno] o<sup>65</sup>.

XVIII, 13a hoste] oste<sup>d.c.</sup>

XVIII, 13b inimico] o<sup>65</sup>.

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XVIII, 9 Et – subeunt] HIER., *In Isaiam* 9, 30, 23 (et nisi] nisi enim Hier.)

XVIII, 10 Est – uno] PERS., *Sat.* 5, 53; IOH. GARL., *Compendium gramatice* 4, 777; Walther 32949 (est – suum] velle suum cuique est Pers.; Ioh. de Garl.; Walther)

XVIII, 11 Est – rerum] OV., *Ex Ponto* 3, 4, 51; Walther 7846 (gratissima] carissima Ov.; Walther); *Polytbecon* 9, 513 (gratissima)

XVIII, 12 Est – amittitur] HIER., *In Isaiam* 11, 38, 16 (est] om. Hier.)

XVIII, 13 Erit – oratio] BONAV., *Serm. dominicales* 17, 9 Quanto oratio fuerit purior et ferventior celebrata, tanto celerior eicit [eicit] lege erit] de inimico vindicta

XVIII, 14 Est – bonorum] CASSIOD., *Variae* 10, 6 Ornamentum enim bonorum omnium est sincera benignitas

XVIII, 15 Est – turpis] cf. supra XVIII, 6

<sup>98</sup> Cf. XXIII, 20

<sup>99</sup> For the italian translation that is lacking here, see XVIII, 6.

## C. &lt;X&gt;IX

1. Sapiens in uerbis se ipsum amabilem facit :  
L'omo savio se fa amabile con le parole.
2. Semita iusti recta est :  
La via del custo è dreta.
3. Sola voluntatis forma mouet opus :  
La volontà è quella che move ad operarse.
4. Scio quosdam conualuisse corpore et animo egrotare cepisse :  
Io so alcuni esser sanati del corpo et del animo haver començato ad infermarse.
5. Si opera<m> medicantis expectas, oportet, ut uulnus detegas :  
Si tu vuoi esser medicato, bisogna che mostri el mal.
6. Sum<m>um bonum est, quo[d] quis adepto nichil ulterius desiderare queat :  
El summo bene è quello che chi, avendolo aquistato, non desidera più altro.
7. Sicut deprecantium humilitas meretur premia, ita superbia confidentis dei auxilio deser[u]itur :

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XIX, 2b custo] *lege* çusto

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XIX, 1 Sapiens – facit] Eccli. 20, 13

XIX, 2 Semita – est] Is. 26, 7

XIX, 3 Sola – opus] MATTH. VINDOC., *Tobias* 760 Sola uoluntatis forma monet opus

XIX, 4 Scio – cepisse] HIER., *Epist.* 52, 5

XIX, 5 Si – detegas] BOETH., *Consol. philos.* 1, prosa 4 Si operam medicantis expectas, oportet vulnus detegas

XIX, 6 Summum – queat] BOETH., *Consol. philos.* 3, prosa 2 Id autem est bonum quo quis adepto nihil ulterius desiderare queat

XIX, 7 Sicut – deseritur] HIER., *Epist.* 140, 21 (deprecantium humilitas enim humilitas deprecantis *Hier.* ; deseretur *Hier.*)

*Commo* la humilità del *precante* merita *premio*, cusì la *superbia* [de quello] | de quello che se confida in dio è de- f. 22<sup>r</sup>  
pressa.<sup>100</sup>

8. Scias *non* bene fieri, *quod* occupato fit *animo* :  
Sappi che *non* sta ben quello che se fa con l'animo occupa-  
to.
9. Sapientia *super* omnem posses<s>ionem preheminet ge-  
nerosa possessio :  
La sapientia è una possessione nobile sopra ogni altra  
possession.
10. Stipendium peccati mors est :  
La intrata del peccato è la morte.
11. Sermo dei ignitus est :  
El parlar de dio è infocato.
12. Simili sibi associatur homo :  
Lo homo se aconpagna a suo simele.
13. Sumuntur conuersatio<n>ibus mores :  
Li costumi se pilgiano dale conversatione.

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XIX, 7b *pr.* de quello] *in marg. vert.*

XIX, 13b pilgiano] o<sup>ss.</sup>; *lege* pigliano

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XIX, 8 Scias – animo] HIER., *Epist.* 85, 6 et scis ipse non bene fieri, quod occupato animo fiat

XIX, 9 Sapientia – possessio] BONAV., *Collationes in Hexaemeron*, visio tertia, coll. 7, par. 27 (sapientiae super possessionem omnem Bonav.)

XIX, 10 Stipendium – est] Rom. 6, 23 Stipendia enim peccati mors est; AUG., *Conf.* 10, 42 stipendium peccati mors est

XIX, 11 Sermo – est] Prov. 30, 5 omnis sermo dei ignitus clypeus est sperantibus in se; GREG. ILLIB., *Tractatus Origenis de libris S. Scripturarum* 9, lin. 154 dei enim sermo semper ignitus est

XIX, 12 Simili – homo] Eccli. 13, 20 omnis homo simili sui sociabitur; *Polythecon* 1, 565 Quod simili sibi quisque sociari debeat; THOM. CHOB., *Sermo* 11, lin. 67 Unde in Ecclesiastico XIIIo: omne animal diligit similem sibi, et omnis homo simili sibi sociabitur

XIX, 13 Sumuntur – mores] Walther 30689a Sumuntur a conversantibus mores = SEN., *De ira* 3, 8, 1

<sup>100</sup> Cf. *GDLI*, s.v. nr 3; Cf. XXIII, 141

14. Solus est, qui sine amico est :  
Quello è solo che è sença amico.
15. Sapientia hominis in uultu eius lucet :  
La sapientia del homo resplende nel suo volto.
16. Sapientia *etiam* in tenebris proprium fulgorem possedit :  
La sapientia resplende anco nelle tenebre.
17. Si fortis es, contemne mortem ; si debilis es, fuge :  
Si tu sei forte, desprecia la morte ; se sei debile, fugila.
18. Securitas negligentiam, negligentia cuntemptum parit :  
| La segurtà genera negligentia et la negligentia lo despre- f. 22<sup>v</sup>  
tio.

## C. XX

1. As(s)idua oratio iusti multum ualeat :  
Molto vale la frequente oration del homo iusto.
2. Acces(s)us ad beatitudinem nec est paruus cognitio infelicitatis sue :  
Il non è minça poco ascoltare ala beatitudine, quando  
l'omo cognose la sua infelicitade.
3. Amicitia esse non potest inter dispares mores :  
La amicitia non pò esser fra differenti costumi.

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XIX, 18a cuntemptum] *lege* contemptum

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XIX, 14 Solus – est] AELR., *De spiritali amicitia* 2, lin. 73 (solus + omnino Aelr.)

XIX, 15 Sapientia – lucet] Eccle. 8, 1 (lucet in vultu eius Eccle.)

XIX, 16 Sapientia – possedit] FULG., *Myth.* 2, 1 (possedit] possideat Fulg.)

XIX, 17 Si – fuge] AMBR., *Expos. evang. sec. Lucam* 7, lin. 19 (debilis] inbecillus Ambr.)

XIX, 18 Securitas – parit] GRATIAN., *Decretum*, pars 2, 33, 3, de paenitentia, dist. 1, canon 75 ne securitas negligentiam, et negligentia prepararet offensam  
XX, 1 Assidua – ualeat] Iac. 6, 16 Multum enim valet deprecatio iusti adsidua  
XX, 2 Accessus – sue] AUG., *De sermone Domini in monte* 1, 36 Nec parvus est ad beatitudinem accessus cognitio infelicitatis suae

XX, 3 Amicitia – mores] AELR., *De spiritali amicitia* 3, lin. 226 Inter dispares quippe mores, ut beatus ait Ambrosius, amicitia esse non potest ; cf. AMBR., *De officiis* 1, 33, 171 inter dispares mores et studia compugnantia, benevolentia esse non poterat

4. Armis suis quis perit, bis *interimit*<ur> :  
Do volte è morto chi perisse *con* le sue arme.
5. Animum *non* mutat, sed celum, qui *trans* mare currit :  
Colui che passa el mar muta la aiere, ma non costumi.
6. Alienus esse [de]debet a peccato, qui alterum peccati arguit :  
Colui che altri reprehende de peccato debe lui esser sen-  
ça peccato.
7. Acrius inui[c]tos multo[s] *que* fer[r]ocius urget, *quam* qui  
*seruitium* fer<r>e fatentur, amor :  
Coloro che non fa una cosa per amor porta duramente,  
ma coloro che la fa per amor non sente niente.
8. | Alimenta varia *contraria* sunt bone valetudini : f. 23<sup>r</sup>  
Ala sanità li è *contrarii* la diversità di cibi.
9. A natura non efficitur boni uel mali :  
Da natura *non* semo boni né mali.
10. Amicitie nullus locus, ubi *non* est amor :  
Niun luoco è d'amicitia dove *non* è amor.

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XX, 5a animun] *lege* animum

XX, 5a non<sup>*in marg.*</sup>

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XX, 4 Armis – interimitur] PUBLIL., *Sententiae*, littera B, versus 23 Bis interimitur, qui suis armis perit; SEDUL. SCOT., *Collect.* 80, 12 Seneca: Bis interimitur quis suis armis perit

XX, 5 Animum – currit] HOR., *Ep.* 1, 11, 27 Caelum, non animum, mutant qui trans mare currunt; HIER., *Epist.* 16, 2 Ut ait gentilis poeta: caelum, non animum mutat, qui trans mare currit

XX, 6 Alienus – arguit] AMBR., *De officiis* 3, 11, 72 Qui enim alterum peccati arguit, ipse a peccato debet alienus esse

XX, 7 Acrius – amor] OV., *Amores* 1, 2, 17-18; Walther 295

XX, 8 Alimenta – valetudini] SEN., *Ad Lucilium* 108, 18 Colligebat bonae valetudini contraria esse alimenta varia

XX, 9 A natura – mali] cf. SEN., *De beneficiis* 1, 6, 2 Neutram naturam habent, nec boni nec mali; THOM. AQ., *In II Sentent.* dist. 15, qu. 1, art 3 Sed boni vel mali efficitur per actus nostros

XX, 10 Amicitie – amor] cf. AMBR., *Epist. extra collectionem traditae* 1, 17 Ubi non est amor, non est fides, non est dilectio

11. Anime nullis suauior cibus *quam* cognitio ueritatis :  
Non è el più soave cibo al *anima* che la cognition dela  
verità.
12. Assentatio habet iocunda principia :  
Assentation ha principi dolci et i fini amari.
13. Aperta et nuda sunt omnia oculis *domini* :  
Omni cosa è aperta e nuda ali ochi de dio.
14. Audire quem delectat, alterum loqui prouocat :  
Quello che se delecta audire comove altri a parlar.
15. Animam suam odit, qui di<li>git iniquitatem :  
Cha ama la iniquità ha in odio l'anima sua.
16. Amico *quidquid* impenderis, *nunquam* improperes :  
Non improperar el beneficio che ha facto alo amico.
17. Aduersarios habere *non* possunt felices, quos superna  
protegunt :  
Chi è | deffeso di sopra non è superato dali soi aduersarii. f. 23<sup>v</sup>

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XX, **11a** nullis] *lege* nullus

XX, **11a** cibus] *lege* cibus

XX, **15a** animam] *lege* animam

XX, **15b** cha] *lege* chi

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XX, **11** Anime – ueritatis] LACT., *Divinae institutiones* 1, 1, 19 Nullus enim suauior animo cibus est quam cognitio ueritatis; SEDUL. SCOT., *Collect.* 8, 7 Lactantius: Nullus suauior amico (!) cibus est quam cognitio ueritatis

XX, **12** Assentatio – principia] *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 4, 15, 21 Habet assentatio iocunda principia, eadem exitus amarissimos adfert; THOM. AQ., *Summa theologiae secunda secundae* quaestio 38, articulus 1 a Tullio, qui dicit ... habet assentatio iocunda principia, eadem exitus amarissimos affert

XX, **13** Aperta – domini] cf. SALIMB. ADAM, *Cronica*, p. 484, lin. 23 Deus novit, cui nota sunt omnia, aperta et nuda

XX, **14** Audire – prouocat] AMBR., *De officiis* 1, 18, 76 quoniam quem delectat audire, alterum loqui prouocat

XX, **15** Animam – iniquitatem] Ps. 10, 6 qui autem diligit iniquitatem, odit animam suam

XX, **16** Amico – improperes] *Dicta Catonis ex Columbano* 35 Improperes nunquam, dederis munuscula siqua; Walther 11647 (dederas)

XX, **17** Aduersarios – protegunt] CASSIOD., *Variae* 8, 26 Quos superna protegunt, felices aduersarios habere non possunt



18. A *domino* diligetur, qui sequitur iusti<ti>*am*:  
Collui che sequita la iustitia serà amato da dio.
19. Alimenta corporis tunc preclara est, cum *anima* ieiunat a viciis:  
Alhora è una abstinencia degna di corpo, *quando* l'anima ieiuna ali vicii.
20. Aperte inimicitie minime timende sunt *quam* tacite et oc<c>ulte:  
Le tacite et occulte inimicitie son più da esser temude che quelle che sono aperte.

## C. XXI

1. Vtilia uale<a>nt:  
Le cose più utile vagliano.
2. Vbique regnat invidia:  
In ciaschuno locho regna la invidia.
3. Vere *enim* ceci sunt, *qui* celestia non uidentes *et* in tenebris ignorantie circumfusi terrena *et* fragilia venerantur:  
Veramente quelli sommo ciechi che, obfuscati dale tenebre dela ignorantia, non vede le cose celeste, ma honorano le cose fragile et terene.
4. Vnus interitus est hominis *et* iumentorum:  
Una medema morte è deli homeni et deli animali bruti.

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XX, 19a alimenta] *lege* abstinencia

XX, 19a ieiunat] *t<sup>cs</sup>*

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XX, 18 A – iustitiam] Prov. 15, 9 Qui sequitur iustitiam, diligetur ab eo  
 XX, 19 Alimenta [*lege* Abstinencia] – viciis] Ps. HIER., *Epist.* 148 (*Ad Celantiam matronam*, PL 22, 1214/15) Tunc, inquam, praeclara est abstinencia, tunc pulchra atque magnifica castigatio corporis, cum est animus ieiunus a vitiis  
 XX, 20 Aperte – occulte] *Retiarius* 4, 1, 1 = Jani Nicii Erythraei *eudemia* Alio hic more ac Romae vivitur, ubi indictae et apertae inimicitiae magis exercentur quam tacitae et occultae

XXI, 1 Vtilia ualent] GREG. M., *Registrum epist.* 9, 124 Utilia valeant

XXI, 2 Vbique – invidia] cf. THOM. CHOB., *Sermo* 16, lin. 121 ubi regnat invidia, ibi habitat precipue diabolus

XXI, 3 Vere – venerantur] LACT., *Divinae institutiones* 4, 26, 5 (in] *om. Lact.*)

XXI, 4 Vnus – iumentorum] Eccle. 3, 19

5. Vbi intenderis ingenium, valet :  
Dove meti lo inge | gnio, in quello vali : f. 24<sup>r</sup>
6. Vtiliter studium quod tibi cedit, ama :  
Ama el studio et lo exercitio che te rende utilità.
7. Virtus <maior> est bene facere *quam* bene pati :  
Maçor virtù è a ben far che a ben patir.
8. Vbi non est auditus, non effundas sermonem :  
Dove non è orechie, non parlar.
9. Vigilanti et non dormienti iura subueniunt :  
La raxon suviene a quello che vegia *et non* a quello che dorme.
10. Vniuersa delicta operit caritas :  
La carità coverge tuti i peccadi.
11. Vniuersas mentium cogitationes intelligit deus :  
Dio intende tute li pensieri e cogitation dele nostre mente.
12. Vir fidelis multum laudatur :  
L'omo fidele è molto laudato.
13. Virtute salias frustra conaris habere, si uirtus fidei deficit ipsa tibi :  
Invan se cercha l'altre virtù, manchando la fede.

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XXI, 13a virtutes] virtus<sup>d.e.</sup>

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XXI, 5 Vbi – valet] BERN. CLAR., *Serm. super psalmum 'Qui habitat'* 1, 2 (ubi + enim Bern. Clar.)

XXI, 6 Vtiliter – ama] OV., *Ex Ponto* 4, 2, 48

XXI, 7 Virtus – pati] THOM. AQ., *Tabula libri Ethicorum* cap. 18 vox 3, ref. 36 IV I c. [78607] Quod virtutis magis est beneficere quam bene pati

XXI, 8 Vbi – sermonem] Eccli. 32, 6 (ubi non] ubi Eccli.)

XXI, 9 Vigilanti – subueniunt] IUSTIN., *Digesta* 7, 40, 1 Vigilantibus, non dormientibus iura subueniunt ; Walther 33326g Vigilantibus, non dormientibus servit lex

XXI, 10 Vniuersa – caritas] PROV. 10, 12

XXI, 11 Vniuersas – deus] I Par. 28, 9 (deus] *om. I Paralip.*)

XXI, 12 Vir – laudatur] PROV. 28, 20 (laudatur] laudabitur *Prov.*)

XXI, 13 Virtutes – tibi] RICHARD. VENUS., *Comedia de Paulino et Polla* 579-580 (p. 176) <ipsa] una Richard. Venus.> ; Walther 33717c

14. Vitam beatam efficiunt tranquil<l>itates conscientie et securitas in<n>ocentie:  
La vita beada succede *per* tranquillità dela *conscientia et securità* dela *innocentia*.
15. | Voluntario facinori nulla est excusatio : f. 24<sup>v</sup>  
El peccato voluntario *non* è exusato.
16. Vtile consilium, *dominus*, ne despice *serui* :  
El signor non dé despreçare l'utile *conseglio* del *servo*.
17. Ve manibus male facientibus !:  
Gai ale *mani* de malfactori !
18. Veritatis amor sit tantus, ut, *quicquid* dixeris, iuratum putes :  
L'amor de la verità sie tanto che quello che dirai, pensa de averlo çurato.
19. Vim grandem obti[ti]net uera dilectio :  
El vero amor ha una gran força.
20. Vix illata leuat minuitque coactio culpam :  
El peccato *non* voluntario *non* ha colpa.
21. Vl<t>ra posse suum nullum lex equa coegit :  
Niuna legge costrençe ultra le forze del homo.

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XXI, 14b innocentia<sup>in marg. vert.</sup>

XXI, 15a facinori] facori<sup>a.c.</sup>

XXI, 20a vix] *lege* vis

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XXI, 14 Vitam – innocentie] AMBR., *De officiis* 2, 1, 1 (tranquillitas Ambr.)

XXI, 15, Voluntario facinori – excusatio] *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 2, 30, 49 et dicimus voluntario facinori nullam <esse> excusationem

XXI, 16 Vtile – serui] *Dicta Catonis* 3, 10, 1; ALCUIN., *Carm.* 62, 91; Walther 32688

XXI, 17 Ve – facientibus] Eccli. 2, 14 Vae duplici corde et labiis scelestis et manibus malefacientibus

XXI, 18 Veritatis – putes] *Epist. ad Hier.* 148, 19 (veritatis – tantus] tantusque in te sit veri amor *Epist. ad Hier.*)

XXI, 19 Vim – dilectio] *Epist. ad Hier.* 148, 4 (grandem vim *Epist. ad Hier.*)

XXI, 20 Vix – culpam] GUALT. CAST., *Alexandreis* 3, 233 (vix] vis *Gualt. Cast.*); Walther 33774g

XXI, 21 Ultra – coegit] ALBERT. BRUX., *Liber consolationis et consilii* cap. 36; Walther 32103 Ultra posse meum lex me nihil ulla coegit

22. Verba prudentum statera ponderabuntur :  
Le parole deli homeni savii se pexeranno con la staiera.
23. Ve qui *condunt* leges iniquas ! :  
Guai a color fa le legge *inique* !
24. Vnicuique patria sua carior est :  
A ciscadun la sua patria li è più cara che le altre.
25. Vincit cuncta labor :  
La fatica vince | ogni cosa, over homo fa fructo dove se f. 25<sup>r</sup>  
afatiga.
26. Viue tibi, *quantumque* potes *prelustria* vita :  
Vivi bene et *quanto* che tu poi, fuggi i gran inlustri.

## C. XXII

1. Respicit vias *dominus* hominis et omnes gres<s>us illius  
*considerat* :  
Dio resguarda le vie deli homeni *et* tuti i suo' passi.
2. Rectus est cal<l>is iusti ad ambulandum :  
L'*anima* de homo iusto è dreta.
3. Reliqua sperare libertas potest :  
La libertà fa star *in sperança*.
4. Res *enim* anxia est *humanorum* condicio bonorum :  
La condition deli boni humani è una cosa angustiosa.

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XXI, 22 Verba – ponderabuntur] Eccli. 21, 28 (prudentium *Eccli*)

XXI, 23 Ve – iniquas] Is. 10, 1

XXI, 24 Vnicuique – est] CASSIOD., *Variae* 1, 21

XXI, 25 Vincit – labor] GUALT. CAST., *Alexandreis* 10, 318-19; Walther 33436;  
DON. CANUS., *Vita Mathildis* 1, 34

XXI, 26 Viue – vita] Ov., *Trist.* 3, 4, 5

XXII, 1 Respicit – considerat] Prov. 5, 21

XXII, 2 Rectus – ambulandum] Is. 26, 7

XXII, 3 Reliqua – potest] BOETH., *Consol. philos.* 1, prosa 4 nam quae sperari  
reliqua libertas potest?

XXII, 4 Res – bonorum] BOETH., *Consol. philos.* 2, prosa 4 Anxia enim res  
est humanorum condicio bonorum

5. Remigium aliene manus in fluctibus semper queritur et optatur:  
Dele tribulatione se ricerca et desidera l'altrui mano et l'altrui remi.
6. Res non queritur in amicis, *sed* voluntas:  
Non se cerca robba nela amicitia, ma la volontà.
7. Rabidi canes etiam proprium dominum non cognoscunt:  
Li cani [rabio] rabiosi anche non conoscono el proprio suo patron.
8. Regnum | humanarum domi(n)a est fortuna: f. 25<sup>v</sup>  
La fortuna è madona dele cosse humane.
9. Resistere ire dei nemo potest:  
Niuno puol resister ala ira de dio.
10. Rotat fortuna fatum:  
La fortuna rivolta el fato.
11. Recta reddit faciem publicam honorata frequentia:  
La frequentia honorata publicamente fa l'omo formoso et magnifico.
12. Res est sol(1)icita plena timoris amor:  
L'amor è una cosa piena de timor.

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XXII, 7b rabio<sup>exp.</sup>

XXII, 8a regnum] *lege* rerum

XXII, 12a timoris amor] *in marg.*

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XXII, 5 Remigium – optatur] Ps. HIER., *Epist.* 5 (PL 30, 61A) In fluctibus alienae manus remigium semper quaeritur et optatur

XXII, 6 Res – voluntas] HIER., *Epist.* 68, 1 in amicis enim non res quaeritur, sed voluntas

XXII, 8 Regnum – fortuna] CIC., *Pro M. Claudio Marcello* 7 quin etiam illa ipsa rerum humanarum domina Fortuna

XXII, 9 Resistere – potest] Iob 9, 13 Deus cuius resistere irae nemo potest

XXII, 10 Rotat fortuna fatum] cf. SEN., *Thyestes* 618 Stare fortunam, rotat omne fatum; Walther 26955c Rotat omne fatum

XXII, 11 Recta – frequentia] CASSIOD., *Variae* 3, 6 et laetam reddit faciem publicam honorata frequentia

XXII, 12 Res – amor] OV., *Heroid.* 1, 12; ALBERT. STAD., *Troilus* 3, 2; Walther 26665 (solliciti Ov.; Albertus Stad.; Walther)

13. Recte de se nemo potest iudicare :  
Niuno pò de sé medemo iudicar.
14. Res nulla tam facilis, *quin* fiat difficilis, si inuitus facias :  
Niuna cosa è tanto facile che a far la malvolentiera *non*  
doventi difficile.
15. Retinere quis potest conceptum se⟨r⟩monem :  
Che è quello che possa retegnir el suo *concepto*.
16. Rerum consilium sapiens spectat, non exitum :  
El savio conscio considera et riguarda non solamente el  
fin dele cose, ma el principio et ancho el ineço.<sup>101</sup>
17. Res publica labore ac iustitia crescit :  
Per fatiga et per iustitia cresce la republica |. f. 26<sup>r</sup>

## C. XXIII

1. Oculi tui, benigne *domine*, respiciunt fidem :  
Signor, li tuoi ochi resguardano la fede benignamente.
2. Omne *enim quod* manifestatur, lumen est :  
Ogni cosa che se manifesta è lume.
3. Operis expres⟨s⟩io cordis est indicium :  
La expresion del opera è inditio del core.

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XXII, 13b iudicar] di<sup>is</sup>

XXII, 14a facias] facis<sup>d, e</sup>

XXII, 16b ineço] *lege* meço

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XXII, 14 Res – facias] TER., *Heautontimorumenos* 805-806 Nulla est tam facilis res, quin difficilis siet, quam invitus facias

XXII, 15 Retinere – sermonem] Iob 4, 2 Conceptum sermonem tenere quis possit

XXII, 16 Rerum – exitum] SEN., *Ad Lucilium* 14, 16 Denique consilium rerum omnium sapiens, non exitum spectat. Initia in potestate nostra sunt: de eventu fortuna iudicat

XXII, 17 Res – crescit] SALL., *De coni. Catil.* 10, 1 labore atque iustitia res publica crevit

XXIII, 1 Oculi – fidem] Ier. 5, 3 Domine, oculi tui respiciunt fidem

XXIII, 2 Omne – est] Eph. 5, 13

<sup>101</sup> Cf. XXIII, 15

4. *Omnia* tempus habent :  
Omni cosa ha il suo tempo.
5. *Omni* tempore diligit, qui amicus est :  
Quello che è amico ama *in omni* tempo.
6. *Omnia* tempus domat :  
El tempo doma tute le cose.
7. Odite malum *et* diligite bonum :  
Odiare el mal *et* amare el ben.
8. *Omnes* qui appetunt munera, tribulationes secuntur :  
Tuti quelli che desiderano li doni sequitano le tribulatione.
9. *Omnis* qui facit peccatum, seruus est peccati :  
Omni homo che fa el peccato è servo del peccato.
10. *Omne* honestum voluntarium est :  
Omni cosa honesta è voluntaria.
11. Om(n)ia corda scrutatur deus et uniuersas mentium cogitationes intelligit :  
Dio *per*cruta tuti li cori et *intende* tute le mente deli homeni.

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XXIII, **8b** desiderano] desidarano<sup>a.c.</sup>

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XXIII, **4** Omnia – habent] Eccle. 3, 1; cf. DRAC., *Satisf.* 10 = EUGEN. TOLET., *Satisf.* 8 Omnia tempus habent, nam tibi tempus abest; HILDEB. CENOM., *Ord.* 201 Omnia tempus habent, modo florent quae modo tabent; Archipoeta 3, 1 Omnia tempus habent, et ego breve postulo tempus; ODO CLUN., *Occup.* 5, 6 Omnia tempus habent, sed non habet omnia tempus; Walther 20086-20087

XXIII, **5** Omni – est] Prov. 17, 17

XXIII, **6** Omnia – domat] Walther 31301c Tempus omnia domans

XXIII, **7** Odite – bonum] Am. 5, 15

XXIII, **9** Omnis – peccati] Ioh. 8, 34

XXIII, **10** Omne – est] SEN., *Ad Lucilium* 66, 16

XXIII, **11** Omnia – intelligit] I Par. 28, 9 (omnia + enim I Par.; deus] dominus I Par.)

12. *Omnibus* | *diebus* vite tue in mente habete deum : f. 26<sup>v</sup>  
In tuti i dì dala tua vita habbi in mente dio.
13. *Omnis* uirtus boni in bonum est :  
Omni virtude ben è in ben.
14. *Omnes* bene uiuendi *rationes* in virtute collocate sunt :  
Tute le raxon del ben viver sonno poste nelle virtude.
15. *Oculi domini* super timentes eum :  
Li ochi [de] de dio sonno sopra de coloro che 'l temeno.
16. *Omnes* vie hominum patent oculis *domini* :  
Tute le vie deli homeni sonno manifeste ali ochi de dio.
17. *Omnia* possibilia sunt credenti :  
Omni cossa è possibile a colui che crede.
18. *Ordinem* fa[c]ti eterna series rotat :  
L'ordine eterno rivolta l'ordine dila cosa fatal.
19. *Opinionum* incertum quod est melius est scire quam opinari :  
È meglio de saper la cosa che haver opinion de esse,  
perché con la opinione è la incertitudine.
20. *Ornamentum* omnium bonorum est sincera benignitas :  
Una benignità sincera è uno ornamento de tuti li beni.<sup>102</sup>
21. *Obsequium* amicos, veritas odium parit : f. 27<sup>r</sup>  
El | se ruitio aquista li amici et la verità aparrechia odio.

XXIII, 12 *Omnibus* – deum] CYPRIANUS, *Ad Quirinum* 3, 1 = *De opere et eleemosynis* (in – deum] fili deum in mente habere Cyprianus)

XXIII, 14 *Omnes* – sunt] *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 4, 17, 24 (*collocatae sunt*] sunt conlocandae *Rhetorica ad Herennium*)

XXIII, 15 *Oculi* – eum] *Eccli.* 34, 19

XXIII, 16 *Omnes* – domini] *Prov.* 16, 2 (*domini*] eius *Prov.*)

XXIII, 17 *Omnia* – credenti] *Marc.* 9, 22

XXIII, 18 *Ordinem* – rotat] *SENeca, Naturales quaestiones* 2, 35, 2 Sic ordinem fati rerum aeterna series rotat

XXIII, 20 *Ornamentum* – benignitas] *CASSIODORUS, Variarum* 10, 6 *Ornamentum* enim bonorum omnium est sincera benignitas

XXIII, 21 *Obsequium* – parit] *TERENTIUS, Andria* 68; Walther 19648

<sup>102</sup> Cf. XVIII, 14.



22. Obtemperare stultitie sum~~m~~a libertas est :  
Obedire ala stultitia è una grande libertà.
23. Omni[s] laude decoratur, qui iustus edicitur :  
Quello è decorato de omni laude, el quale è reputato iusto.
24. Om~~m~~is actus in uoluntate propositi est :  
Omni stato sta nela volontà del proposito.
25. Omnia fert[e] etas :  
La età dà ogni cosa.
26. Opiniones tue iudicia sint :  
Le tue opinion siano iudicii.
27. Omnis, qui male agit, odit lucem :  
Coloro che fa male ha in odio la luce.
28. Opera testimonia sunt uoluntatis :  
Le opere son testimonio dela volontà :
29. Om~~m~~ia mala docuit ociositas :  
Le ociosità sì<sup>103</sup> insegna omni male.

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XXIII, 23b reputato] *lege* reputato

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XXIII, 22 Obtemperare – libertas est] BOETH., *Consol. philos.* 1, prosa 5 obtemperare iustitiae summa libertas est

XXIII, 23 Omni[s] – edicitur] CASSIOD., *Variae* 12, 2 (omni *Cassiod.*)

XXIII, 24 Omnis – est] CASSIOD., *Variae* 9, 3 (uoluntate] qualitate *Cassiod.*)

XXIII, 25 Omnia – etas] VERG., *Ecl.* 9, 51; HRABAN., *Carm.* 37, 23; ALBERT. STAD., *Troilus* 5, 691; Walther 19987 (ferte] fert *Verg.*; *Hraban.*; *Albert. Stad.*; *Walther*).

XXIII, 26 Opiniones – sint] THOM. CHOB., *Summa de commendatione et extirpatione virtutum* 4, lin. 1228 Unde etiam philosophus ait: Opiniones tue iudicia sint

XXIII, 27 Omnis – lucem] Ioh. 3, 20 (omnis – male] omnis enim qui mala *Iob.*)

XXIII, 28 Opera – uoluntatis] THOM. AQ., *De malo* q. 2 a. 2 arg. 4

XXIII, 29 Omnia – ociositas] Eccli. 33, 29 Multam enim malitiam docuit otiositas; CASSIAN., *De inst. coenobiorum* 10, 21, 4 multa enim mala docuit otiositas

<sup>103</sup> Cf. *GDLI*, s.v. nr. 7

30. Otia si tollis, peri<e>re cupidinis arma :  
Chi se adopera tuole via la temptation.
31. Omnia certo tramite uadunt :  
Tute le cosse che vin da dio va dretamente.
32. Omnis mora torquet amantem :  
Omni dusia dà pena al amante |. f. 27<sup>v</sup>
33. Omne solum forti patria est :  
Omni terra è patria al omo forte.
34. Omnes dies pauperis mali :  
Tuti li dì del puovero sono cativi.
35. O quam difficil[il]e est crimen non prodere uultu :  
O quanto difficille cossa, quando lo homo ha peccato, nol  
mostrarlo nel volto.
36. Omnia sunt hominum tenui pendentia filo. Et subito  
casu que ualuere ruunt :  
Le cose humane sono come attaccate tute in uno sotille  
filo. Et quelle che ben pareno forte subitamente cadeno.
37. Omne animal nanque salutem laborat tueri, mortem  
uero pernicienque, deuitat :  
Omne animal se studia de conservare la sua salute et  
furger la morte et omni cosa che li nuoxa.

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XXIII, 36b attachate] *pr. t<sup>ss</sup>*

XXIII, 37a pernicienque] *lege* pernicienque

XXIII, 37b furger] *lege* fugger

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XXIII, 30 Otia – arma] OV., *Rem.* 139 Otia si tollas, periere Cupidinis arcus = GUILL. CONCH., *Dragmaticon philosophiae* 4, 1, 3 = *Polytheon* 8, 82 = Walther 20513

XXIII, 31 Omnia – uadunt] SEN., *Oedipus* 987

XXIII, 32 Omnis – amantem] PETRARCA, *Bucolicum carmen* 32 (Aptius:) Fare !  
Quid expectas ? Omnis mora torquet amantem

XXIII, 33 Omne – est] OV., *Fasti* 1, 493; Walther 19878

XXIII, 34 Omnes – mali] PROV. 15, 15

XXIII, 35 O – uultu] OV., *Met.* 2, 447 (o] heu Or.); Walther 19533

XXIII, 36 Omnia – ruunt] OV., *Ex Ponto* 4, 3, 35-36; HILDEB. CENOM., *Misc.* 68, 1-2; MATTH. VINDOC., *Ars* 1, 17, 5-6; Walther 19792

XXIII, 37 Omne – deuitat] BOETH., *Consol. philos.* 3, prosa 11 Omne namque animal tueri salutem laborat, mortem vero pernicienque deuitat

38. Oratio iugis infirmitas hostis :  
La continua oratione sconfige lo inimico, cioè el demonio.
39. Omnia caritas superat et propositum uincit affectus :  
La carità excide le altre cose et vince la deliberation facta per passion. |

f. 28<sup>r</sup>

## C. XXIII

Et ultimum, *in* quo omnia, *que* michi *superfuerunt*, *inclusi*<sup>104</sup> :

1. Benedictio *domini* super caput iusti :  
La benediction del signor è sopra el capo del homo iusto.
2. Boni *quid* simpliciter sunt multifariam autem mali :  
L'omo è bon a un modo, ma cativo a molti modi pò essere.
3. Blanditie plus *quam* dira venena noc[c]ent :  
Le lusenge noceno più che li crudeli veneni.
4. Bonum est prestolari cun silentio :  
Bono è ad aspectare et tacer.
5. Beatus, qui tenebit :  
Beado colui che regnerà.
6. Comes virtutum inuidia :  
La compagnia dele virtu è la invidia.

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XXIII, 38 Oratio – hostis] cf. ISID., *Synonyma de lamentatione animae peccatricis* 2, 13 (PL 83, 848B) Oratio continua diaboli tela exsuperat

XXIII, 39 Omnia – affectus] HIER., *Epist.* 17, 1 caritas omnia superat et propositum vincit affectus

XXIII, 1 Benedictio – iusti] Prov. 10, 6 (domini] *om. Prov.*)

XXIII, 3 Blanditie – nocent] GUALT. ANGL., *Fab.* 62, 14; Walther 2077 (dura Walther)

XXIII, 4 Bonum – silentio] Thren. 3, 26

XXIII, 5 Beatus – tenebit] Ps. 136, 9

XXIII, 6 Comes – inuidia] Walther 12748a Invidia est individua virtutis comes; Rezende 1952: 2856 Invidia virtutum comes

<sup>104</sup> Written in red ink.

7. Cogitatio praua delect<at>ionem parit :  
La cativa delectatione over cogitatione parturisse delectatione.
8. Constantie lex est, ut neque in malo persistamus neque in bonis fiendis vagi sumus :  
La leggie dala constantia sì è che noi non stiamo nel male et a essere boni non siamo vagabundi.
9. Curiositas periculosa presumptio est :  
Una curiosità è una presumption periculosa.
10. Cor durum male habebit in nouissimo :  
El cuor duro haverà | mal nel ultimo dì. f. 28<sup>v</sup>
11. Crimen committitur, si est voluntas nocendi :  
El peccato se reputa comesso, quando è presente la voluntà de nuocere.
12. Cum fueris felix, multo<s> numerabis amicos :  
Quando serai felice, te numererai molti et asa' amici.

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XXIII, 7a praua] pura<sup>a.c.</sup>

XXIII, 8a sumus] lege simus

XXIII, 10b ultimo] 1<sup>st</sup>.

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XXIII, 7 Cogitatio – parit] ISID., *Sentent.* 2, col. 624

XXIII, 8 Constantie – sumus] GUILL. CONCH., *Moralium dogma philosophorum* 1 c. 5 Hec quidem est lex constancie ut nec in malis persistamus, nec in bonis simus vagi

XXIII, 9 Curiositas – est] DEFENS. LOCOGIAC., *Liber scintillarum* 70, 19

XXIII, 10 Cor – nouissimo] Eccli. 3, 27

XXIII, 11 Crimen – nocendi] GRATIAN., *Decretum*, pars 1, dist. 50, canon 47 Crimen enim contrahitur, si et voluntas nocendi intercedat

XXIII, 12 Cum – amicos] *Polythecon* 2, 740 Donec eris felix, multos numerabis amicos; Walther 4165; cf. Ov., *Trist.* 1, 9, 5 Donec eris sospes, multos numerabis amicos; SALIMB. ADAM, *Cronica*, p. 292, lin. 1 Item alius poeta: Cum fueris felix, multos numerabis amicos; GUALT. ANGL., *App. pr.* 16, 3 Cum fueris felix omnes numerabis amicos; SALIMB. ADAM, *Cronica*, p. 292, lin. 1-2 Item alius poeta: Cum fueris felix, multos numerabis amicos; GUILL. WHEATLEY, *Expositio in Boethii De consolatione philosophiae* 2, 15 Item alibi: Cum fueris felix, multos numerabis amicos; GUILL. PERALD., *De eruditione principum* 1, 11: Cum fueris felix, multos numerabis amicos

13. Criminibus tactis sudant precordia culpa :  
L'omo incolpato del peccato suda e comove el pecc<a>to  
et tuti li interiori.
14. Conscientia semper in pena est :  
La consientia è sempre in pena.
15. Consiliun rerum sapiens spectat, non exitum :  
El savio consiglio considera et resguada non solamente el  
fin dele cose, ma il principio *et* anche il mezzo.<sup>105</sup>
16. Fides sine opere mortua est :  
La fede senza operatione è morta.
17. Ferre minora uolo, ne grauiora feram :  
Io voglio substenire le cose piccole per non substenire le  
cose più grave.
18. Flam<m>a recens sparsa parua recendit<ur> aqua :  
Un pocho de aqua sparsa sopra la fiamma sole reacendere  
quella.
19. Fac bonum quod spopundisti | et non sis in verbis facilis f. 29<sup>r</sup>  
<et in opere difficilis> :

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XXIII, 13b comove] comovesse<sup>a.c.</sup>

XXIII, 15a consiliun] consiun<sup>a.c.</sup>; *lege* consilium

XXIII, 17a minora] maiora<sup>a.c.</sup>

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XXIII, 13 Criminibus – culpa] Iuv. 1, 167; Walther 3786 (tactis] tacita *Invenal.*; Walther)

XXIII, 14 Conscientia – est] DEFENS. LOCOGIAC., *Liber scintillarum* 52, 14 (semper] autem rei semper *Defens. Locogiac.*)

XXIII, 15 Consiliun – exitum] SEN., *Ad Lucilium* 14, 16 Denique consilium rerum omnium sapiens, non exitum spectat

XXIII, 16 Fides – est] Iac. 2, 26 (opere] operibus *Iacob.*)

XXIII, 17 Ferre – feram] GUALT. ANGL., *Fab.* 22, 6; ALBERT. STAD., *Troilus* 4, 84; Walther 9346

XXIII, 18 Flamma – aqua] Ov., *Heroid.* 17, 190 Flamma recens parva sparsa resedit aqua; Walther 9628

XXIII, 19 Fac – facilis] ISID., *Synonyma de lamentatione animae peccatricis* 2, 57 (PL 83, 858B) Fac bonum quod spopondisti. Non sis in verbis facilis, et in opere difficilis

<sup>105</sup> Cf. XXII, 16

- Fa il ben promesso e non esser facile in parole et non difficile nelle tuoi facti.
20. Fides in neces(s)itate probatur:  
La fede se prova nela necessità [se prova].
21. Fidelis deus in verbis suis:  
Dio è fedele nelle sue parole.
22. Fortuna quos miseros facit, insuperstitiosos facit:  
La fortuna fa superstitiosi *quelli che essa ha facto miseri*.
23. His qui neces(s)ario profuerunt, haberi[t] gratiam non oportet:  
Non bisogna rendere gratia a quelli che hano çovato per neccesità.
24. Hic omnis exitus unus habet:  
A tuti qui è un fin.
25. Homines iustos probat temptatio tribulationis:  
La temptation dela tribulation prova li homeni iustii.
26. Heret in vultu crucis ymago facti:  
Nel legno dela croce appare quello fo facto.
27. Honesta sunt lucra, per que nemo leditur:  
Quelli guadagni sono iusti per li quali non se offendono alcuno.

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XXIII, 26a crucis] *lege* crucis

XXIII, 26b quello *in marg. dext.*

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XXIII, 20 Fides – probatur] cf. BERN. CLAR., *Epist.* 160, p. 369 = 364, p. 319 Amicus in necessitate probatur; PETR. VENER., *Epist.* 163, p. 396 Vere in necessitate probatur amicus

XXIII, 21 Fidelis – suis] Eccli. 46, 18 Et cognitus est in verbis suis fidelis

XXIII, 22 Fortuna – facit] SEN., *Controversiae* 8, 1 Fortuna quos miseros fecit etiam superstitiosos facit

XXIII, 23 His – oportet] CIC., *De inventione* 1, 30, 46; MAR. VICT., *Explanationes in Ciceronis rhet.* 1, 29 = 1, 44 (his] iis Cic.; Mar. Vict.)

XXIII, 24 Hic – habet] *Carmina Epigr.* 995, 22

XXIII, 25 Homines – tribulationis] Eccli. 27, 5 Vasa figuli probat fornax et homines iustos temptatio tribulationis

XXIII, 26 Heret – facti] SEN., *Thyestes* 635-36; Walther 10626b (crucis] crucis Sen.; Walther)

XXIII, 27 Honesta – leditur] CASSIOD., *Variae* 9, 3

28. His, qui imprudenter leserunt, ignosci *conueni*[un]t:  
| Te convien perdonar a quelli che tu ha' offeso inpru- f. 29<sup>v</sup>  
dentemente.
29. Homo respicit in faciem, deus autem in corde:  
L'omo si risguarda nela faccia et dio [in] nel core.
30. Ha<s> patitur penas <peccandi> sola uoluntas:  
Sola la volontà del peccar sostiene pene.
31. Habet suum uenenum blanda oratio:  
El parlar blanditoso tene in sé veneno.
32. Lucraris tribuendo bonis, sed perdis iniquis:  
Tu guadagni dando alcuna cosa ali boni, ma tu perdi  
dandola ali iniqui.
33. Letas fidelis semitas:  
Il homo fidel ha aliegra via.
34. Qui seruat uentum, non seminat *et* qui considerat nubes,  
*nunquam* metit:  
Chi varda ai venti et ale nubule non semena né miede.
35. Qui occasionem dampni dat, *dampnum* dedisse uidetur:  
Chi dà cason del *dampno* dà el *danno*.

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XXIII, 28a conueniunt *in marg. dext.*

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XXIII, 28 His – conuenit] CIC., *De inventione* 1, 30, 46; MAR. VICT., *Explanations in Ciceronis rhet.* 1, 29 = 1, 44 iis, qui imprudentes laeserunt, ignosci conuenit (conuenit] oportet *Mar. Vict.* 1, 44)

XXIII, 29 Homo – corde] I Reg. 16, 7 Homo enim uidet ea quae parent, Dominus autem intuetur cor; Cypr., *Ad Quirinum* 3, 56 Item in Basilion I: Homo uidet in faciem, deus autem in cor; GREG. M., *Moralia in Iob* 10, 30 homo uidet in faciem, deus autem perscrutatur cor

XXIII, 30 Has – uoluntas] Iuv. 13, 208; *Polythecon* 7, 379 (poenas + peccandi *Iuv.*; *Polythecon*)

XXIII, 31 Habet – oratio] PUBLIL., *Sententiae*, littera H, versus 12; Walther 10533

XXIII, 32 Lucraris – iniquis] IAC. BENEV., *Carmina moralia* 348; Walther 13999b

XXIII, 33 Letas – semitas] Prov. 13, 18 legatus fidelis sanitas

XXIII, 34 Qui – metit] Eccle. 11, 4 (seruat ... metit] observat ... metet *Eccl.*)

XXIII, 35 Qui – uidetur] THOM. AQ., *In IV sententiarum distinctio* 15, quaestio 1, art. 5, quaestiuncula 2, argum. 4 (damni ... damnum *Thom. de Aq.*)

36. Quod tibi *non* uis, aliis fecisse cauebis :  
Gardare fare ad altri *quello non* voristi a te fuse fato.
37. Quisquis amat, *seruit* :  
Chi ama serve.
38. Qui moderatur sermones suos, doctus et prudens est :  
Chi tempera | el suo parlar è docto *et* savio. f. 30<sup>r</sup>
39. [Qui moderatur sermones suos]. Qui custodit os suum et  
linguam suam, liberat ab angustiis *animam* suam :  
Chi guarda la lingua sua libera l'anima sua da molte an-  
gustie.
40. Qui peccatis gaudet, infelicitate gaudet :  
Chi prenhende alerezza del peccato se aliegra dela sua  
*infelicità*.
41. Qui despicit proximum suum, peccat :  
Chi despreça el suo proximo fa pecca.
42. Qui sequitur iustitiam, diligitur a *domino* :  
Colui che sequita la iustitia serà amato da dio.
43. Qui operatur iustitiam, ipse exaltabitur :  
Colui che opera la iustitia serà exaltato.

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XXIII, 39a suam] suum<sup>d.c.</sup>

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XXIII, 36 Quod – cauebis] Gualt. Angl., *Fab.* 33, 13 Quod tibi non face-  
res, aliis fecisse caueto; Walther 26079; Walther 26081 Quod tibi non vis fie-  
ri, alteri ne feceris; Walther 26081a Quod tibi non vis, tu illud ne feceris ulli  
XXIII, 37 Quisquis – seruit] IOH. AUDOENUS (= John Owen, 1564-1622),  
*Epigrammata* 8 Quisquis amat, servit; Walther 25532 Quisquis amat, servit;  
dominatur, quisquias amatur

XXIII, 38 Qui – est] Prov. 17, 27

XXIII, 39 Qui custodit – suam] Prov. 21, 23 (liberat] custodit *Prov.*)

XXIII, 40 Qui – gaudet] cf. Eccli. 19, 5 Qui gaudet iniquitate, denotabitur

XXIII, 41 Qui – peccat] Prov. 14, 21

XXIII, 42 Qui – domino] Prov. 15, 9 (domino] eo *Prov.*)

XXIII, 43 Qui – exaltabitur] Eccli. 20, 30



44. Quidquid agant homines, intentio iudicat omnes:  
Le operation deli homeni sonno indicate per le intentione  
de quelli.
45. Quos amor iungit, terrarum longitudo non separet:  
Le persone che, conçonte per amor, non se separano per  
longa distantia deli luogi.
46. Que nimis appare<n>t, retia uitat aues:  
La rete che appare non pia uxelli.
47. Qui manet in ceno, non sine sorde manet:  
Chi sta nel loto non sta sença machia.
48. | Quid dulcius quam habere amicum?: f. 30<sup>v</sup>  
Che cosa è più dolçe che haver un amico?
49. Quid superbis, o terra et cinis?:  
Perché te superbisci tu, che sei terra et cenere?
50. Quid, oro te, inuido delectationis prestat inuidia?:  
Priego te di me, che delectatione dà al homo la inuidia?
51. Quantum quisque sua nummorum seruat in arca, tantum  
habet et fidei:  
Quanti danari lo homo possede, tanto ghe havuto fede.

XXIII, 44 Quidquid – omnes] *Gesta Romanorum* cap. 106; CONR. EBERB., *Exordium Magnum Cisterciense* 1, 22 (iudicet Conradus abbas Eberbacensis); Walther 25230 (iudicat); Walther 25260 (agunt); cf. Iuv. 1, 85 Quicquid agunt homines

XXIII, 45 Quos – separet] HIER., *Epist.* 71, 7 (amor] caritas Hier.); cf. DEFENS. LOCOGIAC., *Liber scintillarum* 1, 38 Hieronimus dixit: terrarum longitudo non separat quos caritas iungit

XXIII, 46 Que – aues] OV., *Rem.* 516; ALBERT. STAD., *Troilus* 1, 678 ( apparent ... avis Ov., Albert. Stad.); Walther 23021

XXIII, 47 Qui – manet] IAC. BENEV., *Carmina moralia* 86; Walther 24151b (I. manet] iacet Iac. Benév.; Walther)

XXIII, 48 Quid – amicum] IOH. FONTE, *Auctoritates Aristotelis, Senecae, Boethii etc.* 22, 11; SEDUL. SCOT., *Collect.* 4, lin. 105 (dulcius + est Iob. de Fonte; Sedul. Scot.); Walther 25010b

XXIII, 49 Quid – cinis] GREG. M., *Moralia in Iob* 31, 2; BERN. CLAR., *Serm. super Cant. Cant.* 35, 6 = 54, 6 (o] om. Greg. M; Bern. Clar.); Eccli. 10, 9 Quid superbit terra et cinis?

XXIII, 50 Quid – inuidia] SEDUL. SCOT., *Collect.* 80, 13 Quid, oro te, dilectionis inuido prestat invidere

XXIII, 51 Quantum – fidei] Iuv. 3, 143-144; Walther 23628

52. Quale(s) videri uolumus, tales sumus:  
Sforçamose esser tali, quali noi volemo parere ad altri.
53. Qui alterum doces, te ipsum non doces:  
Tu che insegni ad altri, perché non te insegni ancora a te?
54. Qui alterum peccati arguit, ip(s)e a peccato debet alienus esse:  
Colui che altri reprehende de peccato, debe esser lui sença peccato.
55. Quis uobis nocebit, si boni emulatores fueritis?:  
Chi ve nocerà, se sereti boni?
56. Quis contra nos, si deus pro nobis?:  
Si dio serà per nui, chi serà contra nui?
57. Quot capita, tot sententie:  
Quanti capi, tanti pareri.
58. | Quidquid agitur, venit ex alto: f. 31<sup>r</sup>  
Tuto quello che se adopera vien da alto, zoé da dio.

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XXIII, 52a sumus] *lege* simus

XXIII, 57b pareri<sup>in marg. vert.</sup>

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XXIII, 52 Quales – sumus] AMBR., *De officiis* 2, 19, 96 Quales haberi volumus, tales simus; VALER. MAX., *Facta et dicta* 7, 2, 1 id agerent, ut, quales videri vellent, tales etiam essent

XXIII, 53 Qui – non doces] Rom. 2, 21 qui ergo alium doces, te ipsum non doces = AUG., *Adnotationes in Iob* 34, p. 583 = AUG., *De spiritu et littera* 8, 13; AMBROS., *Comm. in Pauli epist. ad Rom. (recensio gamma)* 2, 21; PETR. LOMB., *Collectanea in omnes Pauli epistulas – ad Romanos* 2, 17+ (PL 191, 1347) qui ergo alium doces, cur te ipsum non doces?

XXIII, 54 Qui – esse] AMBR., *De officiis* 3, 11, 72

XXIII, 55 Quis – fueritis] I Petr. 3, 13 Et quis est qui vobis noceat, si boni aemulatores fueritis?; AUG., *Serm.* 297 (PL 38, col. 1364) Et quis vobis nocebit, si boni amatores fueritis?

XXIII, 56 Quis – nobis] Rom. 8, 31 Si deus pro nobis, quis contra nos?

XXIII, 57 Quot – sententie] TER., *Phormio* 454 Quot homines, tot sententiae; CIC., *De finibus bonorum et malorum* 1, 5, 15 quot homines, tot sententiae; AMBR., *De virginibus* 2, 6, 39 Quot homines, tot sententiae; SEDUL. SCOT., *Collect.* 80, 7 Terentius: Quot homines, tot sententiae; Walther 26211b Quot capita, tot sensus

XXIII, 58 Quidquid – alto] SEN., *Oedipus* 984 (agitur] facimus Sen.)

59. Qui non habet caritatem, nichil habet, in tenebris manet et in vmbra mortis sedet :  
Colui che non ha carità, *non* ha niente et sta in tenebre *et* siede nel umbra [de] dela morte.
60. Qui non assueserit *uirtutibus*, dum iuuenescit, a uiciis nescit discedere, quando senescit :  
Colui che non asuefa ale virtù, quando ‘l è çovene, non se sa partir dai vicii quando ‘l è vechio.
61. Qui amat et qui non, sola procella docet :  
Una piccola aduersità insegna e dimostra chi ama e chi non ama.
62. Tunc illud erit opus perfectum et bonum, cum aliquid boni operemur eterna et non temporalia cogitando :  
Alora serà l’opera perfecta, *quando* operemo qualche ben, pensando dele cose eterne et non temporale.
63. Tardat arena pedes :  
El sabion tarda l’andar di piedi a color che camina per quello.

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XXIII, 60b non <sup>in marg.</sup>

XXIII, 61a qui] i<sup>ss.</sup>

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XXIII, 59 Qui non – sedet] Hymnus “*Congregavit nos in unum Christi amor*” 2, 1-2 (in tenebris – sedet] sed in tenebris et umbra mortis manet *Hymnus*)

XXIII, 60 Qui – senescit] SALIMB. ADAM, *Cronica*, p. 114, lin. 5 Qui non assuescit bonis moribus, dum iuuenescit, / a vitiis nescit recedere, quando senescit; IOD. BADIUS ASCENSUS, *In Parthenicen Catharinariam Baptiste Mantuani exp.* 3, lin. 915 Plebeius versiculus: Qui non assuescit virtuti, dum iuuenescit, / a vitiis nescit discedere, quando senescit; Walther 24381 (assueserit] assuescit *Walther*)

XXIII, 61 Qui – docet] GUALT. ANGL., *Fab.* 60, 18 Et quis amet, quis non, sola procella docet; Walther 25354b (Qui – non] Quis amet et quis non] *Walther*)

XXIII, 62 Tunc – cogitando] AUG., *De sermone Domini in monte* 2, 56 Ergo cum aliquid boni operamur, non temporalia sed aeterna cogitemus! Tunc erit illud bonum et perfectum opus

XXIII, 63 Tardat – pedes] OV., *Heroid.* 10, 20 (harena On)

64. Tu te consule:  
Aconsigliate, tu medemo.
65. | Tarda dictis venit facil<i>usque fides: f. 31<sup>v</sup>  
El non se dà cusì facilmente fede ali dicti.
66. Tarda dies sed lelecta venit:  
Quanto per desiderio el ne par tardo più un çorno, tanto  
viene più aliegro.
67. Tam iudex dicitur *quam* diu iustus reputabitur:  
L'homo è chiamato tanto iudice, quanto reputato iusto.
68. Tristi<u>s inuidia nichil est, que protinus *ipsum* aucto-  
rem torquet excruciat*que* suum:  
Non è pigior cosa che la invidia la quall dà pena e tor-  
mento a chi la possede.
69. Tolle moras! Semper nocuit differre paratis:  
Presto a chi è apparecchiato gli noce lo induxiare.

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XXIII, 65a dictis] dicta<sup>a.c.</sup>

XXIII, 66a lelecta] *lege* laeta *aut* delecta

XXIII, 66b desiderio] o<sup>ss.</sup>

XXIII, 66b çorno] çormo<sup>a.c.</sup>

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XXIII, 64 Tu – consule] *Quid suum virtutis* 1132 Quis, quid sis, tu te consule,  
non alium

XXIII, 65 Tarda – fides] Ov., *Fasti* 3, 350 Tarda venit dictis difficilisque fi-  
des

XXIII, 67 Tam – reputabitur] CASSIOD., *Variae* 3, 27 Tamdiu enim iudex di-  
citur, quamdiu et iustus putatur

XXIII, 68 Tristius – suum] HIER., *Comm. in IV epist. Paul. – Ad Galatas* 3,  
col. 445 Pulchre quidam de neotericis, graecum versum transferens, elegia-  
co metro de invidia lusit, dicens: Iustius invidia nihil est: quae protinus  
ipsum auctorem rodit, excruciatque animum; PETR. CANTOR, *Summa quae di-  
citur Verbum adbreuiatum* 1, 9 Item, Ovidius: “Iustius invidia nihil est que pro-  
tinus ipsum / auctorem excruciat”; *Anthologia Latina* 485b, 1-2 = FLOR.  
LUGD., *Carm.* 27, 23-24 Iustius invidia nihil est, quae protinus ipsum / aucto-  
rem rodit excruciatque animum; *Polythecon* 3, 90-91 Iustius invidia nichil est,  
que protinus ipsum / auctorem rodit excruciendo suum; *Carmina Burana*  
74a, 7-8 Iustius invidia nihil est, quae protinus ipsum / corripit auctores ex-  
cruciatque suos; VINC. BELVAC., *De morali principis institutione* 21 Hinc pulchre  
quidam elegiaco lusit metro dicens: “Iustius invidia nichil est, que protinus  
ipsum / auctorem rodit excruciatque suum”. cf. XV, 6.

XXIII, 69 Tolle – paratis] LUCAN. 1, 281; Walther 31438

70. Time deum, et recedes a mal[l]o :  
Se tu haverai timor de dio, te laserai dal mal.
71. Tenebrosa via impiorum et nesciunt, ubi corruunt :  
La via deli impii sonno tenebrosa *et* obscura *et non* sa ove  
scoreno e caçeno.<sup>106</sup>
72. Timet sapiens et declina<t> a malo :  
L'omo savio teme e sì se gu<a>rda dal mal :
73. Timor domini fons vite, ut declines a ruina mortis :  
El timor del signo<r> è fonte de vita *et* perché? | [et f. 32<sup>r</sup>  
perche?] Açò che non vadi nela via dela morte.
74. Turris fortissima nomen domini et iusti, qui currunt ad  
ipsam, securi eru<n>t :  
El nome del signor è una torre fortissima *et* quelli che  
sono iusti serrano securi.
75. Testis iudici[ti]um deridet iniqu<u>s :  
Lo iniquo testimonio sbeffica el iuditio.<sup>107</sup>
76. Diligitur ille, qui caute nouit amare :  
È da esser amado colui che cautamente se cognose che  
ama.

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XXIII, 73b *pr.* *et* perché] *in marg. vert.*

XXIII, 74a ipsam] ipsum<sup>a.c.</sup>

XXIII, 76a diligitur – amare] *in marg. dext.*

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XXIII, 70 Time – malo] Prov. 3, 7 Time dominum et recede a malo

XXIII, 71 Tenebrosa – corruunt] Prov. 4, 19 Via impiorum tenebrosa, nesciunt ubi corruant

XXIII, 72 Timet – malo] Prov. 14, 16 Sapiens timet et declinat malum ; DEFENS. LOCOGIAC., *Liber scintillarum* 18, 22.23.24 Sapiens timet et declinat a malo

XXIII, 73 Timor – mortis] Prov. 14, 27 (declinet *Prov.*)

XXIII, 74 Turris – erunt] Prov. 18, 10 (et iusti – erunt] ad ipsum currit iustus et exaltabitur *Prov.*)

XXIII, 75 Testis – iniquus] Prov. 19, 28 Testis iniquus deridet iudicium

XXIII, 76 Diligitur – amare] *Facetus* 167 Diligit hunc mulier qui caute novit amare; Walther 5729a (Diligitur ille] Diligat hunc mulier *Walther*)

<sup>106</sup> Cf. XXIII, 94

<sup>107</sup> Up to and including line 75 the initial letters follow the alphabet.

77. Desiderium cum *m* completur, delectat animam :  
L'è gran delectation del anima quando el compie el desiderio :
78. Gratia inter iustos morabitur :  
La gratia demorerà fra gli iusti.
79. Qui parcit uirge, odit filium :  
Colui che perdona ala verçela, çoé disciplina, ha in odio el fiolo.
80. Vbi *non* sunt boues, presepium vacuum *m* est :  
Dove *non* sono bovi el presepio è vacuo.
81. Amici vero diuitum multi :  
Li amici di colloro che son richi, sono molti.
82. Errant, qui operantur malum :  
Errano coloro i qual adoperano el mal.
83. Est autem *m* via que uidetur homini bona *et* iusta, nouissima autem eius deducunt ad morte<m> :  
Egli è una | via ch'è ali homeni segura *et* iusta et al fin de f. 32<sup>v</sup>  
quella *conducono* ala morte.
84. Risus aliquando dolore mis<c>etur et extrema gaudii luctus occupat :  
El riso algune volte se meseda con dolor et ancho i extremi del gaudio si occupa dando pianto.

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XXIII, 83a deducunt] dedicunt<sup>d.c.</sup>

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XXIII, 77 Desiderium – animam] Prov. 13, 19 (cum completur] si conpleatur *Prov.*)

XXIII, 78 Gratia – morabitur] Prov. 14, 9 inter iustos morabitur gratia

XXIII, 79 Qui – filium] Prov. 13, 24 Qui parcit virgae suae, odit filium suum

XXIII, 80 Vbi – est] Prov. 14, 4 (presepium] praesepe *Prov.*)

XXIII, 81 Amici – multi] Prov. 14, 20

XXIII, 82 Errant – malum] Prov. 14, 22

XXIII, 83 Est – mortem] Prov. 14, 12 (autem] *om. Prov.* ; bona et] *om. Prov.*)

XXIII, 84 Risus – occupat] Prov. 14, 13 (aliquando] *om. Prov.*)

85. In omni *opere* bono *erit* habundantia :  
In tute le bone operation gli è la habundantia.
86. Patienti *prudentia* multa :  
È molta prudentia a colui che è paciente.
87. Responsio mol<l>is *frangit* iram et sermo durus excitat  
furorem :  
La mole et dolçe risposta rompe la ira et el parlar duro  
incita el furor.
88. Precedit humilitas gloriam :  
La humilità precede la gloria.
89. Spirituum ponderator est *dominus* :  
El signor è pesador de gli spiriti.
90. Cum sedero in tenebris, dominus lux mea est :  
Quando sederò nele tenebre, el signor è mia luce.
91. Humiliatio tua in medio tui :  
La tua humilità siano nel meço de ti.
92. Dominus da|bit mansuetis gratiam : f. 33<sup>r</sup>  
Dio dava *gratia* agli mansueti.
93. Ne dele<c>teris in semitis impiorum nec tibi placeat via  
malorum :  
Ne te deletai in le semite de li impii, né anco te piaqui le  
vie di cativi.

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XXIII, 85 In – habundantia] Prov. 14, 23 (bono] *om. Prov.*); SEDUL. SCOT., *Collect.* 13, 31 Salemon : In omni opere bono erit abundantia

XXIII, 86 Patienti – multa] Prov. 14, 29 Qui patiens est, multa gubernatur prudentia

XXIII, 87 Responsio – furorem] Prov. 15, 1 (et] *om. Prov.* ; excitat] suscitavit *Prov.*)

XXIII, 88 Precedit – gloriam] Prov. 15, 33 Gloriam praecedat humilitas

XXIII, 89 Spiritum – dominus] Prov. 16, 2

XXIII, 90 Cum – est] Mich. 7, 8

XXIII, 91 Humiliatio – tui] Mich. 6, 14

XXIII, 92 Dominus – gratiam] Prov. 3, 34 et mansuetis dabit gratiam

XXIII, 93 Ne – malorum] Prov. 4, 14 (malorum via *Prov.*)

94. Tenebrosa via impiorum et nesciunt, ubi corruant :  
Le vie dei impij sonno tenebrose et non sano ove score-  
no.<sup>108</sup>
95. Ego diligentes me diligo :  
Io amo collor che me amano.
96. Vias, que a dextris sunt, nouit *dominus* :  
El signor cognose *quele* vie le qual è ale dextra.
97. Peruerse enim, que sunt a sinistris :  
Quele vie [che] *son* perverse che sono ala sinistra.
98. Vade ad formicam, o piger, et considera vias eius et ad-  
<d>isce *sapientiam* :  
O pigro, vatene ala formiga et considera le sue vie et im-  
para sapientia !
99. Aque furtiue dulciores sunt et panis absconditus  
suauior :  
Le aque rubade è più dolçe et el pan ascosto è più suave.
100. Vena vite, os iusti ; os impiorum operit iniquitatem :  
| Una vena de vita è la bocha del iusto ; et la bocha de im- f. 33<sup>v</sup>  
pii coverçe la iniquità.
101. Qui ambulat fraudulenter, facil[l]e reuelat archana et fi-  
delis celat amicum :  
Colui che va fraudolentemente facilmente revella i secre-  
ti.

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XXIII, 96b è] e<sup>ss</sup>

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XXIII, 94 Tenebrosa – corruant] Prov. 4, 19 via impiorum tenebrosa, nes-  
ciunt ubi corruant

XXIII, 95 Ego – diligo] Prov. 8, 17

XXIII, 96 Vias – dominus] Prov. 4, 27+

XXIII, 97 Peruerse – sinistris] Prov. 4, 27+

XXIII, 98 Vade – sapientiam] Prov. 6, 6 (disce *Prov.*)

XXIII, 99 Aque – suauior] Prov. 9, 17

XXIII, 100 Vena – iniquitatem] Prov. 10, 11

XXIII, 101 Qui – amicum] Prov. 11, 13 Qui ambulat fraudulenter, reuelat  
archana ; quia autem fidelis est animi, celat commissum

<sup>108</sup> Cf. XXIII, 71



102. Mulier gratioſa inuenit gratiam et gloriā :  
La dona gratioſa atrova la gratia et la gloria.
103. Cuncta qui conſilio agunt, ſapientia reguntur :  
Quelli che omni coſa fa con conſiglio rege sé cum ſapi-  
entia.
104. Lignum vite deſiderium veniens :  
El deſiderio, quando el vien fato, è el legno dela vita.
105. Si radix bona, etiam rami :  
Si la radice è bona, ancho i rami ſon boni.
106. Dum tempus habemus, operemur bonum :  
Operiamo el bene, finché habiamo il tempo.
107. Vnuſquiſque onus ſuum portabit :  
Tuti porterà el ſuo peso.
108. Cor inpenitens eſt ſecundum ſui duritiam :  
El core è impenitente ſecundo la ſua durezza.
109. Eadem que iudicas, agis :  
Quel medemo che tu fai, tu iudigi.
110. Nichil in terra ſine cauſa fit :  
| Niuna coſa ſe fa in terra ſenza caxon. f. 34<sup>r</sup>
111. Qui timet pruinaſ, irruet ſuper eum nix :  
Colui che teme la bruosa vada sì che la neve ivignerà  
adoſo.

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XXIII, 102a et gloriā] *in marg.*

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XXIII, 102 Mulier – gloriā] Prov. 11, 16 Mulier gratioſa inueniet gloriā  
XXIII, 103 Cuncta – reguntur] Prov. 13, 10 qui autem agunt cuncta conſi-  
lio reguntur ſapientia

XXIII, 104 Lignum – veniens] Prov. 13, 12

XXIII, 105 Si – rami] Rom. 11, 16 (bona etiam] ſancta et Rom.)

XXIII, 106 Dum – bonum] Gal. 6, 10

XXIII, 107 Vnuſquiſque – portabit] Gal. 6, 5

XXIII, 108 Cor – duritiam] Rom. 2, 5 ſecundum duritiam autem tuam et  
inpaenitens cor

XXIII, 109 Eadem – agis] Rom. 2, 1 eadem enim agis qui iudicas

XXIII, 110 Nichil – fit] Iob 5, 6

XXIII, 111 Qui – nix] Iob 6, 16 (timet ... eum] timent ... eos Iob)

112. Omnia cum consi<li>o astutus:  
L'homo astuto fa *omni* cosa con consiglio.
113. Quod cepistis, explete:  
Quello che acomençate compite.
114. Memoria nostra <conparabitur> cineri:  
La nostra memoria si acompara ala cenere.
115. Spoliauit me gloria mea et abstulit coronam de capite meo:  
La mia gloria sì<sup>109</sup> me ha spoiato et ha me tolto la corona del moi capo.
116. Dissipantur cogitationes, ubi non est consilium:  
Ove non è conseio, tuti i pensier vano disipati et vacui.
117. Qui vult deserere amicum, causam querit:  
Colui che vuol abandonar l'amico trova cason.
118. Amici sunt dona tribuentis:  
Li doni de colui che dà sono li amici:
119. *Qui* seminat iniquitatem, met[t]et mala:  
Colui che semina la iniquità miede i mali.
120. Non erigas oculos tuos ad opes |, quas habere non potes: f. 34<sup>v</sup>  
Non dreçar i ochi a quelle richeçe che tu non puol aver.

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XXIII, 117b l'amico] la mico<sup>cod.</sup>

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XXIII, 112 Omnia – astutus] Prov. 13, 16 Astutus omnia agit cum consilio

XXIII, 113 Quod – explete] Iob 6, 28

XXIII, 114 Memoria – cineri] Iob 13, 12 Memoria vestra conparabitur cineri

XXIII, 115 Spoliauit – meo] Iob 19, 9

XXIII, 116 Dissipantur – consilium] Prov. 15, 22

XXIII, 117 Qui – querit] Prov. 18, 1 Occasiones quaerit qui vult recedere ab amico

XXIII, 118 Amici – tribuentis] Prov. 19, 6 (tribuenti *Prov.*)

XXIII, 119 Qui – mala] Prov. 22, 8

XXIII, 120 Non – potes] Prov. 23, 5 (non] ne *Prov.*)

<sup>109</sup> Cf. *GDLI*, s.v. nr. 7

121. Crimina multotiens laus est celare faceto :  
Molte fiade è laude al omo faceto a celar i peccadi.
122. Mente quidem leta decorat floridam vitam :  
Una mente alegra inbelise una florida vita.
123. Ne facias solus, quod fugit omnis homo :  
Non far tu solo quel che omni homo fuge.
124. Quod noceat habenti, non dico esse bonum :  
Quel che nuosa a colui che possede, non è da esser dito bono :
125. O preclara opum mortalium beatitudo, quam cum adeptus fueris, sec[c]urus esse desisti(s) :  
O preclara beatitudine dele richeçe mortal, la qual, quando le haverai aquistade, manchi de esser securo.<sup>110</sup>
126. Quod sapit, nutrit :  
Quello sanno, bon nutrise.
127. Dei veneratio non proficit ad salutem, nisi precepta eius impleueris :  
La veneration de dio non çova ala salute, si el non se adimpe i suo' comandamenti.
128. Inter caras co(n)iunctasque | personas pietatis iura seruentur : f. 35<sup>r</sup>

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XXIII, 128a coniunctasque] tasque<sup>in marg. vert.</sup>

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XXIII, 121 Crimina – faceto] *Facetus* 11; Walther 3769

XXIII, 122 Mente – vitam] *Facetus* 101 Mente quidem leta decoratur florida vita; Walther 14759

XXIII, 123 Ne – homo] *Facetus* 118 (faciat *Facetus*)

XXIII, 124 Quod – bonum] BOETH., *Consol. philos.* 2, prosa 5 Ego vero nego ullum esse bonum quod noceat habenti

XXIII, 125 O – desistis] BOETH., *Consol. philos.* 2, prosa 5 (desistis *Boeth.*)

XXIII, 126 Quod – nutrit] IOH. S. CRUCIS (1542-1591), *Ascensus montis Carmeli* 2, 14

XXIII, 127 Dei – impleueris] HIER., *Epist.* 78, 2 Nec dei veneratio proficiet ad salutem, nisi praecepta conditoris impleveris

XXIII, 128 Inter – seruentur] Ps. HIER., *Epist.* 11, 1 (PL 30, 145D)

<sup>110</sup> Cf. XVII, 9

- Infra le care et conçoite persone le rason de pietade <...> servada.
129. Non ut debui, sed ut potui, moderato dolore respondi:  
Non come dovetti, ma come potei, con immoderato dolor respusi.
130. Quos tormenta non uincunt, uincit pudor:  
Quelli i quali non son vinti per tormenti la vergogna vince.
131. Parua ledit morsu spatiosum vipera taurum:  
Con el morso una piccola bisa offende un grande tauro.
132. Impossibil[le] est, ut, quis transeat de deliciis ad delicias, sit primus in celis et in terra appareat gloriosus:  
El gli è impossibile che colui che passa de delirie in delirie, posi esser primo in cielo et mostrano glorioso in terra.
133. Mendacibus etiam vera non creduntur:  
A quelli che sono bosari anche le cosse vere non ivien credute.
134. Est facies speculum mentis et taciti oculi mentis fatentur archana:  
La faça è specchio dela mente et i ochi taciti manifesta i secreti dela mente.

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XXIII, 129 Non – respondi] HIER., *Apologia adversus libros Rufini* 2, 1

XXIII, 130 Quos – pudor] HIER., *Epist.* 66, 6 (uincit] interdum uincit Hier.)

XXIII, 131 Parua – taurum] Ov., *Rem.* 421; Walther 20767 (ledit] nequit Ov.; Walther)

XXIII, 132 Impossibile – gloriosus] HIER., *Epist.* 118, 6 Difficile, immo impossibile, ut praesentibus quis et futuris fruatur bonis, ut et hic ventrem et ibi mentem impleat, ut de deliciis transeat ad delicias, ut in utroque saeculo primus sit, ut et in terra et in caelo appareat gloriosus

XXIII, 133 Mendacibus – creduntur] cf. Walther 14640a Mendaci homini ne verum quidem dicenti credere solent; Walther 14640 Mendaci, dum vera canat, vix creditur illi; *Fecunda ratis* 1, 506-507; Cic., *De divin.* 2, 71, 146 Mendaci homini, ne verum quidem dicenti credere solent.

XXIII, 134 Est – archana] HIER., *Epist.* 54, 13 Speculum mentis est facies et taciti oculi cordis fatentur arcana

135. Impera | vicis⟨s⟩im: quodcunque uis, mittam; nec putes f. 35<sup>v</sup>  
 graue michi, si iubeas:  
 Comanda presto tuto quel che tu vuol fare, açò non pen-  
 si el me sia grave a far quello che me comandi.
136. O mors, que amore co⟨n⟩iun⟨c⟩tos diuidis et as⟨s⟩ocia-  
 tos crudelis et dira dissocias:  
 O morte, che disparti coloro che con amor è conçonti; o  
 crudele et spiatata che desconpagni coloro che sonno  
 aconpagnati.
137. Beatitudo maxima est pro paruis magna recipere, eterna  
 pro breuib<sup>us</sup>, pro mortuis semper viuentia et deum<sup>m</sup> ha-  
 bere debitorem:  
 Grande beatitudine è a recever grande cose per piccole,  
 per breve cose eterne, et per cose mortal cose inmortel et  
 aver dio per suo debitor.
138. Dum inimicis nostris beneficia prebemus, ipsorum<sup>m</sup> mali-  
 tiam nostra bonitate superamus, mollimus duritiam et  
 iratum animum ad beniuolentiam<sup>m</sup> flectimus:  
 Quando nui porgemo benefitii ai nost⟨r⟩i nemici per  
 nostra bene a nui, superemo la loro malitia e facemo  
 mole la loro durezza et inclinemo a benivolentia il suo ira-  
 to animo.

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XXIII, 138b bene] *sec. e*<sup>ss</sup>.

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XXIII, 135 Impera – iubeas] HIER., *Epist.* 5, 2 Impera vicissim: quod-  
 cumque vis, mittam; nec putes mihi grave esse, si iubeas

XXIII, 136 O mors – dissocias] HIER., *Epist.* 60, 2 O mors, quae fratres  
 dividis et amore sociatos crudelis ac dura dissocias

XXIII, 137 Beatitudo – debitorem] HIER., *Epist.* 120, 1 O quanta beatitudo  
 pro parvis magna recipere, aeterna pro brevibus, pro morituris semper  
 viventia et habere dominum debitorem

XXIII, 138 Dum – flectimus] HIER., *Epist.* 120, 1 Quando enim inimicis  
 nostris praebemus beneficia, malitiam eorum nostra bonitate superamus et  
 mollimus duritiam iratumque animum ad necessitudinem flectimus

139. | Infelicitas est aduersa nescire, felicitas est cum aduersis f. 36<sup>r</sup>  
nosce *congre*di *et* scire pugnare:  
La infelicità sî<sup>111</sup> è a non saper le cose aduerse, la felicità sî  
è a pugnare et saper combater con le cose contrarie.
140. Eum non sequitur premiorum felicitas, qui sarcinam non  
nouit portare laborum:  
La felicità di premii non sequita colui el qual non sepe  
portar le fadiche.
141. Sicut deprecantis humilitas meretur premia, ita superbia  
confidentis dei auxilio deseritur:  
Sì come la humilità de colui che prega merita premio,  
cusì la superbia de colui che de sé confida, fi abandonà  
del au[i]xilio de dio.<sup>112</sup>
142. Quid tenuari corpus prodest abstinentia, si animus  
superbia intumescit?:  
Che çuova a tenuar el corpo cum abstinentia, si l'animo  
si sgionfa per superbia?

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XXIII, 139a nosce] *lege* nosse

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XXIII, 139 Infelicitas – pugnare] Ps. HIER., *Epist.* 5, 8 (*Ad amicum aegrotum*, PL 30, 72B) = MAX. TAUR. (?), *Epist.* 5, 8 (*Ad amicum aegrotum*, PL 57, 930D) Infelicitatis est aduersa nescire: felicitatis est cum aduersis nosse *congre*di et scire pugnare

XXIII, 140 Eum non – laborum] Ps. HIER., *Epist.* 5, 5 (*Ad amicum aegrotum*, PL 30, 67D) = MAX. TAUR. (?), *Epist.* 5, 5 (*Ad amicum aegrotum*, PL 57, 927B) Nec eum sequitur felicitas praemiorum, qui sarcinam gestare non vult armorum

XXIII, 141 Sicut – deseritur] HIER., *Epist.* 140, 21 (humilitas deprecantis *Hier.*; deseretur *Hier.*)

XXIII, 142 Quid tenuari – intumescit] Ps. HIER., *Epist.* 148, 22 (*Ad Celantiam matronam*, PL 22, 1214) = Auctor incertus (PAULIN. NOL. ?), *Epist.* 2, 22 (*Ad Celanciam*, PL 61, 731B) Quid autem prodest tenuari abstinentia corpus, si animus intumescat superbia?

<sup>111</sup> Cf. *GDLI*, s.v. nr. 7

<sup>112</sup> Cf. XIX, 7

143. Tunc preclara est abstinentia, cum animus est mundus a uiciis:  
Alora la abstinentia è preclara, quando l'animo è mondo dai vicii.
144. Summa apud deum nobilitas est, clarum esse virtutibus:  
Una | suma liberalità apreso de dio : esser claro et resplendente de virtù. f. 36<sup>v</sup>
145. Eos quos deus amat, temp<ta>tio probat:  
Quelli che è amà da dio la temptation iprova.
146. Multum deformior illa superbia est, que sub humilibus signis latet:  
Quella superbia è molto difforme che soto humili segni se asconde.
147. Tantus in te sit ueritatis amor, ut, quidquid dixeris, iuratum putes:  
L'amor dele verità tanto siamo in te, che tuto quello che tu dite, pensi aver çurado.
148. Facil[e] credere inquietat animum mol<l>emque facit mentem:  
El facil creder inquieta l'animo et fa la mente mole.
149. Timendum est, ne, quos duces recti itineris habere nos credimus, comites habeamus erroris:

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XXIII, 143 Tunc – uiciis] *Epist. ad Hier.* 148, 22 (animus – a] est animus ieiunus *Epist. ad Hier.*)

XXIII, 144 Summa – virtutibus] *Epist. ad Hier.* 148, 21 (deum] eum *Epist. ad Hier.*; est] *om. Epist. ad Hier.*)

XXIII, 145 Eos – probat] cf. Hebr. 12, 6; CAESAR. AREL., *Serm.* 114, 6 quos amat deus, arguit et castigat

XXIII, 146 Multum – latet] *Epist. ad Hier.* 148, 20 Multo illa deformior est superbia, quae sub quibusdam humilitatis signis latet

XXIII, 147 Tantus – putes] *Epist. ad Hier.* 148, 19 (ueritatis] ueri *Epist. ad Hier.*; quicquid *Epist. ad Hier.*)

XXIII, 148 Facile – mentem] *Epist. ad Hier.* 148, 16 Nihil enim tam inquietat animam, nihil est, quod ita mobilem mentem ac levem faciat quam facile totum credere

XXIII, 149 Timendum – erroris] *Epist. ad Hier.* 148, 11 (recti + huius *Epist. ad Hier.*; ductores] eos comites *Epist. ad Hier.*)

- L'è da temer che color credemo haver per guide de dreto  
*camin*, *non* ne *siamo* condutori de error.
150. Nichil imperiosius amore:  
 Niuna cosa è più imperial del amor.
151. Quid superbius et ingratum uideri potest *quam* aduersus  
*eius* uiuere voluntatem:  
 Che è più superbo et | più ingrato si puol veder che viver f. 37<sup>r</sup>  
 et esser contrario ala sua voluntà.
152. Non inchoas(s)e sufficit, sed perfecisse iustitia est:  
 Non è iusti<ti>a et è bastenelle a començar, ma el *compir*.
153. Nichil est, *quod* in vita geri potest, si *non* credulitas ante  
 precesserit:  
 E non è niuna cosa che in questa vita possi esser portata,  
 se la credulità non preciede.
154. In dei auribus superba non sunt, que corde humili pro-  
 fer[r]untur:  
 Niuna cosa è superba in le orechie de dio, la qual fi pro-  
 ferride con humile core.
155. Diligere delectabile est:  
 È delectabile cosa ad amar.
156. Equalitas est similitudo amicitia:  
 La amicitia *et* similitudine sta in una equalità.

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XXIII, **149b** guide] guidē<sup>cod.</sup>

XXIII, **153a** potest] possit<sup>in marg.</sup>

XXIII, **156a** amicitia] lege amicitiae

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XXIII, **150** Nichil – amore] *Epist. ad Hier.* 148, 4 nihilque est imperiosius caritate

XXIII, **151** Quid – voluntatem] *Epist. ad Hier.* 148, 4 Quid enim umquam tam superbum, quid vero tam ingratum videri potest quam aduersus eius vivere voluntatem, a quo ipsum vivere acceperis

XXIII, **152** Non – est] *Epist. ad Hier.* 148, 32

XXIII, **153** Nichil – precesserit] RUFIN., *Expositio symboli* 3 (possit *Rufin.*)

XXIII, **154** In – proferuntur] GREG. M., *Moralia in Iob* 12, 31 (dei] eius *Greg. M.*; humili corde *Greg. M.*)



157. Exitus cum iniciaueris cogita :  
Pensa la fine, quando començi alcuna cosa.
158. Exitus acta probat :  
El fin prova le cose fate.
159. Nil melius *quam* ipsemet exerceri in sua :  
Non è meglio che sé steso far le sue cose.
160. Grator est fructus, quem spes productior edit :  
El fruto è più grato, el quale è | prodotto da speranza. f. 37<sup>v</sup>
161. Iustus est, qui negligit dampnum *per* amicum :  
Quello è iusto che despreçça el danno per lo amico.
162. In communicatione[m] omnis amicitia est :  
L'amicitia in una certa conversation consiste.
163. Inter dispare mores non potest esse amicitia :  
Intra costumi diversi non pò essere amicitia.
164. In maliuolam animam non introibit sapientia nec in corpore subdito peccatis :  
Nela mala anima non entra sapientia né [in] nel corpo subdito ali peccati.

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XXIII, 161a per amicum] *lege* pro amico *aut* propter amicum  
XXIII, 162b amicitia] -a<sup>ss</sup>.

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XXIII, 157 Exitus – cogita] MART. BRACAR., *Formula vitae honestae* 2, p. 239  
Cum initia inveneris, exitus cogitabis

XXIII, 158 Exitus – probat] OV., *Heroid.* 2, 85; *Polythecon* 1, 739; THOM. CHOB., *Summa de arte praedicandi* 6, lin. 3157 Sicut ait poeta : exitus acta probat, finis non pugna coronat ; Walther 8481-8481a

XXIII, 160 Grator – edit] PROSP. AQUIT., *Epigr.* 70, 5 Grator est fructus quem spes productior edit

XXIII, 161 Iustus – amicum] PROV. 12, 26 Qui negligit damnum propter amicum, iustus est

XXIII, 162 In – amicitia est] THOM. AQ., *In IV Sentent.*, dist. 40, quaest. 1, art. 1 Respondeo dicendum, quod secundum philosophum in 8 ethic., omnis amicitia in aliqua communicatione consistit

XXIII, 163 Inter – amicitia] AMBR., *De officiis* 3, 22, 133

XXIII, 164 In – peccatis] SAP. 1, 4 (introibit] intrabit *Sap.* ; nec + habitabit *Sap.*)

165. In magna egestate sunt diuites sapientie thesaurum non habentes:  
In gran povertà sommo li richi non habiando el thesoro dela sapientia.
166. Irato ad eius iracundiam noli respondere:  
Non volli responder al homo irato secondo la sua iracundia.
167. Iniqua nunquam regna perpetuo regna(n)t:  
Li regni iniqui non stano mai perpetui.
168. Sicut tinea uestimento, sic tristitia cordi:  
Come la tarma a roder el vestimento, cusì è la tristitia al core:
169. | Multa mel(l)is comestio nocet:  
El nuoxe a mançar tropo miel. f. 38<sup>r</sup>
170. Per nuntium fatuum uerba ne mittas:  
Non mandar ambasada per nontio ch(e) sia mato.
171. Extinguitur ignis, dum deficiunt ligna:  
Et se studia el fuoco, quando manca le legne.

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XXIII, 168b core<sup>in marg. vert.</sup>

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XXIII, 165 In – habentes] Ps. ISID., *Testimonia divinae scripturae et patrum*, Test. patr. 6 = PROSP. AQUIT., *Liber sententiarum* 85 In magna egestate sunt, qui de iniquitate sunt divites, iustitiae opes et sapientiae thesauros non habentes

XXIII, 166 Irato – respondere] AMBR., *De officiis* 1, 21, 93 Noli respondere irato ad iracundiam eius

XXIII, 167 Iniqua – regnant] SEN., *Medea* 196 (regnant] manent Sen.)

XXIII, 168 Sicut – cordi] PROV. 25, 20bis Sicut tinea vestimento et vermis ligno ita tristitia viri nocet cordi = Ps. ISID., *Testimonia divinae scripturae et patrum*, Test. div. script. 29; THOM. CHOB., *Sermo* 17, lin. 86 De hoc Proverbiorum XXV<sup>o</sup>: Sicut tinea vestimento et vermis ligno, ita tristitia viri nocet cordi; DEFENS. LOCOGIAC., *Liber scintillarum* 52, 15 Sicut in vestimento tinea et vermis devorat lignum, ita tristitia nocet cor

XXIII, 169 Multa – nocet] cf. BERN. CLAR., *Serm. de diversis* 83 (vol. 6, 1), lin. 324 Hac ergo paritate servata, mellis huius moderata comestio non nocebit

XXIII, 171 Extinguitur – ligna] PROV. 26, 20 cum defecerint ligna, extinguetur ignis; Auctor incertus, *Missale mixtum* (PL 85, 364C) Cum defecerint ligna, extinguetur ignis

172. Sicut carbones ad prunas et ligna ad ignem, sic uoluntas pessima ad rixas :  
Sì come i carboni è per far bronce et le legne al fuoco, cusì la voluntà pessima a far risa.
173. Qui fodit foueam, caueat, ne incidat in eam :  
Chi cava la fossa, guardase che non cada in quella.
174. Lingue fal<l>aci odibilis est ueritas :  
La verità è odiosa ala lingua falace.
175. Cicius extraneus et non labia tua te laude<n>t :  
Più presto un strano che la tua lingua te lauda.
176. Ne glorieris in crastinum ignorans, quid superuentura pariat dies :  
No te alegrar nel çorno de domani, non sapendo che cosa devegnir che parechia el dì.
177. Grauior | est saxo ira odientis : f. 38<sup>v</sup>  
L'è più pesante et grave la ira de colui porta odio che 'l saxo.
178. Vtilior manifesta cor<r>eptio abscondito amore :  
L'è più utile una manifesta coreption che l'amor ascoso.

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XXIII, 172b bronze] *lege* braxe

XXIII, 176a in] mel an in<sup>a.c.</sup>

XXIII, 177a gravior<sup>in marg. vert.</sup>

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XXIII, 172 Sicut – rixas] Prov. 26, 21 (prunam *Prov.* ; uoluntas – rixas] homo iracundus suscitatur rixas *Prov.*)

XXIII, 173 Qui – eam] Prov. 26, 27 = Eccle. 10, 8 (caueat ne incidat] incidet *Prov.* ; *Eccle.*)

XXIII, 174 Lingue – ueritas] Prov. 26, 28 Lingua fallax non amat veritatem

XXIII, 175 Cicius – laudent] Prov. 27, 2 Laudet te alienus et non os tuum, extraneus et non labia tua

XXIII, 176 Ne – dies] Prov. 27, 1

XXIII, 177 Grauior – odientis] Prov. 27, 3 Grave est saxum et onerosa harena, sed ira stulti utroque gravior

XXIII, 178 Vtilior – amore] Prov. 27, 5 Melior est manifesta correptio quam amor absconditus

179. Anima saturata calcabit fauum, *anima* esuriens etiam amarum pro dulci sumit:  
L'anima satiata calca, non se cura del mele, l'anima de colui che ha fame anco mança le cosse amare per le dolçe.
180. Delectatur cor uariis odoribus, sic dulcoratur anima bonis consiliis:  
El cor pia delectatione de varii odori, cusì se indolcise l'anima per boni consegli.
181. Quomodo respondent vultus prospicientium in aquis, sic corda hominum manifesta sunt prudentibus:  
Cusì come resplende e vedese in le aque el volto de quelli che varda in quelle, cusì sono se veduti et se manifesta ai sapienti i cor de li homeni.
182. Fugit impius nemine persequente:  
El fuge l'impio | non havendo ch'el caça. f. 39<sup>r</sup>
183. Regnantibus impiis ruine sunt hominum:  
Le ruine degli homeni sono, quando regna li impii.
184. Qui confessus fuerit et reliquerit peccata, misericordiam consequetur:  
Colui conseguirà misericordia che serà confesso et abandonerà i peccadi.

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XXIII, 180b se<sup>in marg. sin.</sup>

XXIII, 180b indolcise] l<sup>ss.</sup>

XXIII, 181a respondent] lege resplendent

XXIII, 181b veduti] vedeti<sup>a.c.</sup>

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XXIII, 179 Anima – sumit] Prov. 27, 7 Anima saturata calcabit favum, anima esuriens et amarum pro dulce sumet

XXIII, 180 Delectatur – consiliis] Prov. 27, 9 Unguento et variis odoribus delectatur cor et bonis amici consiliis anima dulcoratur

XXIII, 181 Quomodo – prudentibus] Prov. 27, 19 Quomodo in aquis resplendent vultus prospicientium, sic corda hominum manifesta sunt prudentibus

XXIII, 182 Fugit – persequente] Prov. 28, 1

XXIII, 183 Regnantibus – hominum] Prov. 28, 12 Regnantibus impiis ruinae hominum

XXIII, 184 Qui – consequetur] Prov. 28, 13 (peccata] ea Prov.)

185. Qui est dure mentis, cor⟨r⟩uet in malum :  
Colui che è de dura *mente*, cacerà neli mali.
186. In eternum firmabitur tronus illius, qui in ueritate iudicat :  
Colui iudica in verità el suo trono la sua dignità starà ferma *sempre* mai.
187. Humilem spiritu suscipiet gloria :  
La gloria riceverà colui che è humile de spirito.
188. Leo fortissimus bestiarum ad nullius pauebit occursum :  
El lion che è molto più forte de tute le bestie non se spaventa al incorso de alcun.
189. Si te intellexissem, ori inposuissem manu⟨m⟩ :  
Se io te havese inteso, io haveria posto la mia mane ala bocha.
190. Exprimit | lac, qui ad eliciendum uerba proponit : f. 39<sup>v</sup>  
Colui exprime late che propone parole per aluxegar.
191. Securius duo simul esse *quam* unum ; si dormierint duo, fovebuntur mutuo, et si quispiam preualuerit *contra* unum, duo resiste⟨n⟩t ei :  
L'è molto più sicuro esser do insieme ch' a un solo, *perché* se do dormirano se scaldaranno l'un l'altro. E se alcuno vorà prevalerse contra uno, do ifara resistentia.

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XXIII, 191a dormierint] t<sup>65</sup>

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XXIII, 185 Qui – malum] Prov. 28, 14 Beatus homo qui semper est pavidus, qui vero mentis est durae, corruiet in malum

XXIII, 186 In – iudicat] Prov. 29, 14 Rex qui iudicat in veritate pauperes, thronus eius in aeternum firmabitur

XXIII, 187 Humilem – gloria] Prov. 29, 23

XXIII, 188 Leo – occursum] Prov. 30, 30

XXIII, 189 Si – manum] Prov. 30, 32 Si enim intellexisset, ori imposuisset manum

XXIII, 190 Exprimit – proponit] Prov. 30, 33 Qui autem fortiter premit ubera ad eliciendum lac, exprimit butyrum

XXIII, 191 Securius – ei] Eccl. 4, 9 Melius ergo est duos simul esse quam unum ; Eccl. 4, 11 Et si dormierint duo, fovebuntur mutuo ; Eccl. 4, 12 Et si quispiam praevaluerit contra unum, duo resistent ei

192. Funiculus triplex difficile rompitur:  
Una cordexela tre dopia dificilmente se rompe.
193. Displicit *enim* deo infidelis et stulta promissio:  
La stolta et infedel promessa dispiace a dio.
194. Felicius est uidere *quod* cupis *quam* desiderare *quod* nescis:  
L'e molto più felice a veder quel che desideri, che desiderare *que*<1> che non sai.

Dedi finem operi, *quod* amore tui *inchoaueram*. Si *quid* in eo est, *quod* utilitati tue conferat, non *michi* qui *parum* aut *nichil sum*, sed doctissimis viris, *quorum* dicta excerpsi, ascribendum puta. Si uero *inordinatum* aut *inconpositum* fuerit, ignorantie mee imputato. *Affectum tamen* meum suscipe benignissima M. Vale.

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XXIII, 194b desiderare] si<sup>ss</sup> ; re<sup>ss</sup>.  
Epil., 6 vale<sup>in marg. vert.</sup>

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XXIII, 192 Funiculus – rompitur] Eccle. 4, 12 (rumpitur)  
XXIII, 193 Displicit – promissio] Eccle. 5, 3 (displicet ... deo] ei Eccle.)  
XXIII, 194 Felicius – nescis] Eccle. 6, 9 Melius est videre quod cupias quam desiderare quod nescias

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### *Summary*

We present an edition of a fifteenth-century *florilegium* now in the British Library (MS Add. 10,804) and known there as *Breve opusculum quorundam notabilium seu auctoritatum multorum sapientium*. In the introduction in particular the relationship will be reviewed between the Latin text and its sources on the one hand, and between the Latin and the Italian – translation techniques – on the other. Next the cultural-historical context within which this *florilegium* originated will be considered. At the same time we will tentatively answer the question of the function that this bilingual text may have served. The edition of the text (incl. sources, linguistic and palaeographical annotations) will be concluded by various registers and a bibliography.

Le Missel de Paris  
dans son évolution historique  
En guise de conclusion au  
*Corpus Orationum*

par  
Jean ÉVENOU  
(Carnac)

L'entreprise monumentale du *Corpus Orationum* entendait donner « la série alphabétique de toutes les pièces euchologiques proprement dites transmises par des sacramentaires ou des missels latins, depuis l'Antiquité tardive jusqu'à la fin du Moyen Âge » (t. I, p. v). Allant au-delà de ces limites, le tome XIII a donné les sources du *Missale Parisiense* (M P) publié en 1738 par l'archevêque de Paris Charles de Vintimille. Il peut être intéressant de rechercher sa place et son influence dans la longue histoire de la liturgie latine en Occident. Le Missel, dit de Vintimille pour faire court, n'était ni le premier ni le dernier Missel de Paris, mais le plus célèbre et celui dont l'influence devait être la plus grande.

La tradition liturgique de Paris ne commence pas *ex abrupto* par la publication de ce Missel. Celui-ci n'est pas sorti tout droit du bureau de quelques clercs parisiens érudits. Il est l'aboutissement d'une très longue histoire, dont il est nécessaire d'avoir les grandes lignes sous les yeux si l'on veut discerner ce qui est traditionnel et ce qui est novateur dans ce Missel.

*La liturgie romaine naturalisée en France*

La liturgie des Gaules, avant d'être remplacée par la liturgie romaine, est mal connue : quelques renseignements épars dans

les sermons de saint Césaire d'Arles († 542), les écrits de saint Grégoire de Tours († 594) et les conciles mérovingiens, c'est peu. Malgré son attribution fallacieuse à saint Germain de Paris († 576), l'*Exposition de la liturgie gallicane*, écrite vers 600, a l'intérêt de montrer que la liturgie des Gaules a subi de fortes influences hispaniques et orientales<sup>1</sup>.

Sous Pépin le Bref (761-768), c'est l'influence romaine qui devient prépondérante : le Sacramentaire dit gélasien s'implante en pays francs en amalgamant des oraisons empruntées au Sacramentaire grégorien et certaines prières gallicanes, c'est le Gélasien du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>2</sup>.

Quand Charlemagne décida d'adopter dans le royaume franc les livres liturgiques romains, il ne fit que conduire à son terme un mouvement déjà bien engagé. Mais le sacramentaire papal envoyé au souverain par le pape Hadrien vers 785-790 n'était ni complet, puisqu'il ne contenait que les oraisons des messes célébrées par le pape, ni suffisant pour répondre aux besoins nouveaux de la piété en pays francs. Il fallut le réviser et le compléter : ce fut l'œuvre de saint Benoît d'Aniane († 821), qui puisa dans le Gélasien du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et, à l'occasion, dans des sources hispaniques<sup>3</sup>.

Ce sont les transcriptions de ce Sacramentaire grégorien, dit *Hadrianum*, mais supplémenté par Benoît d'Aniane, qui sont à la base des liturgies diocésaines françaises, chaque Église y ajoutant ses saints locaux, ses coutumes et rites particuliers, chaque transcription étant aussi susceptible d'erreurs, de confusions de noms, d'additions ... C'est ainsi que se forma peu à peu le *Missale Parisiense*<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. S. QUASTEN, *Expositio antiqua liturgiae gallicanae Germano Parisiensi ascripta*, Opuscula et Textus, Ser. Liturg. III, Münster i. Westf., 1931. Cf. pour une mise au point récente A. DAVRIL, « La liturgie en France avant Charlemagne », *Dictionnaire encyclopédique de la liturgie*, Turnhout, Brepols, t. II, 1992, p. 464-466.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. C. VOGEL, *Introduction aux sources de l'histoire du Culte chrétien au Moyen Âge*, Spoleto, 1981, p. 58-67.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. J. DESHUSSES, « Le « Supplément » au sacramentaire grégorien : Alcuin ou saint Benoît d'Aniane ? », *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft*, 9 (1965), p. 48-71.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. pour les missels manuscrits à l'usage de Paris, V. LEROQUAIS, *Les*

La première édition imprimée remonterait à 1477, d'après l'érudit jésuite Fr. Zaccaria, qui en détaille le calendrier et le sanctoral<sup>5</sup>. Elle fut suivie d'une douzaine d'autres avant 1500. De 1500 à 1600, ce ne sont pas moins de 26 éditions qui ont été répertoriées<sup>6</sup>.

### *La structure du Missel de Paris*

Le *Corpus Orationum* a analysé les seules oraisons du Missel de 1738 en recherchant leurs sources, mais le Missel forme un ensemble composite, dont les oraisons ne constituent qu'une partie. Il faut y ajouter le calendrier, les lectures, les antienne, les proses, les préfaces, l'*Ordo Missae*, les dialogues, les prières privées du prêtre, les rubriques ...

Le *Canon Missae* romain est demeuré pratiquement intangible depuis son introduction en pays francs, témoin le *Missale Francorum*<sup>7</sup>, et la structure d'ensemble du Missel est demeurée la même.

On ne s'étonnera pas des divergences des usages entre Rome et Paris sur d'autres parties de l'*Ordo Missae*<sup>8</sup>, en particulier les rites et prières d'ouverture, d'offertoire, de communion<sup>9</sup>, les prières de préparation et d'action de grâce. Au début du xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle, la surcharge est sensible et le modèle de célébration est la messe privée, mais bien des détails se retrouvent dans beaucoup de diocèses et d'Ordres religieux, comme la préparation du calice et de la patène sur l'autel avant le début de la messe.

*sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 4 vol., Paris, 1937.

<sup>5</sup> Fr. A. ZACCARIA, *Bibliotheca ritualis*, Roma, 1776-1781, t. I, 63: *Missale parisiense, Venetiis, MCCCCLXXVII per Ioannem Hammanum et socios*.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. R. AMIET, *Missels et Bréviaires imprimés*, Éd. du CNRS, Paris, 1990, p. 50-52.

<sup>7</sup> Éd. L. C. MOHLBERG, *Missale Francorum*, Roma, 1957; le Canon se trouve aux nn. 156-169: au *Te igitur*, ni le pape ni l'évêque diocésain ne sont nommés, mais au *Communicantes* sont ajoutés les noms d'Hilaire et de Martin.

<sup>8</sup> Comme les encensements de l'autel et du livre des évangiles. Aux oraisons romaines, estimées trop brèves, les prêtres francs ajoutent de multiples et prolixes prières, variables d'une église à l'autre, pour nourrir leur dévotion.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. pour le monde monastique, P. TIROT, *Un « Ordo Missae » monastique : Cluny, Cîteaux, La Chartreuse*, CLV – Edizioni Liturgiche, Roma, 1981.

Après l'Évangile proclamé en latin puis repris en français le dimanche viennent les prières du prône, vestige de l'antique *oratio fidelium*<sup>10</sup>. Après la présentation du pain et du vin à l'Offertoire vient l'offrande du clergé et du peuple, qu'accompagne une parole du prêtre : *Centuplum accipietis, et vitam aeternam possidebitis* (cf. Mt 19, 29). La coutume était si forte qu'on eut bien de la peine à faire accepter que l'offrande se fît avant l'oblation de l'hostie, selon la prescription du Cérémonial publié en 1662.

L'*Ordo Missae* mis à part, on peut relever quelques particularités au cours de l'année liturgique, que Paris partage avec d'autres diocèses, particularités dont certaines ont disparu, alors que d'autres ont survécu ou ont retrouvé vie après la romanisation effectuée au cours de la première moitié du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. C'est ainsi que, pour les lectures, le premier dimanche de l'Avent présentait l'évangile de l'entrée de Jésus à Jérusalem<sup>11</sup> ; les mercredis et vendredis de chaque semaine, et de plus les lundis après la Septuagésime, le missel présentait des lectures différentes de celles du dimanche précédent<sup>12</sup> ; à la Vigile et aux trois messes de Noël, une lecture prophétique précédait immédiatement la lecture de l'Apôtre<sup>13</sup> ; le Samedi Saint et à la Vigile de la Pentecôte, on lisait quatre lectures de l'Ancien Testament et non douze et six comme dans le Missel ro-

<sup>10</sup> Cf. J. B. MOLIN, « L'*Oratio communis fidelium* au Moyen Âge en Occident du X<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle », *Miscellanea liturgica in onore de Sua Eminenza il Cardinale Giacomo Lercaro*, Desclée, Roma, t. II, 1967, p. 313-457.

<sup>11</sup> Ancienne lecture romaine, délaissée à Rome, mais maintenue au nord des Alpes et par les Dominicains (cf. Y. ZALUSKA, « Évangélaire du prototype dominicain », in *Aux origines de la liturgie dominicaine. Le manuscrit Santa Sabina XIV L1*, sous la direction de L. C. BOYLE et P.-M. GY, Éd. du CNRS, Paris - École française de Rome, Roma, 2004, p. 131-132). À Paris, cet évangile fut maintenu jusqu'en 1585. Le Missel de Clermont est resté fidèle à ce choix jusqu'en sa dernière édition en 1821.

<sup>12</sup> On pourra voir dans le *Missale Aquileyensis Ecclesie* de 1517 (Ed. anastatica, Libreria Editrice Vaticana - Istituto Pio Paschini, Udine, 2007) le système des lectures des mercredis et vendredis, pour le diocèse d'Aquilée.

<sup>13</sup> (1) Is 62, 1-4 : *Propter Sion non tacebo ... quia complacuit Domino in te* ; (2) Is 9, 2. 6-7 : *Populus qui ambulabat in tenebris ... et usque in sempiternum* ; (3) Is 61, 1-3 ; 62, 11-12 : *Spiritus Domini super me ... populus sanctus, redemptus a Domino* ; (4) Is 52, 6-10 : *Propter hoc sciet populus meus ... omnes fines terrae salutare Dei nostri*. Même disposition dans la liturgie dominicaine primitive.

main. Pour la fête de la Trinité, on lisait le Prologue de saint Jean (1, 1-14). Les jours principaux de l'année liturgique avaient des rites particuliers : pour ne parler que du Missel, le chant de la Généalogie du Christ (Mt 1, 1-19) avant la messe de minuit de Noël (et de même la nuit de l'Épiphanie avec la généalogie selon Luc) ; le chant des Laudes intégré à la messe de nuit de Noël, avant la postcommunion ; la procession des Rameaux à Notre-Dame, si imposante et si différente d'avec celle de Rome<sup>14</sup> ; les deux longues célébrations pénitentielles du Mercredi des Cendres et du Jeudi Saint, en provenance directe du Pontifical romano-germanique et, au-delà, du sacramentaire gélasien (GV 80-82, 356-358, 360-361, 1357, 1360), avec à la fin une absolution générale, qui a fait appeler le Jeudi Saint le « Jeudi absolu » ; le chant des vêpres intégré à la messe du Jeudi Saint et à l'office du Vendredi Saint, malgré l'heure matinale de leur célébration ; la procession de la Croix voilée à travers la nef de l'église, le Vendredi Saint, au chant des Impropères, comme un chemin de croix ; la triple litanie du Samedi Saint : toutes particularités maintenues jusqu'au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle.

En plus des couleurs liturgiques romaines (blanc, rouge, violet, vert, noir), Paris connaissait encore le gris, le cendré, et en faisait un usage différent : le rouge pour le Saint-Sacrement, le vert pour les saints évêques, le violet pour sainte Marie l'Égyptienne et les pénitents. D'autres couleurs encore apparaissent : le jaune pour les fêtes des anges, l'aurore au lieu du rouge pour un certain nombre de fêtes, le bleu à la place du violet pour saint Louis – c'était la couleur qu'il avait choisie de porter au lieu de la pourpre –, les saints abbés, moines, justes et les saintes femmes, le brun au lieu du noir pendant la Semaine Sainte. Cette profusion de couleurs ne pouvait être le fait que de la cathédrale Notre-Dame et de quelques grandes églises.

Si l'antiphonaire de la messe ne connaissait que des chants ornés, neumatiques, sur des textes bibliques, à part le *Gloria*,

<sup>14</sup> Cf. J. ÉVENOU, « La procession des Rameaux à Paris au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle », *Ephemerides liturgicae*, 112 (1998), p. 97-126, en particulier p. 98 pour le début du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle.



le *Credo* et l'*Agnus*, d'autres chants s'introduisent à partir du ix<sup>e</sup> siècle: *Kyrie* farci, tropes et surtout séquences. Créations littéraires et non plus bibliques, rythmées et souvent rimées, les séquences ou proses vont proliférer à Paris comme ailleurs, sauf à Rome<sup>15</sup>. Connues déjà d'Amalaire (« cette jubilation que les chantres appellent séquence »), elles connurent une grande vogue et leur âge d'or à Paris au xii<sup>e</sup> siècle avec les compositions d'un chanoine régulier de Paris, Adam de Saint-Victor († 1192), qui fait de la séquence un poème à strophes égales, qu'une mélodie monosyllabique, au rythme ternaire, rendit rapidement populaire. C'était un manière de donner un surcroît de festivité aux solennités majeures de l'année. Mais l'engouement pour ce genre de chant devait envahir le Missel et charrier le pire avec le meilleur. Tel missel parisien du xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle contient 148 séquences, tel autre du xiv<sup>e</sup> n'en a plus que 82, mais au xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle, les premiers missels imprimés voient un nouvel afflux de proses: les quatre dimanches de l'Avent, les trois messes de Noël, le dimanche dans l'octave, chaque jour de la semaine de Pâques, de la semaine de la Pentecôte, des octaves de l'Assomption, de la Nativité de la Vierge, de saint Denis ont une prose propre, et elles abondent dans le Sanctoral et les Communs: le Missel de 1504 en compte 102. Il faut cependant attendre 1585 pour y trouver le *Dies irae*, ajouté à la suite des messes pour les défunts, et sans obligation de le chanter.

D'autres coutumes s'établissent avec le temps, que les rubriques ne transcrivaient pas toujours, comme le chant du *Stabat mater* à la fin de l'office du Vendredi Saint, le chant d'*O salutaris hostia* après l'élévation, depuis Louis XII et à sa demande, la procession dans l'église après l'aspersion le dimanche, immédiatement avant l'introït ainsi qu'aux grandes fêtes, coutume inconnue à Rome, mais commune aux diocèses de France. Une autre coutume, qui devait passer en usage univer-

<sup>15</sup> Le Missel de S. Pie V les réduit à quatre: *Victimae paschali* pour le jour et l'octave de Pâques. *Veni, sancte Spiritus* pour le jour et l'octave de Pentecôte, *Lauda Sion* pour la fête du Saint-Sacrement et son octave, et *Dies Irae* pour les messes des défunts. Cf. sur ce point, E. COSTA, « Tropes et séquences dans le cadre de la vie liturgique au Moyen Âge », *Ephemerides liturgicae*, 92 (1978), p. 261-322, 440-471.

sel avant la fin du <sup>xiii</sup><sup>e</sup> siècle, fit l'objet d'une prescription de l'évêque de Paris, Eudes de Sully (1196-1208), dans ses Statuts synodaux, n. 28 : « Il est interdit aux prêtres qui commencent la prière *Qui pridie* d'élever aussitôt l'hostie si haut que le peuple puisse la voir. Qu'ils se contentent de la porter à l'hauteur de la poitrine jusqu'à ce qu'ils aient dit : *Hoc est corpus meum*, et alors qu'ils élèvent l'hostie pour qu'elle puisse être vue de tous ».

Avant l'invention de l'imprimerie, les manuscrits étant dispendieux, beaucoup de petites églises se contentaient d'un abrégé de missel, contenant seulement quelques messes, appelées *communes et familiares*, qui étaient utilisées d'une semaine à l'autre : le dimanche, la messe de la Trinité, en semaine celle des Anges le lundi, du Saint-Esprit le mardi, des défunts le mercredi, du Saint-Sacrement le jeudi, de la Croix le vendredi, de la Vierge le samedi. À ce groupe pouvaient s'ajouter les messes de saint Sébastien, de saint Roch, de sainte Geneviève, de tous les saints. L'imprimerie ne fit pas disparaître cet usage, témoin un *Speculum Sacerdotum* contenant ces messes, à la fin d'un Bréviaire parisien imprimé vers 1480 et conservé à la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève. Ce qui pouvait suffire à des petites églises rurales n'était qu'un pâle écho de ce qui était en usage dans les grandes églises de Paris, au clergé abondant, à commencer par Notre-Dame.

### *La formation du Sanctoral parisien*

Si le Temporal resta fidèle dans son organisation à l'ordre établi par saint Benoît d'Aniane, le Sanctoral de Paris s'enrichit avec le temps.

Y figurent en premier lieu, avec les saints dont les fêtes proviennent des Sacramentaires romains (Gélasien et Grégorien), les saints des premiers temps de l'histoire du christianisme à Paris : son premier évêque, saint Denis, et ses compagnons, le prêtre Rustique et le diacre Éleuthère, martyrs au <sup>iii</sup><sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>16</sup>,

<sup>16</sup> L'homonymie entre Denis l'Aréopagite et Denis de Paris offrait la tentation de rattacher le fondateur de l'Église de Paris à l'âge apostolique, en dépit des indications contraires et convergentes de la *Vie de Sainte Geneviève*, où l'on voit la Sainte prendre l'initiative de faire construire une première

fêtés le 9 octobre, avec vigile et octave, et la découverte de leurs corps à Saint-Denis, vers 630, le 22 avril ; sainte Geneviève de Nanterre, la sainte de Paris († vers 500), le 3 janvier, avec le 28 octobre une double translation, vers 630 puis vers 1241.

À la geste de saint Denis se rattachent, plus ou moins fictivement, d'autres martyrs : un groupe de Créteil, avec en tête Agoard et Aglibert, le 24 juin, mais fêtés tantôt le 23, tantôt le 25, et, le 5 août, saint Yon, prêtre et martyr près d'Arpajon (autrefois Châtres), dont les reliques étaient vénérées à Arpajon et à Créteil, saint Eugène, le 15 novembre, donné comme disciple de saint Denis et dont les restes étaient conservés à la basilique de Saint-Denis. À quelle époque situer trois autres martyrs : Justin, de Louvres, présenté comme un enfant et fêté le 8 août, dont les reliques étaient conservées à Notre-Dame, peut-être depuis les invasions normandes ; Arnoul en Yvelines, dont la figure se confond souvent avec l'évêque de Metz du même nom, fêté le même jour, le 18 juillet ; Lucain, martyr du pays chartrain fêté le 30 octobre, dont la châsse, vénérée à Notre-Dame, était portée en procession dans les grandes calamités entre celle de saint Marcel et celle de sainte Geneviève ?

À saint Denis font cortège d'autres saints évêques de Paris : saint Marcel qui vivait à la fin du iv<sup>e</sup> siècle et dont la fête fut repoussée du 1<sup>er</sup> au 2, puis au 3 novembre, quand la Toussaint s'est imposée le 1<sup>er</sup> novembre vers 835, et le souvenir des Défunts le lendemain après 998, mais – c'est assez significatif – l'octave de saint Marcel se terminait le 8 novembre. Il avait droit encore à une mémoire le 26 novembre. Sa notoriété dans le calendrier parisien lui vient du fait que vers 1200, un

basilique sur la tombe de saint Denis, et de l'*Histoire des Francs* (I, 30) de Grégoire de Tours, qui le comprend dans la liste des sept évêques envoyés de Rome en Gaule en 250. La *Passio sancti Dionysii*, rédigée à l'abbaye Saint-Denis vers l'an 800, reculait à l'époque du pape saint Clément la mission donnée à saint Denis. Il ne restait qu'un pas à franchir pour identifier saint Denis de Paris et l'Aréopagite : ce fut l'œuvre de l'abbé Hilduin, qui ajouta encore à la figure composite du saint de Paris en lui attribuant les écrits de théologie mystique du Pseudo-Denis, parvenus de Constantinople à Saint-Denis le 8 octobre 827. Les moines de Saint-Denis s'ingénierent même à composer une messe en grec pour l'octave de leur saint patron.

26 juillet, ses reliques furent transférées dans la nouvelle cathédrale Notre-Dame; – saint Germain († 576), le 28 mai, avec mémoire de sa translation le 25 juillet en 754 dans l'église abbatiale appelée dès lors Saint-Germain des Prés, qu'il avait fondée sous le nom de Saint-Vincent; – saint Cérân ou Céranne (*Carannus*) († après 614), plein de zèle pour recueillir les actes des martyrs, et inhumé un 27 septembre près de la tombe de sainte Geneviève; – saint Landry (*Landericus*) († vers 656), célèbre pour sa charité: il aurait fondé dans l'île de la Cité l'hôtel-Dieu, proche de la cathédrale. Curieusement, saint Hugues († 8 avril 730) figure au calendrier de Rouen, mais non à celui de Paris: il est vrai qu'il cumulait trois sièges épiscopaux et deux abbayes et que son anniversaire tombait fâcheusement pour lui au cours des fêtes pascales.

À côté de ses propres évêques, le sanctoral parisien en accueille un grand nombre d'autres. Et d'abord les plus célèbres: saint Hilaire de Poitiers († vers 368), dont l'anniversaire de la *depositio* est reporté du 13 au 14 janvier en raison de l'octave de l'Épiphanie; saint Martin de Tours († 397), fêté le 11 novembre, anniversaire de sa *depositio* à Tours, trois jours après sa mort à Candes, et le 4 juillet, anniversaire de son ordination en 372 et de la translation de son corps en 473; saint Germain d'Auxerre († 448), le 31 juillet, anniversaire de sa mort à Ravenne; saint Remi de Reims († 13 janvier vers 533), fêté souvent en même temps que saint Hilaire, mais surtout le 1<sup>er</sup> octobre, anniversaire de sa première translation, avant 585.

Vers 1380 (il est difficile d'aller plus loin dans le temps pour une vue d'ensemble), le sanctoral de Paris est en grande partie constitué. Presque toutes les provinces ecclésiastiques des Gaules sont représentées par des évêques, à commencer par celle de Sens, dont dépendait Paris: les deux premiers pasteurs de Sens, saints Savinien et Potentien, fêtés le 19 octobre, anniversaire de leur translation en 1029, jour plus favorable que la date primitive, le 31 décembre; saint Leu (*Lupus*), le 1<sup>er</sup> septembre († vers 623); un autre saint Loup, de Troyes, le 29 juillet († vers 479); saint Euverte le 7 septembre (iv<sup>e</sup> siècle) et saint Aignan, d'Orléans, le 17 novembre († vers 453); saint Faron, de Meaux, le 28 octobre († 672). La province de Reims est représentée, à la suite de saint Remi, par un autre

évêque de Reims : saint Nicaise, le 14 décembre, martyrisé vers 407 avec sa sœur Eutropie et deux compagnons lors des invasions vandales, et particulièrement vénéré par l'évêque de Paris Simon de Bussy (1290-1304); par trois évêques d'Amiens : saint Firmin (iv<sup>e</sup> siècle), considéré comme le premier pasteur et martyr par Usuard et fêté le 25 septembre, saint Vaast (*Vedastus*), le 6 février († vers 539) et saint Honoré, le 16 mai, († vers 600); par deux évêques de Noyon : saint Médard, le 8 juin († avant 560) et saint Éloi († 30 novembre 659), fêté le 1<sup>er</sup> décembre en raison de la fête de saint André la veille; Châlons a donné son premier évêque, saint Memmie (iv<sup>e</sup> siècle), le 5 août; Senlis, saint Rieul († vers 320), le 30 mars; la cité des Morins, saint Omer (*Audomarus*), le 9 septembre († vers 668). De la province voisine de Rouen viennent trois évêques de Rouen : saint Mellon (*Mallonus*), le 22 octobre († vers 312), saint Gildard ou Godard, le 8 juin († vers 525), et saint Ouen (*Andoenus*), le 24 août († 683), et un évêque de Bayeux, saint Spire (*Exuperius*) le 1<sup>er</sup> août (iv<sup>e</sup> ou v<sup>e</sup> siècle). La province de Tours est représentée, à la suite de saint Martin, par saint Brice, son disciple et successeur, le 13 novembre († 444), par deux évêques d'Angers, saint Maurille le 13 septembre († 453) et saint Aubin le 1<sup>er</sup> mars († 550), et par le premier évêque du Mans saint Julien, le 27 janvier. De la province de Bourges, viennent un évêque de Bourges, saint Sulpice le Pieux († 644), le 17 janvier; deux évêques de Clermont, saint Prix, martyr († 673), le 25 janvier, et saint Bonet († 710), le 15 janvier; enfin, saint Martial de Limoges, le 30 juin. Des régions plus lointaines ne sont pas oubliées : le nord, avec deux évêques de Maestricht-Liège : saint Amand († vers 679), fêté le 6 février avec saint Vaast, et saint Lambert, l'évêque martyr († vers 705), le 13 septembre; le sud, avec saint Saturnin de Toulouse, martyr à la même époque que saint Denis, le 29 novembre, saint Mamert, évêque de Vienne († 475), qui institua les Rogations devenues vite populaires en Gaule, fêté le 11 mai, saint Véran ou Vrain de Vence (fin du V<sup>e</sup> siècle), dont une partie des reliques était vénérée dans le diocèse de Paris, à Saint-Vrain, fêté le 12 novembre au lieu du 11, saint Léger d'Autun, martyr en 678, le 2 octobre. L'Aquitaine a fourni saint Paulin, né à Bordeaux

en 358, baptisé à Bordeaux vers 389, avant de mourir évêque de Nole près de Naples le 22 juin 431. Le calendrier parisien retenait même le nom de saint Gendulfe ou Genou, évêque, dont on ignorait le siège et l'époque, dont on ne savait plus si le 13 novembre était le jour de sa mort ou d'une translation, mais dont on vénérât le chef à Notre-Dame.

À côté des évêques, voici la file des abbés, ceux de Paris ou de la région : saint Merry (*Medericus*), abbé à Autun, mort ermite près de Charenton vers 700, fêté le 29 août, saint Maur de Glanfeuil en Anjou, volontiers confondu avec le disciple homonyme de saint Benoît et dont les restes furent transférés à Paris (Saint-Maur des Fossés), fêté le 15 janvier, saint Fursy (*Fursaesus*) de Lagny († vers 650), le 16 janvier, saint Laumer (*Launomarus*) du pays chartrain († 594), le 19 janvier, saint Leufroy (*Leufridus*), abbé de la Croix, au pays d'Évreux († 738), le 21 juin, saint Séverin, abbé d'Agaune en Valais, décédé à Château-Landon en revenant de Paris, le 11 février 507 et qui a longtemps supplanté dans l'église proche de l'île de la Cité le souvenir d'un autre saint Séverin, ermite (23/24 novembre, † 555), saint Mesmin, abbé dans l'Orléanais († vers 520), le 15 décembre.

Paris honore également d'autres abbés, dont le rayonnement dépasse largement les limites du diocèse : saint Benoît, dont la translation à Fleury-sur-Loire vers 672 offrait le 11 juillet un jour plus favorable à la célébration que son anniversaire le 21 mars, toujours en Carême ; saint Colomban de Luxeuil († 615), le 21 novembre ; saint Philibert de Noirmoutier († vers 685), le 20 août.

Dans la cohorte des martyrs de tous pays qui ont trouvé place dans le calendrier de Paris se détachent le 8 janvier saint Lucien de Beauvais, parfois accompagné de Maximien et Julien ; le 24 mai, les frères nantais Donatien et Rogatien ; le 28 mai, saint Chéron, martyr au pays chartrain, rendu populaire à la suite de la guérison du fils du roi Clotaire ; le 14 juin, saints Rufin et Valère de Soissons ; le 16, saints Ferréol et Ferjeux de Besançon, en concurrence le même jour avec des martyrs orientaux, Cyr et Julitte ; le 21 juillet, saint Victor de Marseille, titulaire de la célèbre abbaye de chanoines réguliers fondée sur les bords de la Seine au début du <sup>xr</sup> siècle ; le

25 juillet, saint Cucufat de Barcelone, célébré à Paris depuis que l'abbé Hilduin eut rapporté ses reliques à Saint-Denis ; le 22 août, saint Symphorien, le jeune martyr d'Autun ; le 28, saint Julien de Brioude ; le 4 septembre, saint Marcel de Chalon ; le 22, saint Maurice et ses soldats de la Légion Thébaine ; le 24, les saints Andoche, Thyrses et Félix de Saulieu ; le 6 octobre, sainte Foy d'Agen ; le 25, les saints Crépin et Créprien de Soissons ; le 31, saint Quentin du Vermandois ; le 4 novembre, saint Clair, prêtre venu, dit-on, d'Angleterre au ix<sup>e</sup> siècle en Cotentin pour vivre en ermite, qui serait mort dans le Val d'Oise (Saint-Clair-sur-Epte), et que Paris vénère dès avant le xii<sup>e</sup> siècle comme martyr ; le 31 décembre, sainte Colombe, dont Sens gardait précieusement la châsse. De son voyage en Espagne en 858, Usuard rapporta à Saint-Germain-des-Prés les reliques de deux (Georges et Aurèle) des cinq martyrs de Cordoue exécutés le 27 juillet 852 et inscrivit les cinq dans son martyrologe le 27 août ; ils trouvèrent place dans le Calendrier de Paris à l'une ou l'autre de ces dates. Plus étrange, la présence, constante depuis au moins le xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle, le 17 janvier, des « trois jumeaux » : Speusippe, Éleusippe et Mélaspippe, supposés martyrs de Cappadoce, mais naturalisés gaulois depuis que l'on vénérât leurs reliques à Langres ; il est vrai qu'au début du vii<sup>e</sup> siècle, un clerc de Langres, Warnacharius, avait transformé le roman grec des trois jumeaux en une Passion langroise, qu'il avait dédiée à l'évêque de Paris, saint Cérin, collectionneur de Vies de saints, ceci pouvant expliquer cela. Pour beaucoup de martyrs, la raison de leur présence sur le calendrier de Paris venait d'une église élevée en leur honneur dans la ville ou le diocèse. Faut-il s'étonner dès lors de ne pas voir les noms de Pothin, Blandine, Irénée ?

Les femmes ne sont pas oubliées : le 30 janvier, la reine Bathilde, moniale à Chelles, morte quelques heures après sainte Radegonde, une fillette de sept ans, dont elle était la marraine († 680) ; le 17 mars, sainte Gertrude de Nivelles († 659) ; le 4 octobre, sainte Aure, première abbesse du monastère fondé par saint Éloi dans l'île de la Cité († 666) ; le 18 novembre, sainte Aude, dont on fit une disciple de sainte Geneviève, du fait que sa châsse était conservée dans la basilique Sainte-

Geneviève; le 7 décembre, sainte Fare, la sœur de l'évêque de Meaux saint Faron, fondatrice et abbesse de Faremoutier en Brie († 657). D'autres saintes, étrangères à Paris mais populaires, sont aussi inscrites au calendrier parisien, comme sainte Eulalie de Barcelone, le 12 février, sainte Marine qui avait la plus petite paroisse de Paris dans l'île de la Cité (18 juin), sainte Marie l'Égyptienne, la célèbre pénitente, fêtée au mois d'avril, entre le 1<sup>er</sup> et le 29. Les 11 000 vierges de Cologne, sainte Ursule en tête, ne pouvaient manquer d'avoir leur fête à Paris le 21 octobre, avant même la dédicace en 1347 d'une chapelle contenant de leurs reliques. Plus étrange, l'absence de sainte Clotilde et de sainte Radegonde, deux reines de France († 3 juin 545 et 13 août 587).

Les translations de corps saints devant les invasions normandes au cours des ix<sup>e</sup> et x<sup>e</sup> siècles ont provoqué l'implantation de leur culte à Paris et aux environs, là où ils trouvèrent refuge: des évêques bretons vers 960: saint Samson de Dol, le 28 juillet († 565), saint Magloire, le 24 octobre († 575), dont le nom supplanta celui de saint Barthélemy dans l'église qui l'accueillit, saint Turiau, le 13 juillet († 749), tous deux réputés aussi évêques de Dol, saint Malo d'Aleth, le 15 novembre († vers 565), plus connu en région parisienne sous la forme Maclou (*Maclovius*). De Bretagne arrivèrent encore les reliques de saint Guénaël, abbé au vi<sup>e</sup> siècle, qui trouvèrent refuge successivement à Courcouronnes, Corbeil et Paris (fêté le 3 novembre et appelé Guénaud dans la région parisienne); saint Hermeland, abbé d'Indre au pays nantais († 25 mars vers 720), fêté le 18 octobre, jour de sa translation à Bagneux en 869; saint Leufroy, déjà nommé, dont le corps fut recueilli à la fin du ix<sup>e</sup> siècle dans l'église de Saint-Germain-des-Prés. En 878, c'est le corps de sainte Opportune, abbesse de Montreuil au vii<sup>e</sup> siècle (fêtée le 22 avril), qui passe à Moussy-le-Neuf, puis à Senlis, et dont le culte gagna Paris. En 898, c'est sainte Honorine, vénérée comme martyre à Gravelle, près du Havre (27 février), dont le corps parvint à Conflans-sur-Oise, devenu dès lors Conflans-Sainte-Honorine, à la limite du diocèse.

Au xi<sup>e</sup> siècle, les reliques de saint Thibaud de Provins, mort près de Vicence en Italie le 30 juin 1063 et canonisé dix ans



plus tard par le pape Alexandre II, furent partagées entre Sainte-Colombe de Sens et le monastère parisien de Lagny, ce qui lui valut son inscription au calendrier de Paris.

Le <sup>xii</sup><sup>e</sup> siècle voit s'ajouter au calendrier parisien plusieurs anniversaires : la réception à Notre-Dame d'un fragment de la vraie Croix donné par un chanoine de Paris parti à la Croisade et devenu préchantre de l'église du Saint-Sépulcre : la relique, accueillie par l'évêque et le clergé de Paris à Saint-Cloud le 30 juillet 1109, fut escortée de là à Notre-Dame, où elle parvint le dimanche 1<sup>er</sup> août ; ce sera désormais une fête solennelle le premier dimanche d'août ; l'institution en 1131 d'une fête de Sainte-Geneviève des Ardents, le 26 novembre, à la suite de la cessation, attribuée à son intercession, d'une épidémie due à l'ergot de seigle dans le pain, maladie appelée le « mal des ardents » ; la fête de la Réception des saintes Reliques, le 4 décembre, en souvenir du transfert en 1194 des reliques de l'antique basilique Saint-Etienne dans la cathédrale nouvelle, commencée par l'évêque Maurice de Sully (le pape Alexandre III en personne en avait posé la première pierre en avril 1162). De Notre-Dame, la fête fut étendue au diocèse. Des saints nouvellement canonisés entrent dans le sanctoral parisien : saint Thomas Becket, assassiné dans sa cathédrale de Cantorbéry le 29 décembre 1170 et canonisé trois ans plus tard ; saint Bernard de Clairvaux († 1158), canonisé en 1174 et inscrit au calendrier en 1207, supplantant saint Philibert<sup>17</sup>.

Le <sup>xiii</sup><sup>e</sup> siècle est encore plus fécond en nouvelles fêtes : translation de saint Nicolas le 9 mai 1200 ; canonisation en 1218 de saint Guillaume de Bourges († 10 janvier 1209) ; translation de saint Thomas Becket le 7 juillet 1222 ; canonisation en 1228 de saint François d'Assise († 1226), fêté à Paris le 3 octobre pour ne pas concurrencer sainte Aure ; translation de saint Fiacre, l'ermite de la Brie, le 30 août 1234 ; canonisation en 1234 de saint Dominique († 6 août 1221), fêté le 5 août ; canonisation en 1235 de sainte Élisabeth de Hongrie († 1231), fêtée le 19 novembre ; réception à Paris de la sainte Couronne d'épines le 18 août 1239, mais fêtée ensuite le 11 en

<sup>17</sup> En raison de l'octave de l'Assomption, la fête de saint Bernard fut repoussée après le 22 août, soit le 23, soit même le 26.

raison de l'octave de l'Assomption; adoption en 1296 de la fête de saint Eutrope de Saintes, évêque et martyr, le 30 avril, à la demande de Philippe le Bel; canonisation en 1297 de saint Louis († 1270), suivie aussitôt de sa fête le 25 août.

Le <sup>xiv</sup><sup>e</sup> siècle enrichit encore le sanctoral parisien: translation du chef de saint Louis à la Sainte-Chapelle le mardi dans l'octave de l'Ascension en 1306 (on en fera désormais mémoire le mardi dans l'octave); en 1307, commémoration, mais seulement à Notre-Dame, de la victoire de Philippe le Bel en Flandre, victoire que le roi attribua à la Vierge Marie; institution vers 1320, après l'installation d'un couvent de Célestins à Paris en 1318, de la fête de saint Pierre Célestin († 19 mai 1296), l'ermite devenu pape pour quelques mois, canonisé en 1313; institution de la Fête-Dieu en 1338; de la fête de saint Thomas d'Aquin le 7 mars († 1274): il fut docteur en théologie de l'Université de Paris et le couvent dominicain de Saint-Jacques conservait précieusement son bras droit donné par le pape Urbain V en 1369; établissement de la fête de saint Yves († 19 mai 1303), canonisé en 1347 (il avait étudié la théologie à Paris); réception des reliques de saint Rigobert de Reims († 743) le 8 janvier 1362 (on le fêtera ensuite le 4, en dehors de l'octave de l'Épiphanie). La fête de la Présentation de la Vierge Marie, le 21 novembre, accordée par Grégoire XI en 1374 à la demande du roi de France, et celle de la Visitation, instituée par Urbain VI en 1389, ne s'établissent que progressivement dans les livres parisiens jusqu'au <sup>xv</sup><sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>18</sup>.

La fin du Moyen Âge voit l'introduction dans le Carême, à Paris comme dans d'autres diocèses, de deux fêtes de dévotion, les Cinq Plaies du Christ, le vendredi après les Cendres<sup>19</sup>, et la Compassion de Marie, plus populaire sous le nom de Notre-Dame de Pitié, le vendredi après le dimanche de la Passion<sup>20</sup>. La fête de la Transfiguration, que le pape Calliste III

<sup>18</sup> En 1417, la fête de la Visitation est placée le 27 juin, mais celle de la Présentation de la Vierge Marie est ignorée.

<sup>19</sup> Il existait à Paris une chapelle des Cinq Plaies, qui fut démolie en 1633 pour faire place à l'église Saint-Roch.

<sup>20</sup> La fête apparaît à Cologne en 1432 et se répand à la fin du <sup>xv</sup><sup>e</sup> siècle sous le patronage de Sixte IV (1471-1484). Elle existe à Poitiers en 1498 et est peu à peu adoptée par les autres diocèses de France.

étendit à toute l'Église le 6 août en 1457 en souvenir de la victoire remportée par les Turcs à Belgrade l'année précédente les 21 et 22 juillet (mais la nouvelle parvint à Rome précisément le 6 août), était cependant fêtée à Paris le 27 juillet, la date la plus rapprochée de l'événement, encore en 1516. Le 6 août, on fêtait saint Sixte, le pape martyr de 258 avec ses diacres, en y joignant la coutume de célébrer avec du vin nouveau ; à défaut, on pressait un ou trois grains de raisin dans le calice contenant déjà le vin et l'eau. En 1504, on célébrait à Notre-Dame, sous le rite double, la messe de « saint » Charlemagne, mais sans en faire l'office. Son nom ne figure pas sur le calendrier, contrairement à celui de Rouen, encore en 1759. Saint Lazare, titulaire d'une ancienne maladrerie, devenue prieuré et seigneurie, voit son nom inscrit le 2 septembre au calendrier du Missel de 1557 mais devra attendre l'édition de 1615 pour avoir droit à une messe propre.

L'ordre rationnel n'est pas la principale caractéristique des missels du xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle, à Paris comme ailleurs. Le Missel de Paris de 1516 a ainsi après le dimanche *in albis* une messe *in annottino Paschae*. Viennent à la suite des dimanches après la Trinité, la messe de la Dédicace, une messe *pro semetipso sacerdote* et une *Missa devotissima quinque plagarum Christi*. Parmi les messes votives, on rencontre diverses messes *De nomine Jesu*, *pro infirmis*, *pro infirmis in agonia*, *pro impetrandis bonis operibus*, *de sponsalibus*, *de compassione B. Mariae*, *de S. Rocho*, *de S. Claudio*, *de S. Antonio*, *de S. Barbara* : ce sont là des témoignages de la popularité de dévotions et de saints, dont fidèles et clercs, à Paris comme ailleurs, attendaient une intercession spéciale, même s'ils n'avaient pas tous encore place dans le sanctoral parisien.

Durant le xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle, Calendrier, Missel et Bréviaire sont organisés avec une certaine indépendance entre eux. Le calendrier du Missel de 1543 a été relevé par J. Grandcolas dans son *Commentarius historicus in Romanum Breviarium*, Venetiis, 1734, p. 32-35, mais avec des omissions certaines (sainte Marie Madeleine, par exemple, n'apparaît pas). Celui du Bréviaire de 1544 a été relevé par P. Perdrizet, *Le Calendrier parisien à la fin du Moyen Âge*, Paris, (Belles Lettres), 1933, sans indication du degré de célébration, et la mention : *nihil fit*, par exemple les 9, 16 et 18 février, laisse entendre que le nom figure au Calen-

drier, mais non dans le Sanctoral, ce qui était fréquent, même dans le Missel romain avant la réforme de saint Pie V. Le Calendrier est encombré d'octaves, y compris celles de sainte Geneviève, de saint Martin, de saint André, et de translations fréquentes : 8 mai (chef de saint Louis), 9 mai (saint Nicolas), 25 juin (saint Éloi), 4 juillet (saint Martin), 7 juillet (saint Thomas de Cantorbéry), 11 juillet (saint Benoît), 25 juillet (saint Germain de Paris), 26 juillet (saint Marcel), 4 août (saint Martin de nouveau, peut-être par répétition erronée du 4 juillet), 28 octobre (sainte Geneviève et saint Yves), 26 novembre (de nouveau saint Marcel). Plusieurs de ces dates de translation deviendront en 1736 la date de la fête.

### *Période de romanisation*

Jusqu'au début du xvii<sup>e</sup> siècle, le Missel de Paris conserve ses traditions, sans qu'interfère l'autorité épiscopale. Mais c'est l'époque où se répand le Missel romain, réformé à la demande du concile de Trente et publié par le pape Pie V en 1570, deux ans après le Bréviaire romain. Pour la première fois, une édition officielle du Missel romain était promulguée par une Constitution apostolique. Celle-ci interdisait toute modification du texte, ce qui était chose courante auparavant, et rendait ce Missel obligatoire, sauf dans les diocèses et Ordres religieux pouvant exciper de l'usage d'un missel particulier depuis deux siècles.

C'était le cas de Paris, mais les pressions furent nombreuses auprès de l'évêque pour qu'il adopte le Bréviaire et le Missel romains, que le roi Henri III venait en 1583 d'introduire dans sa chapelle. L'évêque de Paris était alors Pierre de Gondi, le premier de la famille qui devait occuper le siège épiscopal pendant presque un siècle : Pierre (1569-1598), son neveu Henri (1598-1622), Jean-François<sup>21</sup>, frère de Henri (1622-1654) et enfin le neveu de ce dernier, Jean-François-Paul, plus connu sous le nom de cardinal de Retz (1654-1662).

<sup>21</sup> C'est au début de son épiscopat, le 20 octobre 1622, que Paris devint archevêché, provoquant de ce fait une réorganisation de la province ecclésiastique de Sens.

Dans une rencontre mémorable transcrite dans les actes de délibération du Chapitre de Notre-Dame, le mercredi 11 mai 1583, Pierre de Gondi fit observer au doyen et aux chanoines la rareté d'exemplaires du bréviaire et du missel de Paris, et valoir les qualités des livres romains correspondants. En conséquence, il avait choisi des hommes d'éminente science et piété pour procéder à la réformation du bréviaire de Paris à l'instar de celui de Rome : ils ont fait diligence, puisque la première partie était achevée et la seconde bien avancée. Ses interlocuteurs rétorquèrent à l'évêque le droit de conserver les livres parisiens en raison de leur antiquité, comme le prévoyait d'ailleurs la bulle en tête des livres romains, en raison aussi « des rites et cérémonies qui font briller l'Église de Paris au-dessus de toutes les autres de la France et même de presque toutes les Églises du monde chrétien, provoquant la plus grande admiration de tous ceux qui les voient et les entendent, en même temps que la gloire de Dieu »<sup>22</sup>. Doyen et chapitre estimèrent donc qu'il était tout à fait convenable de maintenir le bréviaire et le missel de Paris et de les faire imprimer, après les avoir fait corriger et expurger par les personnes déjà désignées à cet effet, mais l'évêque était prié instamment de leur adjoindre le chantre de Notre-Dame et le chanoine Le Prévost pour mener l'ouvrage à bon terme à la satisfaction de tous. Le Bréviaire fut imprimé en 1584<sup>23</sup>. Le Missel suivit en 1585<sup>24</sup>. L'essentiel des livres parisiens demeurait sauf.

<sup>22</sup> *Attenta antiquitate Breviarii et Missalis Parisiensis, ex Decretali novissimi usus Romani permissa ; deinde caeremoniis ac ritu, in quibus Ecclesia Parisiensis prae ceteris Galliae, atque adeo totius fere orbis christiani Ecclesiis hucusque claruit, et ab omnibus videntibus et audientibus in summa admiratione, non sine gloria Dei, habetur ; multis denique aliis considerationibus : ex parte DD. Decani et Capituli deputati essent ex ipsis, qui deliberationem referrent ad dictum Rev. D. [Episcopum] ipsumque rogarent veterem usum istis de causis in sua Ecclesia continuari. (Ex actibus Eccles. Paris, seu ex Registr. ven. Capituli ejusdem Eccl., die Mercurii 11 mensis Maii 1583).*

<sup>23</sup> *Breviarium insignis Ecclesiae Parisiensis restitutum et emandatum* (AMIET, *op. cit.*, n. 2526).

<sup>24</sup> *Missale insignis Ecclesiae Parisiensis restitutum et emandatum R. in Christo D. Petri de Gondi, Parisiensis episcopi, jussu et Capituli ejusdem Ecclesiae consensu editum* (AMIET, *op. cit.*, n. 734). Dans son mandement, daté du 1<sup>er</sup> janvier 1585, Pierre de Gondi écrit : « Après la correction du Bréviaire, celle du Missel est devenue si facile que ce n'a été guère qu'un travail de transcrip-

Ce Missel, étant le dernier publié avant la période de romanisation, mérite un rapide examen, car il est l'aboutissement du Missel de Paris depuis le début de l'imprimerie. Les quatre dimanches de l'Avent ont chacun une prose propre. On lit le 1<sup>er</sup> dimanche l'évangile *Cum appropinquasset* et le second *Erunt signa*. À la vigile et aux trois messes de Noël, on lit un texte prophétique avant l'épître, et chaque messe a sa prose propre. Les laudes font partie de la messe de nuit. Le dimanche dans l'octave de Noël a aussi sa prose propre. Pendant le Carême, qui exclut les fêtes des saints, on emploie la préface du Carême en semaine, mais la préface commune le dimanche (qui n'est pas un jour de pénitence et de jeûne). Le Mercredi des Cendres et le Samedi saint ont les traits que l'on retrouvera en 1738. Chaque jour de l'octave de Pâques a sa prose propre. Le dimanche *in albis*, on reprend la messe de Pâques avec mémoire du dimanche et prose propre. Il est suivi, pour la Pâque annontaine, de la même messe avec épître et évangile propre (Jn 3, l'entretien de Jésus avec Nicodème) et la prose *Victimae paschali* à partir de *Agnus redemit*. La messe *Quasimodo* est reprise en semaine avec épîtres propres et l'évangile du dimanche divisé en deux parties, lues alternativement. C'est encore la deuxième partie de la prose *Victimae (Agnus redemit)* qui est chantée aux autres dimanches après Pâques. La Pentecôte et son octave ont chaque jour une prose propre. Pour la fête de la Sainte Trinité, l'épître se réduit à un verset (1 Cor 13, 12) et l'évangile est le prologue de saint Jean. À la fête du Saint-Sacrement, le dimanche qui suit et le jour octave, on chante en entier la prose *Lauda Sion*; les autres jours de l'octave, on la divise en deux ou trois parties. Les dimanches suivants sont appelés et numérotés *post Trinitatem*. Après le 23<sup>e</sup>, on a quatre formulaires de *Dominicae vagantes*. Le Propre du Temps s'achève par la messe de la Dédicace, qui a pour évangile Lc 6, 43-48.

tion; que les additions faites pour remplir les vœux des Prêtres et des fidèles et pour aider leur piété, sont des Messes votives, des Oraisons et des Collectes en plus grand nombre, eu égard aux différents besoins des hommes, et quelques Proses ».

Dans le Sanctoral, on peut relever le 28 janvier, uniquement à Notre-Dame, une messe de « saint Charlemagne », sans office correspondant, une messe propre avec mémoire de saint Ignace pour la vigile de la Purification, le 1<sup>er</sup> février, deux messes le 24 juin (*missa in mane* et *magna missa*) avec mémoire des saints Agoard et Aglibert. La Visitation continue d'être fêtée le 27 juin à Notre-Dame, mais le 2 juillet dans le diocèse. La Transfiguration est encore fixée au 27 juillet. La fête de l'Assomption a une prose propre pour chaque jour de son octave, qui exclut toute fête de saint, même celle de saint Bernard qui est reportée au 26 août. La fête de la Nativité de la Vierge Marie, celle de saint Denis, celle de saint Martin ont une messe propre pour chaque jour de l'octave et même, pour la Nativité, une prose propre chaque jour, mais la Toussaint n'a pas d'octave : les jours sont occupés par l'octave de saint Marcel, du 4 au 8 novembre.

Aux messes votives, indiquées pour chaque jour de la semaine (Trinité, Anges, Saint-Esprit, Saint-Sacrement, Sainte Vierge, Tous les Saints, saint Sébastien, les défunts) s'ajoutent d'autres représentant une autre vogue de dévotion : les Cinq Plaies, la Robe sans couture, la Sainte Larme du Christ<sup>25</sup>, la Compassion de la Vierge Marie ou Notre-Dame de Pitié, saint Joseph, saint Raphaël, saint Claude, saint Antoine, sainte Barbe, mais encore les Reliques de la Sainte Chapelle, les Joies de la Sainte Vierge, saint Gabriel, l'Ange gardien, saint Job<sup>26</sup>, sainte Hélène, sainte Radegonde, saint Lazare évêque et martyr (selon la tradition marseillaise).

Le cardinal Henri de Gondî, neveu et successeur de Pierre, fit ce que ce dernier n'avait pu obtenir du Chapitre, la romani-

<sup>25</sup> Insérée déjà dans le Calendrier de Rennes en 1531, de Chartres en 1552 et du Mans en 1559, « la messe *de la Larme*, ou, comme l'on dit ordinairement *de la Sainte Larme*, a été originairement faite pour le monastère de la Trinité de Vendôme, où l'on s' imagine qu'il y a une des larmes de N. S. » (J. B. THIERS, *Traité des superstitions qui regardent les sacrements*, 4<sup>e</sup> éd., Avignon, 1777, t. II, p. 452. La 1<sup>e</sup> édition parut en 1679).

<sup>26</sup> Une messe de saint Job se trouvait dans les missels romains du début du xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle, dans celui de Rennes de 1531, dans celui d'Aquilée de 1517 sous le titre *Missa beati Job contra morbum gallicum*. Pour sa Congrégation de l'Oratoire, le cardinal de Bérulle obtint de Paul V (1605-1621) un office et une messe de saint Job.

sation du Missel de Paris. Il publia en 1615 une nouvelle édition du Missel, mais le changement de titre était significatif : *Missale Parisiense ad formam sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini emendatum*<sup>27</sup>. En réalité, ce n'est pas seulement le titre, mais le contenu, qui était très semblable au Missel romain. Le mandement initial précise bien qu'il a été *ad Romanum usum totum compositum* : ordinaire de la messe, antiennes, oraisons, épîtres et évangiles, graduels et alléluias sont en effet conformes au Missel romain, à quelques exceptions près. Dans le calendrier et le sanctoral, quelques saints sont retranchés, d'autres, en petit nombre, ajoutés, plusieurs transférés à d'autres dates. Le *Dies irae* devient d'obligation le 2 novembre, mais facultatif aux messes pour les défunts. Les seules Proses acceptées dans le sanctoral sont *Lux advenit veneranda* (2 février), *Laetabundus exultet* (15 août), *Hac clara die turma* (8 septembre et 8 décembre), *Gaude, prole Graecia* (9 octobre), *Alleluia. Christo inclyta candida* (1<sup>er</sup> novembre). Les autres proses sont à la fin du Missel. Mais surtout, l'alignement sur le Missel romain fait disparaître les lectures fériales, ce qui fut perçu comme un réel appauvrissement.

Les éditions suivantes, en 1655 et 1666, conservèrent les mêmes traits. Tout au plus, en 1655, la prose *Sponsa Christi*, composée par Jean-Baptiste de Contes, doyen de Notre-Dame, devient la nouvelle prose du 1<sup>er</sup> novembre, et en 1666 s'ajoutèrent la fête des saints Anges gardiens le premier jour libre après le 29 septembre (soit le 2 octobre), comme à Rome depuis 1608, et celle de saint Charles Borromée, le 4 novembre, comme à Rome depuis 1652.

### *Période de réforme*

L'accueil favorable fait aux livres liturgiques post-tridentins dura peu. Dès 1592, le pape Clément VIII nommait une commission chargée d'en corriger les insuffisances, mais elle ne fut pas suivie d'effet.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. AMIET, *op. cit.*, n. 737.



Souvent à Rome les eaux du Tibre s'enlisent dans les sables. Pendant plus de trois siècles, la Congrégation des Rites s'avéra impuissante à mettre sur pied un programme d'envergure, se contentant d'introduire périodiquement de nouveaux saints au calendrier ou d'élever le rite de leurs fêtes au détriment du dimanche<sup>28</sup>.

De fait, de la première édition du Missel romain (1570), à l'institution de la commission de révision de Clément VIII (1592), 9 fêtes supprimées par Pie V avaient été rétablies, et une dixième ajoutée. De 1594 à 1680, ce sont 38 nouvelles fêtes qui sont établies, et une cinquantaine dont le degré de célébration est surélevé ou la date modifiée.

C'est dans ce contexte de fixisme irrémédiable que se manifesta un phénomène unique dans l'histoire de la liturgie. Entre 1680 (Bréviaire parisien de Harlay) et 1875 (abandon par Orléans de sa liturgie propre), la majeure partie des diocèses de France devaient réformer en profondeur leurs Bréviaires, Missels et Rituels<sup>29</sup>.

### *Le Missel de Harlay (1685)*

Le chef de file de cette réforme fut, pour les Missels, celui de Paris en 1685, précédé en 1680 par le Bréviaire. Ce fut une œuvre entreprise par l'archevêque Hardouin de Beaumont de Péréfixe (1664-1671) et achevée par son successeur François de Harlay (1671-1695):

M. de Péréfixe, voyant qu'il restait peu d'exemplaires de la dernière édition du Bréviaire de Paris [celle de 1657], choisit plusieurs personnes savantes, auxquelles se réunirent des députés du Chapitre<sup>30</sup>, pour travailler à la réforme de l'ancien Bréviaire. La première assemblée des commissaires se tint à

<sup>28</sup> P. JOUNEL, art. « Française (Liturgie) », dans le *Dictionnaire encyclopédique de la liturgie*, Turnhout, Brepols, t. I, 1992, p. 476.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> La Commission constituée au temps de M. de Péréfixe comprenait : Jacques de Sainte-Beuve, docteur de Sorbonne, Guillaume de La Brunetière, archidiacre de Brie, nommé évêque de Saintes en 1677 ; Nicolas Gobilon, curé de Saint-Laurent ; Claude Ameline, Grand Archidiacre de l'Église de Paris ; Nicolas Coquelin, Chancelier de l'Église de Paris ; Nicolas Le

l'archevêché le 31 juillet 1670. M. de Harlay, successeur de M. de Péréfixe, fit continuer ce travail et joignit aux anciens commissaires M. L. de Benjamin son grand vicaire et official, M. Loisel, chancelier de l'Église de Paris et Curé de Saint-Jean, et M. Gault, aussi son grand vicaire. Les commissaires s'adressèrent aux principales Églises du Royaume, et même hors du Royaume, et à Rome au Cardinal Bona, pour avoir des lumières pour la perfection de leur travail<sup>31</sup>.

(L'Archevêque) pria M. le Doyen de se trouver aux assemblées, autant que ses affaires pourraient le lui permettre. Et en effet il se trouva à toutes celles qui se firent de son temps en présence de Mgr l'Archevêque, tous les mardis de chaque semaine, depuis le 17 septembre 1674 jusqu'au 30 avril 1675<sup>32</sup>.

Comme dans tous les autres cas de réforme, le Bréviaire passe en tête, le Missel vient en second lieu<sup>33</sup>. Il est vraisemblable que la même commission fut chargée de la correction et du Bréviaire et du Missel. Dans le Mandement *Sacrorum Antistitis* placé en tête de celui-ci, l'archevêque explique le programme qui a déterminé la nouvelle édition<sup>34</sup>. L'innova-

Tourneur, auteur de nombreux ouvrages sur la liturgie à l'adresse des fidèles ; Claude Chastelain et Léonard Lamet, chanoines de Notre-Dame.

<sup>31</sup> Note de l'abbé Reverdy, vicaire général d'Angoulême, vers 1754.

<sup>32</sup> Réponses aux remarques sur le nouveau Bréviaire de Paris, Paris, 1680, p. 8.

<sup>33</sup> Ce fut le cas à Rome : 1568 pour le Bréviaire, 1570 pour le Missel ; et à Paris en 1584 (Bréviaire) et 1585 (Missel).

<sup>34</sup> Le titre du Missel tranche avec celui de 1615 : *Missale Parisiense Illustrissimi et Reverendissimi in Christo Patris D. D. Francisci de Harlay, Dei et Sanctae Sedis Apostolicae gratia Archiepiscopi Parisiensis, ducis et paris Franciae, auctoritate ac venerabilis ejusdem Ecclesiae Capituli consensu editum*. Quelques passages du Mandement : *Hinc ut nuper recognito per Nos Parisiensi Breviario Missale responderet, et ad convenientiorem normam restitueretur, animum adjecimus : cui instaurando ac recognoscendo Nos ipsi invigilantes una cum viris quos selegimus sacrarum Scripturarum, doctrinae Patrum, et rerum Ecclesiae peritos, collatis vetustissimis codicibus, necnon antiquis Missalium exemplaribus, quibus Parisiensis usa est Ecclesia, quaedam ex usu veteri repetenda, quaedam vero ad meliorem formam revocanda, judicavimus. [ ... ] Nos itaque, juxta rerum banc, quae in sanctissimo Altaris Mysterio jam a primis temporibus servabantur, distinctionem ; quaecumque in ipsa Sacramenti sanctificatione ubique terrarum uniformi ratione peraguntur, quaeque cum ceteris omnibus orbis Christiani partibus jam a prima sui institutione Parisiensis tenet Ecclesia, inviolabili, ut par*

tion majeure porta sur les lectures, mais il s'agissait bien plutôt d'une restauration :

Dans celui de 1615, on avait supprimé les Épîtres et Évangiles propres, qui de toute antiquité se lisaient dans l'Église de Paris le mercredi et le vendredi de chaque semaine : il [l'archevêque] rétablit ces leçons, et dans le choix qu'il fit, il s'efforça de mettre celles des fêtes en rapport avec celles du dimanche. Il choisit également pour les Messes des mystères et des saints, des lectures variées et appropriées aux fêtes, de telle sorte que le Nouveau Testament se lisait presque entier dans le Missel<sup>35</sup>.

Avant même le calendrier, le classement des fêtes se veut rationnel, et cela est important : *Officium quotidie fit aut annuale, aut solemne, aut duplex, aut semi-duplex, aut simplex* (Bréviaire de 1680, valable aussi bien pour le Missel)<sup>36</sup>. Les fêtes « annuel-

*est, religione, intacta reliquimus : quae vero pro diversitate locorum pati possunt aliquam in ritu varietatem, ex collatis inter se antiquis codicibus et variis Ecclesiarum Liturgiis, aut restituvimus, aut emendavimus, aut perfecimus. Sic veterem illum usum, qui et Ecclesia Parisiensi et in aliis quamplurimis per plura saecula obtinuit, ut Feriis quarta et sexta, qui dies Synaxeos erant, alia cum Epistolis haberentur Evangelia ab iis quae diebus Dominicis leguntur, restituvimus ; et habito singulari delectu, ut cum Dominicarum Evangelii pleraque convenirent, effecimus ; et Missis etiam quae aut in Mysteriorum, aut in Sanctorum memoriis Deo offeruntur, Lectiones quoad potuimus varias et congruentes assignavimus : atque ita contigit ut totum fere Novum Testamentum in Missale nostrum induceretur. Quin et ea quae cantum attinent, ex solo Scripturarum sacrarum canone desumpsimus ; rati nihil quidquam aut convenientius, aut ad commendandam augustissimi Sacramenti majestatem appositum magis, quam si divina res, in qua Dei Verbum secundum formam servi quam accepit, Sacerdos simul est et oblatio, ipso verbo quo sese in sacris Scripturis expressit, tractaretur. Preces vero, quae Collectae, Secretae, et Postcommuniones dicuntur ; aut ex vetustissimis Sacramentarium libris selegimus, aut si quas de novo dare oportuit, ex eodem quo priores exaratae sunt, quantum Deus dedit, spiritu hausimus.*

<sup>35</sup> *Notice historique sur les rites de l'Église de Paris* par un prêtre du diocèse [Augustin Caron, Sulpicien], Paris, A. Le Clère et Cie, 1846, p. 38. Le Missel de 1685 conserve les lectures dominicales du Missel romain, sans revenir sur les choix antérieurs, sauf pour quatre Épîtres (1 Jn 5, 1-10 pour la Trinité, 1 Cor 12, 16-21 pour le Dimanche dans l'Octave du Corps du Christ, Phil. 1, 3-11 et Rom 1, 2-5 pour les 11<sup>e</sup> et 12<sup>e</sup> Dimanches après la Pentecôte). Il ne reprend pas non plus les lectures prophétiques des messes de Noël. Les quelques autres divergences sont plutôt des ajustements.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. M. FRÉCHARD, « L'année liturgique dans la liturgie de Paris sous Louis XIV », *La Maison-Dieu*, 148 (1981), p. 123-133.

les » sont rares : Pâques, Pentecôte, Noël, Assomption. La préséance restituée au dimanche, la réduction d'importance des octaves devenues envahissantes, le rétablissement du lectionnaire ferial, mais avec le souci que les lectures soient comme un prolongement de celles du dimanche précédent : autant de points positifs et reconnus comme tels. Il en va de même pour les nouvelles Proses : *Solemnis haec festivitas* pour l'Ascension, *Humani generis* pour l'Annonciation, *Exultet Ecclesia* pour saint Denis. La prose d'Adam de Saint-Victor *Jerusalem et Sion filiae* pour la Dédicace est refaite sur le même mètre. Le calendrier reçoit quelques additions : saint François de Sales († 28 décembre 1622), canonisé en 1655 et fêté à Paris comme à Rome le 29 janvier, mais avec le rite simple ; saint François de Paule, l'ermite venu de Calabre à Plessis-lès-Tours à la demande du roi Louis XI, mort le 2 avril 1507, fondateur des Minimes, canonisé en 1519 ; saint Clet, le 26 avril, parce que nommé au Canon de la messe ; saint Pothin et les autres martyrs de Lyon, injustement ignorés jusque là à Paris, le 2 juin ; saint Norbert († 6 juin 1134), fondateur des Prémontrés, jamais canonisé, mais inscrit au Calendrier romain en 1620 ; saint Romuald, fondateur des Camaldules, qui se forma à la vie érémitique à Cuxa dans les Pyrénées († 19 juin 1027), canonisé en 1032 ; saint Lazare le 2 septembre<sup>37</sup> ; saint Nicolas de Tolentino, ermite de Saint-Augustin († 10 septembre 1305), canonisé en 1446 ; sainte Thérèse d'Avila le 15 octobre († 4 octobre 1582), canonisée en 1622, dont le premier carmel réformé en France fut fondé à Paris en 1603 ; saint Charles Borromée le 4 novembre († 1584), canonisé en 1610, considéré comme le modèle des pasteurs après le Concile de Trente ; saint Josse († vers 669), le 13 décembre, parce qu'une église de Paris portait son nom ; une octave à la fête de la Conception de Marie ; une mémoire de saint Ignace de Loyola († 1556) le 31 juillet, et de saint François-Xavier († 3 décembre 1552) le 2 décembre, canonisés ensemble en 1622, et tous deux anciens étudiants à Paris, ayant prononcé leurs vœux de

<sup>37</sup> Le calendrier évite de lui donner le titre d'évêque et martyr, selon la tradition marseillaise, mais plus justement de « ressuscité par le Christ ». L'église Saint-Lazare, sur la paroisse Saint-Laurent, dépendait de la léproserie de Paris. Construite en 1190, elle fut démolie en 1823.

religieux à Montmartre. Le Missel contenait aussi une messe propre le 2 novembre (*Respice, Domine*) et, dans un Supplément, les messes de sainte Marie de Béthanie le 19 janvier<sup>38</sup>, de saint Denis l'Aréopagite le 3 octobre<sup>39</sup>, de *Sancta Veronica D. N. J. C.* le mardi de la Quinquagésime. Deux fêtes changent de titre pour redevenir fêtes du Seigneur: *Praesentatio Domini* le 2 février, *Annuntiatio Dominica* le 25 mars<sup>40</sup>.

Plus discutable, le souci de l'archevêque de ne faire appel qu'à l'Écriture Sainte pour les antiennes, graduels, traits et versets d'alléluia: intention qui pouvait s'appuyer sur la tradition romaine la plus ancienne, mais qui faisait fi des chants d'Église non bibliques mais de grande valeur, comme le *Gau-deamus, Ecce advenit, Resurrexi*<sup>41</sup>. Le prurit de conformité à la

<sup>38</sup> Pour distinguer Marie de Béthanie, la sœur de Lazare et de Marthe, de Marie-Madeleine. Le choix, discutable, du 19 janvier pouvait s'appuyer sur le titre de la fête du 19 janvier dans les sacramentaires gélasiens du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, qui portaient: *Mariae et Marthae* au lieu de *Marii et Marthae*, deux époux persans mis à mort à Rome au cours du III<sup>e</sup> siècle avec leurs deux fils Audifax et Abacum. Le calendrier parisien de 1736 sera mieux inspiré en célébrant ensemble le 2 septembre les trois « hôtes du Seigneur ».

<sup>39</sup> La date provient du Martyrologe hiéronymien. Cela permettait de distinguer l'évêque des Athéniens converti par saint Paul, et l'évêque de Paris venu de Rome, et distants de deux siècles. Placées en appendice au Missel, les messes du 19 janvier et du 3 octobre n'entraient cependant pas dans le calendrier.

<sup>40</sup> Si le titre du 2 février est nouveau, mais complété par le titre ancien, et gallican: *et Purificatio B. Mariae Virginis*, celui du 25 mars est un retour au titre le plus ancien, celui des Martyrologes d'Adon et d'Usuard, celui de l'*Ordinarium* dominicain du milieu du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et du Missel monastique du Latran aussi du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, qui relie en outre l'Annonciation à la création de l'homme et à la mort du Christ: *Annunciatio Dominica, duplum. Adam plasmatus, Christus passus*. En 1417, le titre est devenu *Annuntiatio S. Mariae*.

<sup>41</sup> Peut-être cette mesure s'explique-t-elle, au moins en partie, par le désir de faciliter le retour des « prétendus réformés » dans le giron de l'Église catholique. Ce rejet des textes non bibliques pour les chants n'est cependant pas total: le verset d'alléluia *Veni, Sancte Spiritus* continue d'être chanté à la Pentecôte et chaque jour de l'octave, les chants traditionnels de la messe de *Requiem* sont maintenus, mais à la suite des nouvelles compositions, comme une survivance *ad devotionem*.

Plus discutable est le choix fréquent de textes non psalmiques pour le Graduel et le Trait, comme à la Vigile de Noël qui aligne Jos 3, 5 et Is 30, 29; le 2 février: Agg 2, 8-10; le 25 mars: Lc 1, 28-30. Les rédacteurs du Missel de 1685 comme les rédacteurs des divers Missels diocésains oublient trop sou-

lettre de l'Écriture porta même à modifier les textes qui s'en écartaient, comme, à la messe du jour de Noël, *Puer natus est*, remplacé par *Parvulus natus est*.

Il convient de mentionner à part les séquences. À la prolifération du xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle succède d'abord une modération qui sera vite jugée excessive: en 1685 trois compositions nouvelles (*Humani generis* pour l'Annonciation, *Solemnis haec festivitas* pour l'Ascension, *Exultet Ecclesia* pour saint Denis, et une quatrième introduite en 1655, *Sponsa Christi* pour la Toussaint) s'ajoutent quelques autres traditionnelles: *Laetabundus* pour Noël, *Ad Jesum accurrite* pour l'Épiphanie depuis 1504, *Victimae paschali* pour Pâques, *Veni, sancte Spiritus* pour la Pentecôte, *Lauda Sion* pour le Saint-Sacrement, *Ave, Virgo virginum* pour le 2 février, le 15 août et le 8 septembre, *Jerusalem et Sion filiae* pour la Dédicace, et *Dies irae* pour le 2 novembre.

La mise en plain-chant des textes nouveaux fut confiée à Claude Chastelain, né à Paris en 1639, chanoine de Paris, qui faisait partie de la commission de réforme du Bréviaire et du Missel et qui possédait à fond la liturgie, le chant, les rites et cérémonies de l'Église. Il exécuta son travail de composition musicale à la satisfaction générale. « Nous serons assez justes, écrit Dom Guéranger à ce sujet, pour reconnaître dans quelques-unes (des pièces de chant) le caractère véritable du chant Grégorien; tels sont (...) l'introït de l'Assomption, *Astitit Regina*; celui de la Toussaint, *Accessistis*, qui est imité avec bonheur du *Gaudeamus* Romain, etc »<sup>42</sup>.

Pour les oraisons, les commissaires avaient à leur disposition le Sacramentaire gélasien ancien et trois sacramentaires gallicans: le *Missale Gallicanum vetus*, le *Missale Gothicum* et le *Missale Francorum*, que venait de publier à Rome en 1680 le cardinal Joseph Tomasi sous le titre *Codices sacramentorum nongentis annis antiquiores*. Par ce moyen, le Missel de Paris s'enrichissait d'apports romains anciens, oubliés à Rome, et d'apports gallicans, oubliés également en France, comme cela avait déjà eu lieu au temps de Charlemagne. Dans les messes du Temporal,

vent que le graduel consiste dans un psaume, mais le Missel romain leur donnait l'exemple (Vigile de Noël, Épiphanie, 24 juin ...).

<sup>42</sup> *Institutions liturgiques*, t. II, Le Mans - Paris, 1846, p. 127.

peu de changements différencient Paris de Rome<sup>43</sup> davantage dans les secrètes et les postcommunions, mais le plus souvent c'est pour suivre une tradition parisienne, semblable à celle que l'on pouvait trouver dans J. Pamelius, *Liturgia Latinorum, duobus tomis digesta*, 1571, et surtout dans l'édition du Sacramentaire grégorien par Dom Jean Ménard, *Sancti Gregorii Magni Romani Pontificis Liber Sacramentorum*, Paris, 1642. Les compositions nouvelles sont rares (3 postcommunions) et d'inspiration biblique, jusqu'à la citation<sup>44</sup>.

Les rédacteurs usèrent d'une liberté plus grande pour les oraisons du Sanctoral<sup>45</sup> : ils cherchèrent à exprimer la caractéristique spirituelle d'un saint soit en conservant purement et simplement les textes empruntés à l'un des livres liturgiques anciens dont ils disposaient<sup>46</sup>, soit en les modifiant plus ou moins, soit en formulant des textes nouveaux mais en utilisant à bon escient quelques expressions bibliques<sup>47</sup>.

<sup>43</sup> 14 collectes propres pour 133 communes avec le *M R*, 36 secrètes propres pour 128 communes, 40 postcommunions propres pour 128 communes 5 autres oraisons propres pour 15 communes.

<sup>44</sup> Ainsi le 2<sup>e</sup> Dimanche après Pâques, où on a lu l'évangile du Bon Pasteur (Jn 10, 11-16) et la 1<sup>e</sup> lettre de saint Pierre (2, 21-25), la PC leur fait écho à partir d'Heb 13, 20-21 : *Deus pacis, qui eduxisti de mortuis pastorem magnum ovium in sanguine testamenti aeterni Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum ...* La PC pour la Sainte Trinité est une pure citation d'Éph 3, 14-16.19, transformée en prière.

<sup>45</sup> Ne sont pris en compte que les formulaires des fêtes communes au *M R* et au *M P* : 31 collectes propres pour 131 communes, 91 secrètes propres pour 73 communes, 93 postcommunions propres pour 64 communes.

<sup>46</sup> Ainsi de la collecte *Veneranda* pour la fête de l'Assomption : c'était, dans le Sacramentaire grégorien (H 661), la collecte de la station au départ de la procession romaine du Forum vers Sainte-Marie-Majeure, et elle est demeurée d'un usage général en France et dans le Missel dominicain. Cf. B. CAPELLE, « L'oraison *Veneranda* à la messe de l'Assomption », dans *Travaux liturgiques de doctrine et d'histoire*, t. III, Louvain, Mont-César, 1967, p. 387-407.

<sup>47</sup> Un exemple permettra de saisir la méthode de création, c'est celui de la messe de saint Marcel, pape et martyr, le 16 janvier, que le Missel de 1738 ne gardera pas ce jour-là, mais utilisera ailleurs (nn. 2452-2253) :

SECRÈTE : *Da nos, misericors Deus, sancti Martyris tui atque Pontificis Marcelli exemplo ita Unigeniti tui mortem hujus oblatione sacrificii annuntiare ; ut eam quoque vitae nostrae oblatione, ac pretiosa coram te morte imitemur.* (cf. 1 Cor 11, 26 ; 1 P 2, 3 ; Ps 115, 15).

POSTCOM. : *Per haec sacramenta, quaesumus Domine, da nobis omnia pro veritate*

Un an après le Bréviaire de Harlay, paraissait le Bréviaire monastique de Cluny, publié par mandement du cardinal de Bouillon, Abbé général de l'Ordre. Les deux moines chargés de la réforme de ce livre à partir de 1676, dom Paul Rabusson et dom Claude de Vert, s'adjoignirent Nicolas Le Tourneux, qui travaillait de son côté à la réforme du Bréviaire et du Missel de Paris. Il n'est pas hors de propos de signaler ici le *Breviarium monasticum* de Cluny, car un certain nombre d'oraisons qui lui sont propres ont été adoptées ou modifiées par la suite dans des Missels diocésains, et en particulier dans le Missel parisien de Vintimille.

### *Le Missel de Noailles (1706)*

Le Missel de Harlay constituait la première étape de rénovation. Elle fut suivie d'une autre, avec le Missel publié en 1706 par le cardinal Louis-Antoine de Noailles (1695-1729) après une nouvelle édition du Bréviaire en 1700.

Le mandement placé en tête porte expressément « que l'on n'a voulu faire aucuns changements graves aux livres de François de Harlay, dont on vante la perfection »<sup>48</sup>.

Il faut cependant relever au Calendrier quelques modifications déjà amorcées en 1685 :

*posse ; qui beato Pontifici Marcello dedisti odio omnibus esse propter nomen tuum, et usque in finem perseverare.* (cf. 2 Cor 13, 8 ; Mt 10, 22).

Le renouvellement de l'euchologie est particulièrement remarquable pour les saints du Nouveau Testament ou assimilés : saint Thomas (PC), le Pontificat de saint Pierre (SO), la Conversion de saint Paul (C, SO, PC), saint Matthias (SO prise à Ménard 50 D ; PC), saint Joseph (C, jouant sur *Custos/Custodire*), saint Joachim (SO, PC), saint Marc (PC), saints Philippe et Jacques (PC), saint Jean devant la Porte Latine (SO, PC), saints Pierre et Paul (PC), sainte Marie Madeleine (C, SO, PC). Sur la messe du 22 juillet, cf. J. ÉVENOU, « La messe de sainte Marie Madeleine au Missel romain (1570-1970) », *Memoriam Sanctorum venerantes. Miscellanea in onore di Monsignor Victor Saxer*, Città del Vaticano, 1992 (Studi di antichità christiana, XLVIII), p. 353-365. La collecte de 1685 se trouve déjà pratiquement en 1679 dans le Bréviaire de Colbert. Une analyse de ces oraisons à forte saveur néotestamentaire doit en outre tenir compte de l'ensemble de chaque formulaire de messe : lectures et chants.

<sup>48</sup> Dom P. GUÉRANGER, *Institutions liturgiques*, t. II, Le Mans - Paris, 1846, p. 293.



19 janvier, Mariae Bethanitidis, sororis Lazari et Marthae  
 22 juillet, Mariae Magdalenae  
 29 juillet, Marthae, hospitae Christi  
 3 octobre, Dionysii Areopagitae, Athenarum Episcopi et  
 Martyris  
 9 octobre, Dionysii, primi Parisiorum Episcopi, et sociorum  
 ejus, Martyrum.

Quelques retouches sont apportées aux rubriques ; de nouvelles Proses sont introduites pour le 2 février (*Ave plena gratia*), le 15 août (*Induant justitiam*), et le 8 septembre (*Gaudii primordium*) ; l'épître du 9 octobre (Act 17, 22-34) passe naturellement au 3, remplacée le 9 par 1 Thess 2, 2-13 ; on remarquera le soin apporté à distinguer des personnages que le Moyen Âge s'était plu à confondre : Marie de Béthanie et Marie de Magdala, Denis d'Athènes et Denis de Paris ; des lectures propres sont disposées pour les différents mois de l'année aux messes votives du Saint-Sacrement, et pour chaque jour de semaine aux messes anniversaires et aux messes quotidiennes des défunts, ce qui se justifie par l'importance accordée au culte des morts et le nombre de messes que le prêtre devait célébrer au cours de l'année. Quelques changements sont apportés aux oraisons du Temporal : une collecte, onze secrètes et huit postcommunions. Elles font généralement écho aux lectures bibliques de la messe<sup>49</sup>. Les nouveautés sont plus nombreuses dans le Sanctoral. La plus notable est la postcommunion pour saint Damase, le 11 décembre, composée à partir d'une lettre de saint Jérôme :

*Nullum primum nisi Christum sequentes et Cathedrae Petri communionem sociatos, da nos, Deus, Agnum semper in ea domo comedere, in qua beatus Damasus successor piscatoris et discipulus crucis meruit appellari*<sup>50</sup>.

<sup>49</sup> Le mercredi des Quatre-Temps de Carême, après la lecture de 1 R 19, 3-8 (La marche d'Élie dans le désert), la P C lui fait écho (oraison reprise en 1738, n. 619) :

*Deus, qui Ecclesiae tuae corporale jejunium coelestis panis largitione compensas ; da nobis, ut in fortitudine cibi illius qui Christus est, usque ad montem sanctum tuum ambulare possimus ...*

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Dom GUÉRANGER, *op. cit.*, p. 295-296. Ce n'est pas la forme inhabituelle de ce texte que critique l'auteur des *Institutions liturgiques*, mais il y

Mais la principale nouveauté du Missel de 1706 tient à un supplément (*ad calcem*) contenant cent-vingt-six proses nouvelles, réparties en trois séries : 1) pour les différentes fêtes pouvant être solennisées ; 2) pour les différents communs des saints ; 3) pour les messes votives et rituelles. Elles sont dues, comme les trois nouvelles du Sanctoral, au chanoine François Vivant († 1739), pénitencier de Notre-Dame, grand vicaire du cardinal, et poète liturgique à la plume féconde : c'est lui qui, semble-t-il, dirigea l'édition du Missel.

Aux messes votives habituelles s'ajoutent d'autres, signes de la dévotion du temps (*De Jesu Infante*, *De sancta Domini Veronica*), mais aussi pour des saints qui n'avaient pas place au calendrier : les archanges Gabriel et Raphaël, les saints Zacharie et Élisabeth, Siméon le Juste et Anne la Prophétesse, Marie de Cléophas, Jeanne et Salomé, tous personnages évangéliques.

Les messes votives pour des intentions particulières sont peu nombreuses (dix-huit) et disposées dans un ordre quelconque : la messe de mariage (*De Sponsalibus*), qui a conservé la préface du Gélisien ancien (n. 1446) et la bénédiction nuptiale sous forme de préface, vient après la messe pour toute nécessité ; la messe pour les voyageurs est placée entre la messe pour un enfantement et la messe pour les malades. Il faudra encore un effort pour ordonner cette partie du Missel de manière plus rationnelle.

#### *Le Missel de Vintimille (1738)*<sup>51</sup>

La voie était désormais tracée pour une troisième étape, à laquelle reste attaché le nom de l'archevêque de Paris Charles de

soupçonne une arrière-pensée anti-romaine. Le Missel de 1738 devait conserver cette postcommunion, tout en allégeant la finale : (*in ea domo comedere*), *quam beatus Damasus, Petri successor, doctrinae et virtutum splendore illustravit*.

<sup>51</sup> *Missale Parisiense Illustrissimi et Reverendissimi in Christo Patris D. D. Caroli-Gaspar-Guillelmi de Vintimille, e Comitibus Massiliae du Luc, Parisiensis Archiepiscopi, ducis Sancti Clodoaldi, parisi Franciae, regii Ordinis Sancti Spiritus commendaturis, etc. auctoritate, ac venerabilis eiusdem Ecclesiae Capituli consensu editum* – *Parisiis, sumptibus Bibliopolarum Usuum Parisiensium*, M.DCC.XXXV/III. L'édition anastatique du *Missale Parisiense* de 1738 procurée par A. Ward et C. Johnson (CLV – Edizioni Liturgiche, Roma, 1933) offre l'avantage d'une numérotation continue de toutes les pièces. C'est elle qui sera citée.

Vintimille (1729-1746). Comme ses prédécesseurs, il commença par le Bréviaire, publié en 1736, et profita d'autres récemment publiés, celui de Sens en 1726, celui de Rouen en 1728, celui d'Orléans en 1731. Le Missel suivit, deux ans plus tard, la même année que celui d'Auxerre. Sa rédaction fut assurée presque entièrement par un simple acolyte, François-Philippe Mésenguy (1677-1763)<sup>52</sup>, qui avait fait partie, avec le Père Vigier, oratorien, et Charles Coffin, de la Commission de réforme du Bréviaire. Si le Bréviaire fut, dès sa sortie, en butte à des attaques très vives<sup>53</sup>, le Missel ne paraît pas avoir essuyé de critiques, sinon sur des détails<sup>54</sup>, mais fut appelé à une large diffusion à travers tout le royaume. À quoi était dû ce rayonnement ?

Le siècle qui a vu s'achever en 1715 le règne de Louis XIV a laissé sa marque profonde de grandeur et de rigueur dans tous les domaines de l'art. L'expression de la prière liturgique n'échappe pas à ce besoin de rationalité : il faut que l'esprit soit satisfait par l'ordre et les proportions pour encadrer le

<sup>52</sup> La réforme des livres liturgiques par l'archevêque Charles de Vintimille se situe dans un contexte politico-religieux marqué par le jansénisme, la division du clergé de Paris entre adhérents à la bulle *Unigenitus* (1713), érigée en loi du Royaume en 1730, et les « appelants » à un concile supérieur au pape. Le conflit s'exacerbe autour de la tombe du diacre Pâris, ancien « appelant », à qui le peuple et vingt-trois curés de Paris attribuent des miracles. Opposant résolu au jansénisme, l'archevêque recourt cependant à des jansénistes aussi résolus que le P. Vigier, oratorien, supérieur du séminaire de Saint-Magloire, et François Mésenguy, acolyte. Ce ne fut pas pour leurs options théologiques, mais parce qu'ils étaient parmi les meilleurs liturgistes de son temps. L'archevêque, en utilisant leurs services, veilla à l'exacte orthodoxie de leur travail.

<sup>53</sup> On en trouve un écho fidèle dans les *Institutions liturgiques* de Dom GUÉRANGER, *op. cit.*, t. II, p. 346-365.

<sup>54</sup> Ainsi des modifications apportées au *Dies irae* : *Teste David cum Sybilla*, remplacé par : *Crucis expandens vexilla*. Modification relevée comme une mutilation par dom Guéranger : « Mésenguy ne pouvait plus souffrir qu'on chantât, dans l'Église de Paris, un verset de séquence dans lequel était invoqué le témoignage d'une sybille des gentils à côté des oracles du peuple juif » (*Institutions liturgiques*, p. 375).

Autre modification dans la même séquence : *Qui Mariam absolvisti*, remplacé par : *Peccatricem absolvisti*, pour éviter la confusion entre Marie-Madeleine et la pécheresse anonyme de Luc 7, 36-50. Changement que devait adopter en 1972 les *Liturgia Horarum*.

sentiment religieux<sup>55</sup>. Au moment où s'élève dans le ciel de Paris le dôme des Invalides, alors que la langue française brille de tout son éclat, que les orateurs sacrés s'appellent Bossuet et Bourdaloue († 1704 tous les deux), que les Charpentier († 1704), les Delalande († 1726), les Couperin († 1733) ont donné à la musique religieuse des chefs d'œuvre, il importe que les livres liturgiques et en particulier le missel d'autel satisfassent le goût par une présentation et une typographie excellentes de clarté, mais bien plus encore par un contenu digne et équilibré, qui nourrisse et soutienne l'élan de la prière.

C'est l'intention qui a conduit l'archevêque de Paris dans la préparation du Missel, confiée par lui à quelques chanoines de Notre-Dame, ainsi qu'il le rappelle dans son mandement *Supremo Numini*, daté du 11 mars 1738 :

Pour la célébration d'un si auguste Sacrifice, les Évêques ont toujours porté une attention diligente et veillé avec soin que rien ne s'introduise dans la sainte Liturgie qui défigure en quelque sorte la majesté d'un si grand Mystère, mais bien plutôt à lui procurer toute la beauté qui paraîtrait la plus appropriée pour recommander cette excellence aux fidèles, ainsi que pour exciter dans leurs cœurs des sentiments plus fermes de piété.

L'archevêque entend bien pour cela poursuivre l'œuvre entreprise par son prédécesseur et la polir encore « de manière à donner à ce qui était demeuré intact la même forme et la même recherche de correction : ainsi s'élèverait, si possible, une œuvre achevée en tous points et égale partout à elle-même ».

L'exposé de l'archevêque, dans sa modestie convenue, dit bien cependant la recherche d'une justesse jusque dans les détails. Le caractère équilibré du Missel de Vintimille tient d'abord à un sanctoral allégé. Il garde la classification de 1680-1685 : quatre fêtes « annuelles », auxquelles s'ajoutent la Dédicace et la fête patronale, neuf fêtes de rite solennel majeur, six de rite solennel mineur, trente-et-une de rite double majeur (dont

<sup>55</sup> Cf. H. BREMOND, *Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux en France*, t. X : *La Prière et les prières d'Ancien Régime*, Paris, 1932, rééd. 1968.

deux dimanches, onze fêtes du Seigneur ou assimilées, douze fêtes d'Apôtres et Évangélistes), trente-cinq de rite double mineur (dont neuf Docteurs), soixante-et-onze de rite semi-double (dont sept Docteurs et douze jours d'octave), cinquante-huit de rite simple<sup>56</sup>.

Quels principes ont guidé la commission parisienne pour la révision du calendrier?

Le premier a été la sauvegarde du dimanche. Le mandement en tête du Bréviaire, *Est assidua precatio*, daté du 3 décembre 1736 – Bréviaire et Missel suivant les mêmes règles pour le calendrier – le dit expressément :

On a conservé au Dimanche sa prérogative, à savoir qu'il exclut n'importe quelle Fête, sauf celles qui occupent dans l'Église le premier rang d'honneur et de solennité.

Autre principe, congruent avec le précédent, la valorisation du Carême :

Dans l'office du Carême, nous avons estimé juste d'en revenir à l'ancienne coutume de l'Église, selon laquelle la joyeuse solennité des fêtes ne paraît pas suffisamment s'accorder avec le jeûne et la tristesse salutaire de la pénitence.

Ce qui est dit du Carême s'applique aussi, d'une manière analogue, à l'Avent et aux jours qui suivent Noël.

<sup>56</sup> Le tableau comparatif du Sanctoral du *M R* de 1570, du *M R* de 1738 et du *M P* de 1738 est éclairant sur l'inflation de nombre des fêtes et des degrés de célébration dans le *M R* en un peu plus d'un siècle et demi, et, en contraste, sur la modération du *M P* :

<i>M R</i> 1570	<i>M R</i> 1738	<i>M P</i> 1738
Doubles	D I cl. 7	Annuel 2
(sans distinction)	D II cl. 19	Sol. Maj. 6
		Sol. Min. 5
	DM 17	DM 28
	D 83	D 28
85	126	69
Semi-doubles 59	76	96
Simples 67	45	58

On trouvera une présentation du Calendrier parisien de 1736/8 dans P. JOUNEL, *Le renouveau du culte des saints dans la liturgie romaine*, CLV – Edizioni Liturgiche, Roma, 1986, p. 39-47.

Pour obtenir ce double résultat, il est prévu que les dimanches ordinaires ne le céderaient qu'aux fêtes au moins doubles majeures et aux fêtes du Seigneur doubles mineures, ce qui ne dépasse pas le maximum de dix-huit par an. Pour restaurer le temps du Carême, les fêtes disparaissent du calendrier entre le 27 février et le 19 avril à l'exception de l'Annonciation. Les fêtes de cette période sont réduites à une simple commémoration, ou transférées à d'autres dates de l'année, correspondant pour le mieux : ainsi saint Thomas d'Aquin passe du 7 mars au 18 juillet, jour de sa canonisation ; saint Grégoire le Grand du 12 mars au 3 septembre, jour de son ordination ; saint Joachim passe du 20 mars au 28 juillet, où il rejoint sainte Anne ; saint Benoît passe du 21 mars au 11 juillet, qui rappelle la translation de son corps à Fleury-sur-Loire vers 653. De la même façon, la fête des saintes Reliques passe du 4 décembre au 8 novembre, comme octave de la Toussaint ; saint Thomas de Cantorbéry passe du 29 décembre, jour de son martyre, au 7 juillet, jour de sa translation en 1222<sup>57</sup>. Les saints Savinien et Potentien sont maintenus le 19 octobre, jour de translation, parce que leur anniversaire le 31 décembre est peu indiqué. Les nouvelles dates avaient presque toutes un appui dans la tradition parisienne. Il n'en va pas de même pour saint Joseph : le choix du 20 avril est aussi arbitraire que l'avait été celui du 19 mars ; en repoussant la fête de plus d'un mois, on l'écartait certes du Carême, mais non tous les ans de l'occurrence de Pâques ou de son octave. D'autres diocèses préférèrent une date plutôt proche de Noël, comme par exemple Rouen qui adopta le 12 décembre en 1728 (le 11 dans le Bréviaire monastique de Saint-Vanne, 1777), ou Lyon qui préféra le 3 janvier en 1771.

L'élitage du calendrier parisien se fit également en supprimant quelques octaves secondaires et quelques vigiles de fêtes d'Apôtres, mais aussi un grand nombre de saints romains de l'antiquité, dont on ne connaît que le nom et que la progres-

<sup>57</sup> Pour les mêmes raisons, le calendrier parisien adopte les dates romaines pour saint François de Sales († 28 décembre, F le 29 janvier), saint Jean de Matha († 21 décembre, F le 8 février), et même, pour une raison qui tient aux séminaires des Lazaristes, pour saint Vincent de Paul († 27 septembre, F le 19 juillet).

sion des fêtes au Calendrier romain réduisait d'ailleurs pour la plupart à une simple mémoire. Ont été retenus les saints nommés au Canon de la messe, même si l'on peut s'interroger sur le choix de saint Alexandre, le 18 mars : est-ce bien l'évêque martyr de Jérusalem qui figure dans la liste du Canon, ou un des « sept frères » romains du 10 juillet ? Les autres saints romains retenus le sont pour des raisons diverses, mais qui peuvent se justifier : Prisque le 18 janvier, Sébastien et Fabien le 20, les Sept Frères le 10 juillet, les papes Étienne I le 2 août, Sixte II le 6, Hippolyte le 13, Martin I le 10 novembre, Clément le 23, Damase le 11 décembre, et Sylvestre le 31. L'absence des saints romains Nérée et Achille ainsi que Pancrace ne manque pas cependant d'étonner. Les saints guérisseurs et protecteurs, comme Blaise et Apolline, Érasme et Guy, Christophe et Catherine, ont mieux résisté à l'élagage.

Ainsi, les patrons des quarante-deux paroisses de la ville de Paris (les onze de l'île de la Cité, les seize du quartier dit de la Ville, les sept du quartier de l'Université, les huit du quartier des Faubourgs) sont-ils tous présents sur le calendrier parisien, à l'exception de sainte Barbe et de sainte Marguerite. Pour plusieurs, leur titre de patron de paroisse est la vraie raison de leur inscription.

À l'imitation du Missel romain, celui de Paris indique seize églises paroissiales ou religieuses comme églises de station les lundis, mercredis et vendredis de Carême, sans qu'un sache s'il s'agit d'un usage ancien ou encore actuel<sup>58</sup>.

Les connaissances historiques dues à des érudits comme Martène et Mabillon permettent de ne plus dédoubler Clet et Anaclet, ou la Chaire de saint Pierre (18 janvier et 22 février),

<sup>58</sup> Mercredi des Cendres : Saint-Christophe

1<sup>e</sup> semaine : Saint-Denis *in Carcere*, Saint-Éloi, Saint-Barthélemy

Lundi, mercredi et vendredi des semaines suivantes :

2<sup>e</sup> semaine : Saint-Benoît, Saint-Etienne-des-Grés, Notre-Dame des Champs

3<sup>e</sup> semaine : Sainte-Genviève du Mont, Saint-Victor, Saint-Marcel

4<sup>e</sup> semaine : Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois, Sainte-Opportune, Saint-Merry

5<sup>e</sup> semaine : Saint-Magloire, Saint-Martin-des-Champs, Sainte-Marie de Montmartre.

ou de redoubler en avril le saint Vital de novembre<sup>59</sup>. La vérité historique fait transférer la fête de saint Basile du 14 juin, faux anniversaire de son ordination dû à Adon, au 2 janvier, jour le plus proche de l'anniversaire de sa mort (1<sup>er</sup> janvier 379), et rapprocher la fête de saint Jean Chrysostome de son véritable anniversaire (14 septembre 407) en la fixant au 18 septembre, au lieu du 27 janvier, date de sa translation à Constantinople en 430. Le choix peut toutefois être erroné : saint Polycarpe est placé le 27 avril et le calendrier précise que ce devrait être le 26 mars (*VII Kal. aprilis*) s'il n'y avait pas le Carême, mais son martyre eut lieu un 23 février (*VII Kal. martii*). Des saints fêtés auparavant ensemble sont dissociés à juste titre : Sébastien et Fabien le 20 janvier, Vincent le 22 janvier sans Anastase, Vaast et Amand le 6 février, Médard et Gildard le 8 juin. D'autres sont regroupés : Joachim et Anne le 28 juillet, Lazare, Marthe et Marie le 2 septembre.

On pourra s'étonner du nombre des Docteurs de l'Église. À la liste médiévale qui ne comptait que les quatre grands docteurs d'Occident et les quatre grands d'Orient, se sont ajoutés au xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle saint Thomas d'Aquin (1567) et saint Bonaventure (1588). C'est le nombre que retenait le Missel parisien de 1685, mais pour distinguer les deux derniers des huit grands de l'Antiquité, Paris leur donne en 1738 comme en 1685 le simple titre de « docteur », qui était le leur lorsqu'ils enseignaient à Paris. À Rome la liste se développe plus largement au xviii<sup>e</sup> siècle avec Anselme (1720), Isidore (1722) et Pierre Chrysologue (1729). Tous les trois restent ignorés du calendrier parisien, mais Paris n'hésite pas en 1736 à donner le titre de Docteur de l'Église, en anticipant plus d'une fois sur Rome, à Léon le Grand (à Rome en 1754), Bernard (à Rome en 1830), Hilaire (à Rome en 1851), Césaire et même à des martyrs : Irénée, Cyprien. D'autres diocèses de France avaient leur propre liste.

<sup>59</sup> Le même souci de vérité historique a fait écarter d'autres noms controversés, comme saint Félix de Valois, entré dans le calendrier romain en 1679, en même temps que saint Jean de Matha, qui, lui, est accueilli dans le calendrier parisien, comme prêtre de Paris et fondateur de l'Ordre de la Trinité, implanté à Paris dans la maison de Saint-Mathurin, ce qui valut à ses membres d'être appelés les mathurins.



Le calendrier de 1736-1738 innove en ajoutant pour chaque fête des indications qui relèvent plutôt du martyrologe, en tirant parti du *Martyrologe universel* de l'abbé Claude Chastelain († 1712), publié à Paris en 1709. Là où le Calendrier romain parle de « confesseur non pontife », celui de Paris distingue : prêtre, ermite, anachorète, solitaire, laïc. Pour distinguer Barnabé du groupe des Douze, il est appelé *Gentium apostolus*. La principale innovation du Missel de 1685, son lectionnaire, est conservé en 1738 : « On ne trouvera, déclare l'archevêque dans son mandement, presque aucun changement dans les Épîtres et les Évangiles des Dimanches et des Fêtes, non plus que dans ceux des fêtes chômées par le peuple. »

Il n'en va pas de même pour les antiennes, graduels, versets alléluïatiques et traits :

On a fait davantage de changements dans les pièces chantées au Propre du Temps ; en sorte, toutefois, que nous avons retenu dans notre Missel ce qui était d'un goût excellent dans le Missel précédent, mais parfois en le plaçant plus à propos. Nous avons choisi les passages des Écritures qui nous ont semblé les plus propres à exciter la piété, les plus faciles à mettre en chant et les plus en rapport avec les lectures sacrées qui se font aux Messes. Cependant, nous ne nous sommes pas tellement entraînés à une méthode quelconque que nous ne nous soyons proposé, par dessus tout, de rechercher ce qui pouvait élever l'âme à Dieu et l'aider à s'enflammer de foi, d'espérance et de charité.

C'est ainsi, pour ne citer que de grandes fêtes, que l'introït de l'Épiphanie *Ecce advenit* (cf. Mal 3, 1 et 1 Chron 29, 12) est remplacé par *Afferte Domino* (1 Chron 16, 28-29, 31), celui de Pâques *Resurrexi* (cf. Ps 138, 18 et 5-6) par *Christus resurrexit* (1 Cor 15, 20a. 54b-55), celui de l'Ascension *Viri Galilaei* (Act 1, 11) par *Regna terrae* (Ps 67, 33-35), celui de la Trinité *Benedicta sit* (cf. de loin Tob 12, 6) par *Misericordia Domini* (Ps 32, 5b-6). On peut comprendre le motif de la mise à l'écart de l'introït de l'Ascension qui anticipe l'évangile<sup>60</sup>, et des trois autres, dont le texte biblique est assez fortement remanié. On

<sup>60</sup> Il ne disparaît cependant pas, car on le trouve à l'octave de l'Ascension, où il n'y a plus d'anticipation.

peut comprendre le choix de nouvelles antiennes : l'annonce du royaume universel du Messie à l'Épiphanie, le message central de Pâques, en saint Paul, l'annonce de l'Ascension à l'aide du Ps. 67, une affirmation trinitaire dans le Ps. 32 (au 2<sup>e</sup> dimanche après Pâques au *M R*, mais sans la mention de l'Esprit). On peut comprendre le désir d'unifier le 2<sup>e</sup> dimanche après Pâques comme dimanche du Bon Pasteur en choisissant des chants orchestrant les lectures : le Ps. 99 à l'introït (*Introïte in conspectu Domini, populus ejus et oves pascuae ejus ...*), le Ps. 94 au premier alléluia (*... et nos populus pascuae ejus et oves manus ejus*), Is 40, 11 au second (*Sicut Pastor gregem suum pascet ...*), un passage de l'épître à l'offertoire (*... conversi estis nunc ad pastorem ...*), et un autre de l'évangile à la communion (*Ego sum pastor bonus ...* cf. *M R*). On peut comprendre le choix des chants du dimanche dans l'octave de l'Ascension, pour célébrer le Christ, Prêtre souverain au plus haut des cieux : *Thronus tuus, Deus ...* (Ps. 44, 7-8) à l'introït ; les autres chants provenant d'Heb 4, 14 et 7, 26 aux deux alléluias, 9, 24 à l'offertoire et 8, 1-2 à la communion, ce dernier chant repris du Missel de 1685. D'autres dimanches survenant dans une octave ou un temps fort reçoivent un traitement semblable (dans l'octave de Noël, après la Circoncision, dans l'octave du Saint-Sacrement). La messe de la Visitation commence par un verset du Magnificat (*Exultavit spiritus meus ...*), celle du 8 septembre par le psaume messianique 88 (*Disposui testamentum ...*), celle du 8 décembre par le Ps. 131, également messianique (*Juravit Dominus ...*), à la place de *Salve, sancta parens*, qui disparaît. Mais quelle sorte de plain-chant<sup>61</sup> pouvait rivaliser avec des mélodies grégoriennes multi-séculaires comme le populaire

<sup>61</sup> On conserva les pièces introduites dans le Missel de 1685 et maintenues en 1738, qui avaient été composées par Claude Chastelain. Les pièces nouvelles eurent pour compositeur Jean Lebeuf. Né à Auxerre en 1687, il étudia à fond le chant grégorien, tel qu'on le comprenait en son temps, et la musique ancienne. À peine âgé de vingt-quatre ans, il composa l'Antiphonaire de Lisieux à la satisfaction du Chapitre (1711). Il composa l'Antiphonaire de Paris, publié en 1736, en même temps que le Bréviaire. Le Graduel parisien, auquel il travaillait déjà en 1734, parut en 1738 en même temps que le Missel. Il a parlé de ses travaux dans son *Traité historique et pratique sur le Chant ecclésiastique*, publié en 1741. Il mourut à Paris en 1763.

*Gaudeamus*? On pourrait multiplier les exemples, en déplorant avec Dom Guéranger<sup>62</sup> le bouleversement intempestif de l'Antiphonaire grégorien, tout en reconnaissant le choix judicieux opéré dans bien des cas<sup>63</sup>.

Le chant, ce sont aussi les proses ou séquences. Dans ce domaine, le Missel de Vintimille trouve un équilibre entre l'exubérance médiévale et l'ostracisme total dont fait preuve le Missel d'Auxerre, paru la même année. Dans le corps du Missel, aux quatre fêtes communes avec le Missel romain (Pâques, Pentecôte, Saint-Sacrement, Défunts), s'ajoutent *Votis Pater annuit* pour Noël<sup>64</sup>, à la place de *Laetabundus*, *Ad Jesum accurrite*

<sup>62</sup> Cf. *Institutions liturgiques*, p. 374.

<sup>63</sup> Au M R, les chants de la messe de sainte Marie Madeleine sont empruntés presque tous au Commun des Vierges. Le M P les choisit en fonction de la sainte: Ps 72, 28: *Mibi adhaerere Deo bonum est* (Introït), *id.* 25-26: *Defecit caro mea* (Graduel), et surtout le Cantique des Cantiques 5. 8: *Filiae Jerusalem* (Alléluia), 5, 6: *Anima mea liquefacta est* (Offertoire), 3, 4: *Inveni quem diligit anima mea* (Communion).

Pour la Visitation, au lieu des pièces du Commun de la Vierge Marie comme au M R, le M P fait chanter la salutation d'Élisabeth au Graduel, à l'Alléluia, à l'Offertoire, et le Magnificat à l'Introït et à la Communion).

Autre exemple de réfection d'un Missel à l'autre, la messe de Vigile de l'Assomption:

Introït:	M R	<i>Vultum tuum</i> (Ps 24, 13-15-16)
	M P 1685	<i>Respexit Dominus humilitatem</i> (Lc 1, 4 8)
	M P 1738	<i>Sitivit in te anima mea</i> (Ps 62, 2-3)
Graduel:	M R	<i>Benedicta et venerabilis</i>   <i>Virgo Dei Genitrix</i>
	M P 1685	<i>Fecit mihi magna</i>   <i>Et misericordiae ejus</i> (Lc, 1, 49-50)
	M P 1738	<i>Quis dabit mihi pennas</i>   <i>Transibo in locum</i> (Ps 54, 13; 41, 5)
Alléluia:	M P 1685	<i>Benedicta tu in mulieribus</i> (Lc 1, 28, 42)
	(le dimanche) M P 1738	<i>Adimplebis me laetitia</i> (Ps 15, 11)
Offertoire:	M R	<i>Beata es, Virgo Maria</i>
	M P 1685	<i>Filiae Tyri in muneribus</i> (Ps 44, 13)
	M P 1738	<i>Surge, Domine, in requiem tuam</i> (Ps 131, 8-9)
Communion:	M R	<i>Beata viscera</i>
	M P 1685	<i>Qui creavit me</i> (Sir 24, 12)
	M P 1738	<i>Spiritus et sponsa</i> (Ap 22, 17)

Au lieu des chants du commun au M R, le M P de 1685 utilise avant tout le *Magnificat* et le M P de 1738 des textes psalmiques et un de l'Apocalypse, textes d'attente et de désir, comme il convient à une messe de vigile.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. J. ÉVENOU, « De la prose au cantique. Permanence d'un thème musical », *La Maison-Dieu* 145 (1981), p. 75-99. Les deux premières strophes

pour l'Épiphanie, *Solemnis haec festivitas* pour l'Ascension. Sept autres proses solennisent les plus grandes fêtes du Sanctoral : *Ave plena gratia* le 2 février, *Humani generis* le 25 mars, *Induant justitiam* le 15 août, *Gaudii primordium* le 8 septembre, *Exultet Ecclesia* le 9 octobre, *Sponsa Christi* le 1<sup>er</sup> novembre, *Jerusalem et Sion filiae* pour la Dédicace. Enfin *Funeri ne date planctum* chanté aux obsèques des petits enfants. En tout, quinze proses dont neuf relativement récentes : une en 1655, cinq en 1685, trois en 1706, et deux nouvelles compositions, pour Noël et pour les obsèques des petits enfants. À ces quinze, le Missel de 1738 ajoute un supplément de trente autres proses (*Prosaes communes*), dont seize pour les différents communs des saints et quatorze pour diverses messes votives, au cas où l'une ou l'autre de ces messes serait célébrée sous le rite Annuel ou Solennel Majeur. Tout est ainsi quadrillé, y compris « pour un ou plusieurs saints qui ne se trouvent pas dans le Propre et ne peuvent se rapporter à aucun des Communs ». Les airs de ces proses renvoient, pour les deux tiers, à des airs connus : ainsi pourra-t-on chanter sur l'air du *Lauda Sion* pour plusieurs vierges martyres *Novo cantu jubilemus*, pour les mystères de la Passion *Cruxifixum adoremus*, pour une messe solennelle en réparation des injures portées au Saint-Sacrement *Plange, Sion, muta vocem*. Même le *Laetabundus* délaissé pour Noël fournit le chant pour la prose des messes pour les saintes femmes *Exultemus*.

« On connaît par excellence, écrivait Jean Lebeuf dans *Le Mercure de France* d'août 1726, que le chant des Proses bien cadencées est un grand attrait pour les fidèles ; la mesure qu'on sait à présent leur donner fait sur eux le même effet que les chants dont saint Adelin, évêque de Sherborn en Angleterre, sut adroitement se servir au VII<sup>e</sup> siècle pour gagner à Dieu quantité de peuples ».

Henri Bremond, qui cite ce texte, ajoute pour sa part : « On peut suivre d'assez près l'élaboration naïve et savante de ces petits poèmes : sorte de compromis entre les anciens modèles et la formule de l'hymnographie gallicane. Il est touchant de

suivent le timbre d'un Noël du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle « Marie découvre à nos yeux » : cfr. P. ARMA, *Noël ! Chansons Noël !*, Paris, 1942<sup>4</sup>, p. 120.

voir les gros doigts de ces docteurs parcourir avec allégresse les touches du carillon médiéval. La prose gallicane est, si l'on peut dire, une hymne détendue »<sup>65</sup>.

Après les textes des lectures et des chants, Mgr de Vintimille aborde dans son Mandement les autres formulaires des messes, à commencer par les préfaces :

La même raison (que pour les chants) nous a porté à ajouter plusieurs Préfaces propres qui manquaient, à savoir pour le temps de l'Avent et pour certaines solennités plus considérables de l'année, c'est-à-dire celles du Corps du Christ, de la Dédicace, de tous les Saints, et autres. Ainsi, nous sommes-nous efforcé de nous rapprocher, autant que nous avons pu, de l'ancienne coutume de l'Église Romaine, qui avait autrefois autant de Préfaces propres que de Messes, comme cela est encore d'usage aujourd'hui dans les Églises qui se servent du rite Ambrosien.

Depuis le <sup>x</sup><sup>e</sup> siècle, à la suite d'une fausse décrétale du pape Pélage II (579-590) forgée par Burkhard de Worms († 1025), la tradition romaine n'a connu qu'un choix singulièrement restreint : neuf préfaces, dont l'une, la préface commune, n'était qu'un canevas sans aucune expression de motif d'action de grâce. Une dixième préface, celle de la Vierge Marie, vint s'ajouter en 1095. La diffusion de la fête de la Sainte Trinité au <sup>xiii</sup><sup>e</sup> siècle entraîna l'emploi d'une onzième préface *Qui cum Unigenito*, provenant du Gélasien ancien (n. 680), reprise dans le Sacramentaire grégorien, d'abord en supplément (Sp. 1621), puis dans le corps même à la suite de l'octave de la Pentecôte (éd. Ménard, *PL*, 83, 116 C).

Paris avait cependant conservé la préface des messes de mariage *Qui foedera nuptiarum*, venue tout droit du Sacramentaire gélasien (n. 1446). On peut comprendre les précautions prises par l'archevêque pour présenter l'introduction de sept nouvelles préfaces : même si la préface n'est plus perçue depuis longtemps comme faisant corps avec le *Canon Missae*, elle est à l'intérieur de l'Ordinaire de la Messe. Mais l'archevêque peut

<sup>65</sup> Cf. H. BREMOND, *Histoire littéraire*, p. 96. Cf. aussi J. ÉVENOU, « La poésie néo-gallicane », *Pietas Liturgica*, I, Eus Verlag, Erzabtei St Ottilien, 1983, p. 821-854.

s'appuyer sur une tradition romaine bien plus ancienne, celle des Sacramentaires, et sur l'exemple toujours actuel du Missel ambrosien<sup>66</sup>. Cela explique aussi peut-être qu'il se soit contenté de sept compositions nouvelles :

*Quam perduto* pour le temps de l'Avent,  
*Verum aeternumque* pour le Jeudi Saint,  
*Qui remotis* pour le Saint-Sacrement,  
*Qui hanc orationis domum* pour la Dédicace,  
*Qui nos secundum misericordiam* pour saint Denis,  
*Qui glorificaris* pour la Toussaint,  
*In quo nobis spem* pour les défunts.

Il faut croire que ces sept préfaces, en y joignant celle des messes de mariage, répondaient à un besoin pastoral, car en 1789, quatre-vingt-neuf diocèses les avaient adoptées<sup>67</sup>.

Après les préfaces, ce sont principalement les oraisons du Missel de 1738 qui méritent attention<sup>68</sup>. En les présentant et pour justifier ses choix, l'archevêque de Paris fait un plaidoyer habile et éloquent :

Nous n'avons pas porté un moindre soin à propos de ces Oraisons qui se disent à chaque Messe et qui n'occupent pas la dernière place dans la sainte Liturgie. Nous entendons par là les Collectes, les Secrètes et les Postcommunions. Nous avons choisi la plupart d'entre elles des livres antiques des Sacramentaires, toutes pleines de l'onction de la piété. Nous avons inséré de nouvelles, en très petit nombre, élaborées, autant qu'il a été possible, en prenant pour modèle celles de

<sup>66</sup> Cf. E. MOELLER, *Corpus praefationum*, Turnhout, Brepols, 1980-1981, 5 vol. dont dans le premier une « Étude préliminaire », p. VIII-CXVIII.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. P. JOUNEL, « Le nouveau Propre de France », *La Maison-Dieu* 72 (1962), p. 140-165 ; J. POILLY, « Les préfaces parisiennes », *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 77 (1963), p. 101-108.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. B. COPPIETERS 'T WALLANT, *Corpus orationum*, t. XIII, Turnhout, Brepols, 2003, p. 5-80. L'inventaire, aussi précis que possible, des sources des oraisons du M P de 1738 permet de se rendre compte de l'apport du M R, du M P de 1706, mais non des Missels de 1685 et de 1706, nés de la tradition parisienne antérieure. Les références aux livres liturgiques de Paris données par J. Wickham LEGG, *Missale ad usum Ecclesiae Westmonasterii*, H.B.S. 12, t. III, 1897, sont relevées dans le *Corpus Orationum*, mais trop brèves et éparpillées dans les neuf premiers volumes.

l'antiquité, et assez souvent en utilisant en grande partie les expressions mêmes des Sacramentaires. En effet, puisque, comme le rappelle le pape Célestin, « La règle de la foi s'appuie sur la règle de la prière », avec quel pieux élan de vénération devons-nous embrasser ces formules de prière que nous ont livrées ces premiers témoins de la doctrine chrétienne et ces hérauts éminents d'une antiquité respectable ! Nous voulons parler de ces personnages saints, en qui demeurait l'Esprit d'intelligence et de prière, Léon, Gélase, Grégoire, Hilaire, Ambroise, Salvien, Léandre, Isidore. Quelle nuée de témoins, quelle nuée sainte ! Il est certain que c'est grâce à leur autorité que la foi s'est affermie en ces temps anciens, la même foi que nous professons aujourd'hui, que les mêmes vérités du dogme Catholique, depuis tant de siècles écoulés, ont été attestées, crues et défendues à Rome, à Milan, dans les Gaules, en Espagne.

C'est donc à ces sources si pures, et principalement dans les Sacramentaires de l'Église Romaine, qui est la Mère et la Maîtresse de toutes les autres, que nous avons puisé les Oraisons de notre Missel. On peut même dire que ce n'est pas sans une indication et une conduite de la Providence divine qu'a eu lieu, pour notre grande consolation et celle de notre troupeau, la découverte récente du plus ancien de tous les Sacramentaires de l'Église romaine, qui restait ignoré depuis plusieurs siècles. Ce livre d'or, écrit sur un parchemin manuscrit voici plus de mille ans, a été publié à l'imprimerie Vaticane, sous les auspices du Souverain Pontife Clément XII, qui conduit aujourd'hui, avec non moins de sainteté que de sagesse, la barque de saint Pierre. C'est à ce monument considérable que nous avons emprunté un grand nombre de pièces qui respirent une piété excellente et rappellent, pour le style et la doctrine, saint Léon le Grand, à qui on les attribue comme à leur auteur très certain.

Le ton lyrique et ardent de cette page fait oublier que l'écart pris par le Missel de Paris par rapport au Missel romain se fait de plus en plus grand, mais le plaidoyer est habile. En faisant fond sur l'antiquité des oraisons des sacramentaires, sur la qualité indéniable de leur orthodoxie, sur l'autorité reconnue de leurs auteurs présumés, les saints Gélase, Grégoire, Léon, en reprenant des textes romains négligés depuis longtemps à

Rome même, en joignant à Rome les autres branches de la liturgie occidentale, Milan, la Gaule, l'Espagne, l'archevêque de Paris se défend d'une critique possible, attendue même, d'innovation, ainsi que du soupçon de jansénisme ou de gallicanisme.

Le premier Père de l'Eglise qu'il cite est saint Léon ; ce n'est pas sans raison. En 1713, Scipion Maffei découvrait à Vérone dans les archives du chapitre de la cathédrale un recueil (*Cap. Ver. 80, olim 85*) de textes liturgiques, compilation rassemblant d'authentiques formulaires de messes provenant des archives pontificales du Latran. Manuscrit parfois difficile à déchiffrer, copie souvent fautive, recueil composite remontant au milieu du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle, l'ouvrage fut publié à Rome en 1735 par Joseph Bianchini, qui l'attribua sans hésiter au pape saint Léon le Grand, d'où le nom de « sacramentaire léonien » qui lui est resté, « doublement incorrect, car il ne s'agit pas d'un sacramentaire au sens habituel ni, encore moins, d'une œuvre du pape Léon le Grand »<sup>69</sup>. Mais dans l'enthousiasme suscité par la découverte du recueil de Vérone, l'archevêque de Paris comme l'éditeur romain pensaient trouver dans ses oraisons et ses préfaces un écho suffisant de la solidité de la doctrine de ce pape et de la vigueur de son expression pour lui en attribuer la paternité. La publication toute récente du recueil allait même permettre d'enrichir le Missel en cours d'élaboration – ce serait une première –, mais arrivait trop tard pour en faire bénéficier le Bréviaire de 1736. L'archevêque se doit alors d'expliquer la raison des divergences, somme toute mineures, entre les deux livres :

Nous avons largement distribué çà et là dans notre Missel ces richesses que nous avons sous la main en abondance, d'où il est arrivé qu'en divers endroits de ce Missel on trouvera des Collectes différentes des Oraison qu'on récite dans le Bréviaire, inconvénient léger et même nul. Il nous eût semblé plus fâcheux de priver notre Église de tant d'excellentes prières des anciens Pères.

<sup>69</sup> C. VOGEL, *Introduction aux sources de l'histoire du culte chrétien au Moyen Âge*, Spoleto, Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, rééd. 1981, p. 33.



Le « Sacramentaire léonien » arrivait en effet un peu tard, car la rédaction du Missel de 1738 avait commencé plusieurs années auparavant. Ses rédacteurs avaient déjà à leur disposition le Missel ambrosien dont les éditions s'étaient succédées depuis 1475, le Missel mozarabe publié en 1500 par le cardinal Ximenes de Cisneros, et de nouveau en 1551, le Sacramentaire grégorien dans l'édition publiée par dom Ménard en 1642. Ils regardèrent également vers les rites de l'Orient chrétien, en se servant pour le rite byzantin de l'*Euchologion* du dominicain Jacques Goar, imprimé à Paris en 1647 en grec avec traduction latine et notes savantes, et, pour les autres rites, des deux volumes de la *Liturgiarum Orientalium collectio*, éditée à Paris en 1715 et 1716 par un laïc, Eusèbe Renaudot. Ils avaient enfin entre les mains, parmi les missels publiés en France après celui de Paris en 1706, les plus innovants : ceux de Meaux en 1709, de Sens en 1715, de Cluny en 1717, de Rouen en 1728, de Cluny de nouveau en 1733 et de Troyes en 1736.

Ils prirent même soin de signaler en marge du Missel les sources des oraisons par quelques sigles : SR pour les divers sacramentaires romains, ceux que l'on appelait le léonien, le gélasien et le grégorien ; SG pour les sacramentaires gallicans ; MA pour le Missel ambrosien ; *M P* pour le Missel parisien de 1685 ou de 1706, surtout pour les oraisons transposées d'un endroit à un autre.

Le relevé que l'on peut trouver en détail dans le volume XIII du *Corpus Orationum* (p. 5-80) permet de se rendre compte des changements apportés aux oraisons dans ce Missel. Si dans l'ensemble du Temporal les collectes sont les mêmes qu'au Missel romain et à la tradition parisienne, en particulier pour les dimanches et les grandes fêtes<sup>70</sup>, les prières sur

<sup>70</sup> Nouvelles sont les collectes du 1<sup>er</sup> janvier (304) qui fait écho à Lc 2, 21, Mt 1, 21, Act 2, 21, Rom 10, 13 ; du 2<sup>e</sup> dimanche de Carême (669), qui prépare la proclamation de l'évangile Mt 17, 1-9 à l'aide d'expressions du pape saint Léon (*terrena fastidiens, in aeternorum desiderium quodam mentis [Petrus] rapiiebatur excessu ... ut licet non oporteret de beatitudinis promissionibus dubitare*) ; du dimanche de la Passion (891), qui fait écho à 1 P 2, 21 ; Phil 2, 8 et utilise Ménard : PL 78, 78C (*antiqui hostis superbia triumphatur*) ; du dimanche dans l'Octave du Saint-Sacrement (1678), oraison adressée au Christ, comme celle du jour de la fête (1663), où le Christ est appelé directement *Deus*.

les offrandes et après la communion ainsi qu'en Carême les oraisons sur le peuple s'en détachent volontiers pour faire écho à l'une ou l'autre lecture et souligner le moment de la célébration eucharistique<sup>71</sup>. La liberté de choix ou de composition est plus grande dans le Sanctoral et le plus souvent le choix est judicieux, car il met en valeur la personnalité du saint<sup>72</sup>. Le cardinal Dugnani, exilé à Paris pendant le conflit entre Napoléon et Pie VII, « assistant à la Messe dans une chapelle le jour de saint Barnabé, fut si touché de la Postcommunion de la Messe de ce saint, qu'il voulut la faire copier pour la conserver »<sup>73</sup>. On peut juger de la qualité de cette oraison en la lisant désormais le 29 juin dans le Missel romain depuis 1970. Et on ne peut qu'admirer de même la postcommunion du 1<sup>er</sup> novembre, d'une rare plénitude de sens et d'expression, retenue également dans le Missel romain de 1970. Ces deux oraisons n'étaient cependant pas une création du Missel de Vintimille, mais se trouvaient déjà dans celui de Noailles.

Toutes les oraisons nouvelles du Missel de 1738, ou reprises de 1685 ou de 1706, ne sont pas de la même qualité. La secrète du dimanche après l'Ascension est une simple juxtaposition de citations de Heb 2, 17 ; 1, 3 ; 7, 25 ; 4, 16 : un tel condensé paraît trop indigeste. Le Missel romain avait quelques oraisons adres-

<sup>71</sup> Ainsi le Vendredi de la 3<sup>e</sup> semaine de Carême, où on lit, comme au M R, Nb 20, 1-13 et Jn 4, 5-42, on aura :

SO (800) : ... *da nobis scire donum tuum ... te qui fons vitae et origo bonitatis es, indesinenter sentiamus* (Ménard : PL 78, 68 C).

PC (802) : *Fiant in nobis, quaesumus Domine, Sacramenta quae sumpsimus, fons aquae salientis in vitam aeternam ; et cibus noster sit facere voluntatem tuam, per eum quem misisti, Jesum Christum ...*

SP (803) : *Deus qui spiritus es, et eos qui te adorant, in spiritu et veritate jubes adorare ...*

Ces oraisons s'insèrent en outre parfaitement dans un formulaire axé sur le don de l'eau vive : *Omnes sitientes, venite ad aquas* (Introït), *Panem de caelo ... et aquam de petra* (Graduel), *Si scires donum Dei* (Offertoire), *Qui biberit ex aqua* (Communion).

<sup>72</sup> Cf. F. BROVELLI, « Per uno studio dei messali francesi del XVIII secolo. Saggi di analisi », *Ephemerides liturgicae*, 96 (1982), p. 279-406, surtout II, *Il sanctorale del « Messale Parisiense »*, p. 346-406. Il faut noter que le Missel de Vintimille se contente souvent de reprendre les oraisons du Missel de 1685 et de 1706, quitte à les modifier ou à les changer de place.

<sup>73</sup> *Notice historique sur les rites de l'Église de Paris*, n. 51.

sées au Christ (Avent, Saint-Sacrement); le Missel de Vintimille, précédé d'ailleurs par celui de Harlay, n'hésite pas à continuer sur cette voie (quatre collectes, six secrètes, vingt-sept postcommunions dans le Temporal; quatre collectes, quatre secrètes, treize postcommunions dans le Sanctoral): la piété christocentrique de l'École française de spiritualité, confortée par la liturgie milanaise et mozarabe, l'emporte alors sur la tradition romaine. Cette pente reste cependant faible et ne dépare guère la qualité de l'euchologie du Missel de Vintimille.

La même recherche d'équilibre, entre la continuité avec la tradition euchologique romaine et l'innovation, se retrouve dans la composition des Communs des saints: de vingt-et-un formulaires<sup>74</sup> au Missel romain, le nombre passe à quatorze dans le Missel parisien, mais ce dernier a vingt-neuf séries d'oraisons au lieu de dix-huit dans le romain. Cela vient d'une répartition des Communs plus attentive aux diverses catégories: le martyr peut être un évêque, un prêtre, un laïc; au lieu de confesseur non pontife, on distingue à Paris, le prêtre, l'abbé, le moine, le juste. Chaque formulaire dispose, selon la catégorie, d'une, ou deux, ou trois, et même quatre séries d'oraisons, cela pour le cas où deux saints de la même catégorie sont célébrés le même jour. Même s'il s'agit de commun, chaque formulaire dispose d'oraisons correspondant autant que possible à la catégorie où le saint est répertorié: on ne trouve pas comme dans le Missel romain une collecte *Exaudi nos, Deus salutaris noster* valable pour une vierge comme Claire, une vierge martyre comme Lucie, et une sainte femme comme Monique.

Après les messes de sainte Marie le samedi vient la section des messes votives, où l'on peut relever à côté des dévotions anciennes (la Trinité, la Passion, le Saint-Esprit) des dévotions modernes (le Saint Nom de Jésus, Jésus enfant), un ample développement de la dévotion au Saint-Sacrement, avec des lectures diverses selon les mois, et une messe spéciale en réparation des injures portées au Christ dans le Saint-Sacrement<sup>75</sup>.

<sup>74</sup> Le Commun de la vigile pour les fêtes d'Apôtres n'est pas pris en compte, ni celui de la Dédicace, car ils n'entrent pas dans les Communs du Missel de Paris.

À côté des saints déjà marqués au calendrier s'ajoute une messe de saint Roch et même une messe « pour un ou plusieurs saints qu'on ne peut trouver dans le Propre ni renvoyer facilement à un des Communs ».

Le nombre des messes votives pour diverses nécessités ou circonstances est le double (vingt) de celui du Missel romain, sans distinction particulière : on peut toutefois relever que la série commence par une messe pour l'Église, suivie d'une messe, de rite Annuel, pour la célébration du synode diocésain. La messe de Mariage a conservé sa préface propre et la bénédiction des époux, en forme de préface, avec l'imposition d'un voile au-dessus des époux<sup>76</sup>. Elle est suivie d'une messe d'action de grâce après un accouchement<sup>77</sup>.

Les messes pour les défunts ont des formulaires variés, suivis de l'unique messe *Requiem* du Missel romain aux textes de chant non bibliques, conservée cependant « ad devotionem »<sup>78</sup>. Elles comprennent de plus une messe pour les obsèques des petits enfants, beaucoup plus marquée par la certitude de leur salut que par la douleur de leurs parents : *Fumari ne date planctum*, chante même la séquence.

Le Missel s'achève (avant les Proses communes) par une série d'oraisons pour intentions diverses, réparties judicieusement en quatre classes, précisées dans l'Index : 1) les oraisons qui concernent l'Église et le Royaume ; 2) celles qui traitent des biens spirituels ; 3) celles qui regardent les réalités terres-

<sup>75</sup> Le vendredi qui suit l'Octave de la fête du Corps du Christ, il est prévu que l'on célèbre cette messe si c'est un jour de fête : à défaut d'une fête du Sacré-Cœur, qui n'apparaîtra que trente ans plus tard à Paris, c'est une manière de répondre à la dévotion propagée par sainte Marguerite-Marie Alacoque, dans un esprit de réparation.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. J. ÉVENOU, *Le Mariage*, dans *L'Eglise en prière*, éd. nouvelle, t. III, Desclée, 1984, p. 215-218.

<sup>77</sup> Signe d'un temps où la mortalité infantile est encore fréquente, la rubrique précise que si l'enfant est mort, on dira néanmoins la messe, mais s'il a été baptisé avant de mourir, on prendra les oraisons de la messe des obsèques des petits enfants.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. J. ÉVENOU, *Sterbe- und Begräbnisriten in den französischen Diözesenliturgien vom 17. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert*, in H. BECKER et alii, *Liturgie im Angesicht des Todes*, *Neuzeit*, II : *Katholische Traditionen*, A. Francke Verlag Tübingen und Basel, 2004 (*Pietas Liturgica*, 14), p. 601-766 ; pour les formulaires de messe, p. 689-703.

tres ; 4) celles qui ont pour objet certaines personnes ou certains états de vie<sup>79</sup>.

Le résultat des travaux promus par l'archevêque Charles de Vintimille fut un Missel de grande qualité, dans l'aménagement du calendrier, l'ordonnance et la hiérarchie des célébrations, la proposition de lectures bibliques nombreuses et appropriées, la richesse des oraisons.

La publication du Missel fut accompagnée et suivie de celle du Graduel noté (1738) et du Processionnal (1739)<sup>80</sup>, énormes in-folios pour le chœur et livres manuels, ainsi que de nombreux ouvrages dérivés (Diurnal, Vespéral, None, Vêpres et Complies pour tous les jours de l'année [noté], euchologes et paroissiens latin-français, appelés encore bréviaires laïcs, et d'une abondante littérature d'explication ou de soutien (*Explication des cérémonies de la messe*, par P. Le Brun, *Épîtres et Évangiles avec des réflexions*, *Instructions familières pour les Dimanches et Fêtes de l'année*, *Nouvelle méthode de plain-chant*, etc.). C'est un vrai mouvement liturgique avant l'heure qui s'est ainsi développé.

### *La suite du Missel de Vintimille*

Le Missel de Vintimille eut des éditions successives jusqu'au milieu du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>81</sup>, non sans modifications plus ou moins nombreuses, mais qui gardent presque intact l'essentiel de l'œuvre de 1738.

L'édition de 1762, sous l'archevêque Christophe de Beaumont (1746-1781) ne contient que trois changements : la se-

<sup>79</sup> À la suite vient encore le chant de la Passion pour le dimanche des Rameaux, les Mardi, Mercredi et Vendredi saints (72 pages numérotées à part). Les autres parties notées du *M P* sont le chant des deux généalogies du Christ (p. 20-23, 45-48), quelques parties des offices du Vendredi et du Samedi saint, les préfaces, le Pater, et quelques intonations de la messe.

<sup>80</sup> Dans les missels pour fidèles, le répons de la procession dominicale est donné avant l'introït. Sa composition est faite d'une jonction de textes de l'AT et du NT. Ainsi la veille de Noël, si c'est un dimanche : R/ *O Juda et Jerusalem, nolite timere : \*Cras egrediemini, et Dominus erit vobiscum\** (2 Chr 20, 17). V/ *Confirmata corda vestra, quoniam adventus Domini adpropinquavit*, (Jcq 5, 8). \*Cras. Gloria. \*Cras.

<sup>81</sup> R. AMIET, *op. cit.*, a relevé 15 éditions parisiennes et 6 éditions en province entre 1739 et 1847.

crète du mercredi de Pâques<sup>82</sup>, une collecte propre pour saint Germain d'Auxerre<sup>83</sup> et une autre collecte pour la messe pour l'Église<sup>84</sup>.

Dans l'édition de 1776, préparée sous le même archevêque, par les abbés Joubert et Symon de Doncourt, les modifications sont bien plus nombreuses, et de divers ordres. Certaines soulignent le caractère parisien du Missel : le 15 août, la Vierge Marie est dite, sur le calendrier, « Patronne de l'Église de Paris et tout le Royaume », en référence implicite à la cathédrale Notre-Dame et au Vœu de Louis XIII en 1638. En même temps, il est tenu compte de la diffusion du Missel de Paris bien au-delà du diocèse : ainsi pour la Chaire de saint Pierre le 18 janvier, semi-double dans le diocèse, la rubrique ajoute « dans beaucoup d'églises de ce diocèse, et dans presque tous les Diocèses de ce royaume, double-majeur ».

Dans le calendrier, quelques titres s'allongent. Le 1<sup>er</sup> janvier : *Circumcisio Domini, Impositio Nominis Jesu et Octava Natalis ejus*, le 25 mars, *Annuntiatio Incarnationis Domini ad Beatam Mariam Virginem*. Des changements sont prévus pour d'autres diocèses qui utilisent le Missel de Paris : le 6 juillet, *in multis Ecclesiis et Diocesisibus*, octave des saints Apôtres Pierre et Paul et Fête de tous les saints Pontifes successeurs de Pierre sur le siège de Rome ; le 30 juillet : En beaucoup de Diocèses, la fête de saint Ignace est anticipée ce jour ; le 16 août : En beaucoup d'Églises, saint Roch.

Les fêtes des saints, du 24 décembre au 13 janvier, ont leur place dans le Propre des saints, les dimanches seuls demeurent dans le Propre du Temps. Les couleurs des fêtes sont indiquées en marge des messes (vert pour les pontifes, violet ou bleu pour les prêtres ...). Les références aux sources des orai-

<sup>82</sup> *His paschalibus sacrificiis confirma in nobis, Domine, gratiam adeptae redemptionis ; et qui nobis dedisti initia sanctae fidei, ipse conferas et perfectionem operis et plenitudinem caritatis* (source : Benediction 1207).

<sup>83</sup> *Da nobis, Domine, in hoc sancti Germani festivitate, caelestis gratiae, quam ille verbis, operibus, et miraculis asseruit, praesens adesse praesidium ; ut, dum tanti Praesulis exempla miramur et colimus, ejus etiam fidem et actiones imitemur ...* (source : Missel d'Auxerre, 1738).

<sup>84</sup> La collecte 4850 des *Orationes ad diversa* remplace le n. 4473, qui reprenait une des oraisons solennelles du Vendredi saint (n. 1087).

sons sont plus nombreuses, sinon plus explicites. Pour préciser la fonction d'une oraison, des retouches sont apportées<sup>85</sup>, ou des interversions<sup>86</sup>. Ce peut être aussi une modification d'ordre stylistique<sup>87</sup>, un changement d'adresse, au Père au lieu du Fils<sup>88</sup>, ou une réfection complète<sup>89</sup>. Les changements de ce genre abondent dans le Temporal, mais sont rares dans le Sanctoral<sup>90</sup>. Une innovation valable pour Paris seulement : si le 2 novembre tombe un dimanche, on fête ce jour-là saint Marcel et la Commémoration des défunts est reportée au lundi. La fête de sainte Jeanne de Chantal, canonisée en 1767, est inscrite au calendrier parisien le 23 août, comme au Calendrier romain en 1769.

Aux préfaces anciennes et nouvelles de 1738 s'ajoutent cinq autres « pour certains Diocèses » : pour la Présentation du Seigneur, l'Annonciation<sup>91</sup>, le Sacré-Cœur (*Qui sacrum Cor suum*),

<sup>85</sup> Ainsi, PC 124 : *Filii tui corpore et sanguine saginatos, praeveniat ...* ; PC 175 : *Supernis cibo potuque refectos et festinantes ...* ; SO 197 : *Oblata haec suscipe, quaesumus Domine, munera, et praesta ut in multitudine* ; SP 719 : *Famulorum tuorum cordibus, quaesumus ... et peccata sua ... macerentur ...* ; PC 1548 : *Mentes nostras, quaesumus Domine, Spiritus sanctus divinis replet sacramentis, et sui roris ...*

<sup>86</sup> SO 1398 et PC 1400 : moyennant retouches : SO *Deus pacis ... Christum, hujus oblatione pretio, opta nos* ; PC *Gregem tuum ... sanguinis tui, quem sumpsimus, effusione redemptos, diabolica ...* ; SO 1794 et PC 1796, SO 2315 et PC 2518, O 652 et SP 667.

<sup>87</sup> PC 151 : *In beneplacito populi tui, Domine, memento nostri, et ...*

<sup>88</sup> SO 1493 devient : *Deus, ad cujus dexteram Majestatis in excelsis ...*

<sup>89</sup> SO 93 est remplacé par : *Nostrae redemptionis Hostiam offerentes, te, Domine, deprecamur ; ut corda nostra suae caritatis ardoribus mundet et inflammet Spiritus sanctus qui beatae Mariae viscera splendoribus suae virtutis replevit.*

<sup>90</sup> Le 2 septembre, la demande est précédée d'une évocation des « hôtes du Seigneur », empruntée au Bréviaire de Cluny de 1686 : *Deus, qui conversatus in terris, in beatorum Lazari, Marthae et Mariae domo hospitari dignatus es ; praesta, quaesumus, ut ...* Comment parler de saint Jérôme dans la secrète de sa fête, alors que l'on sait qu'il n'a jamais célébré la messe ? Après le Missel de 1706, celui de 1738 n'hésitait pas à l'affirmer : *Sacrificium (...) quod sanctus Presbyter Hieronymus prae verecundia et humilitate veritus est exercere ...* (n. 3575). L'édition de 1762 dit plus sobrement : *Tribue nobis, Deus, sancti Hieronymi exempla sectari, et in timore sancto tremendam nostrae salutis hostiam tuae offerre majestati.*

<sup>91</sup> Cf. J. ÉVENOU, « Une préface « néo-gallicane » pour l'Annonciation », *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 110 (1996), p. 376-382. Cette préface provient du Missel de Cahors de 1760, qui reprenait, en la retouchant, une préface du Missel d'Auxerre de 1738.

saint Jean Baptiste, les Patrons. La préface de la messe pour les défunts présente une conclusion différente « pour certains diocèses ».

On aura remarqué la présence d'une préface du Sacré-Cœur. En 1766, après l'approbation de la fête par Clément XIII pour la Pologne, la Compagnie de Jésus et ensuite pour un grand nombre de diocèses et d'instituts, et à la recommandation de l'Assemblée du Clergé de France, Mgr de Beaumont avait autorisé la fête du Sacré-Cœur, à célébrer le 3<sup>e</sup> dimanche après la Pentecôte, sous le rite solennel-majeur, mais elle restait facultative (*ubi fit festum*). La messe *Venite ad me*<sup>92</sup> se trouve au début d'un supplément du propre du Temps et du propre des Saints, inséré dans le Missel de 1776 entre le Sanctoral et les Communs, avec des oraisons pour le très saint Cœur de Marie<sup>93</sup>.

À la suite, sont indiquées les rubriques et les lectures pour le cas où la fête du 29 juin est de rite Annuel ou Solennel-majeur, avec octave ... Puis viennent deux messes propres, l'une pour saint Vincent de Paul<sup>94</sup>, l'autre pour sainte Jeanne de Chantal<sup>95</sup>.

<sup>92</sup> L'archevêque avait approuvé deux offices et messes du Sacré-Cœur, sans les imposer. C'est l'une des deux messes qui figure au Supplément. Elle comporte les oraisons suivantes :

C : *D J C, qui ineffabiles tui cordis divitias Ecclesiae sponsae tuae, singulari dilectionis beneficio, aperire dignatus es ; concede propitius, ut gratiis coelestibus ex hoc dulcissimo fonte manantibus, corda nostra ditari et recreari mereantur.*

SO : *Cordibus nostris, omnipotens Deus, Spiritum et unctionem dilectissimi Filii tui benignus infunde ; ut nos uno spiritu et uno corde cum ipso unam eandemque Hostiam immolantes tibi etiam nosmetipsos munus aeternum offerre mereamur.*

PC : *Exaudi, quaesumus, clementissime Pater, preces familiae tuae toto corde tibi prostratae, et praesta, ut amantissimi Cordis dilecti Filii tui in hoc sacramento immensa caritas, cordis nostri intime magis ac magis penetrans, divinum in nobis semper augeat fervorem.*

Sources : C, Messe *Venite, exultemus*, du P. Galliffet, 1715 (1733).

SO et PC : Messe *Gaudeamus*, de S. Jean Eudes, 1668. La messe *Venite ad me* comporte une séquence de dix strophes parue d'abord, semble-t-il, en 1737 dans le Missel de Séz : *Venite, cuncti, currite | Ad Cor Jesu mitissimum.*

<sup>93</sup> C : *Clementissime Deus, qui ad peccatorum salutem ... secundum Cor Jesu inveniri mereamur ...*

SO : *Majestati tuae, Domine, Agnum immaculatam offerentes ... in ara crucis tibi obtulit Jesus Christus, D. n.*

PC : *D J C, qui de virginalis uteri thalamo procedens ... in cordibus nostris habitare digneris.*

<sup>94</sup> Messe *Pauperes Sion*, C : *Deus qui ad evangelizandum = M R 1737 ; SO : Sus-*



Une messe *Pro eligendo Papa* est ajoutée parmi les messes votives. Mais les principaux changements sont à relever dans les oraisons *ad diversa* et celles pour les défunts. Le chiffre des oraisons *ad diversa* passe de soixante-quinze à cent-dix-huit et leur répartition se fait, non plus en quatre sections, mais en six : 1) Dieu, la Vierge Marie, les Anges et les Saints ; 2) L'Eglise et le Royaume<sup>96</sup> ; 3) Les biens spirituels ; 4) Les réalités temporelles ; 5) Certaines personnes ou certains états de vie<sup>97</sup> ; 6) Pour les défunts<sup>98</sup>. La section des messes pour les défunts s'enrichit de six nouveaux formulaires : pour le Pape, l'archevêque ou l'évêque, pour un autre évêque, pour plusieurs évêques, pour un prêtre, pour plusieurs. Les textes proviennent de quelques autres Missels diocésains. Quelques proses s'ajoutent également : *Te laudamus, ô Regnator* pour le 29 juin dans certaines Églises, et en supplément *Huc, Jesu Discipuli* pour saint Joseph, *Cantibus laetitiae* pour saint Martin et *Quotquot Dei militiae* pour saint Louis.

Les efforts des réviseurs du Missel de 1776 ont visé à corriger ou remplacer certaines oraisons, à souligner le caractère parisien du Missel tout en faisant droit aux requêtes venant d'autres diocèses, à l'ouvrir à des dévotions nouvelles comme celles du Sacré-Cœur, tout cela en essayant de maintenir l'équilibre du Missel de Vintimille.

Le Missel de 1738, succédant à ceux de 1685 et de 1706, marquait un aboutissement. Il avait su profiter de la publica-

*cipe ... inflamaret* (= M. Beauvais 1756) ; PC : *Nobis, quaesumus, Domine, Sacramento refectis ... percipere mereamur.* (*id.*) Ces deux dernières oraisons sont différentes de celles du Propre des Lazaristes, que le M R de 1962 a placées dans la section *pro aliquibus locis*.

<sup>95</sup> Messe *Erat haec*, avec les oraisons insérées dans le M R en 1769.

<sup>96</sup> On y trouve des oraisons nouvelles pour le Roi et la Reine à l'anniversaire de leur mariage, pour la Reine ou la Dauphine avant un accouchement, pour le Roi malade, après son retour à la santé, pour le Roi et la Reine à la rénovation du vœu de Louis XIII.

<sup>97</sup> Nouvelles oraisons pour la première communion des enfants et pour les blessés à la guerre. L'institution de la première communion, désormais bien établie, a dès lors sa place dans le Missel. Cf. J. DELUMEAU (dir.), *La première communion. Quatre siècles d'histoire*, Paris, DDB, 1987.

<sup>98</sup> Nouvelles oraisons pour les morts à la guerre. Avec les oraisons pour les blessés de guerre, le Missel de 1776 se fait ainsi l'écho des longs conflits où la France fut engagée sous le règne de Louis XV.

tion d'autres Missels diocésains et monastiques, mais à son tour il contribua fortement à un renouveau liturgique et même à une certaine unité liturgique dans l'ensemble de la France. De 1738 à 1790, le mouvement semble irréversible. Bon nombre de diocèses se contentèrent de l'adopter, soit purement et simplement, en y ajoutant un *Propre* des saints locaux<sup>99</sup>, soit en lui donnant un titre diocésain<sup>100</sup>. D'autres eurent leurs propres Missels, élaborés selon les principes du Missel de Paris<sup>101</sup>. Certains évêques autorisaient l'usage des livres parisiens à côté des livres romains<sup>102</sup>. D'un Missel à l'autre, en effet, on retrouve les mêmes principes directeurs, souvent les mêmes textes, en tout cas toujours un air de parenté. On remarquera cependant qu'en progressant dans le temps les Missels, qu'ils soient diocésains ou monastiques, prennent autant de liberté par rapport au Missel de Vintimille que celui-ci par rapport au Missel romain<sup>103</sup>. Un exemple de la méthode suivie

<sup>99</sup> Comme Mâcon, Orange, Vannes 1783, Dol 1784, Digne 1785.

<sup>100</sup> Au moins cinquante-cinq. Le mandement en tête du *Missale Tutellense* de 1777 le dit sans ambages : *Cum a pluribus Galliarum Ecclesiis Missale illud [Parisiense] jam fuerit admissum, extra omnem reprehensionis aleam positum, ac suis omnibus numeris absolutum haberi debet. Hoc ergo, nihil cunctantes, vobis offerimus, fratres carissimi ; speramusque omnibus fore gratissimum.*

<sup>101</sup> Au moins vingt-et-un. On trouvera une chronologie des éditions diocésaines au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle dans P. JOUNEL, « Les liturgies diocésaines de France de 1685 à 1790 », dans *Dictionnaire encyclopédique de la liturgie*, Brepols, Turnhout, t. I, 1992, p. 476-477, repris dans *Liturgie aux multiples visages*, CLV – Edizioni Liturgiche, Roma, 1993, p. 203. On corrigera dans les deux, à l'année 1779, Dax, et non Aix.

<sup>102</sup> Tarbes, par exemple, avait gardé la liturgie romaine, mais le Bréviaire et le Missel de Paris étaient autorisés, et sans doute d'un usage assez général, car le décret instituant la fête du Sacré-Cœur en 1771 le fait selon le rite parisien, en ajoutant : « Ceux qui suivent le rite romain ... ».

<sup>103</sup> Cf. le Missel monastique de Saint-Vanne, *Missale Romano-Monasticum ad usum Congregationis SS. Vitoni et Hydulpbi Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, 1781. Présentation par P. Jounel dans *Histoire de la Messe (XVII<sup>e</sup>-XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, Rencontres de Fontevraud (1979), Presses de l'Université d'Angers, 1985, p. 67-80, texte repris dans : *Liturgie aux multiples visages*, p. 211-225. On trouvera dans le *Corpus Orationum*, t. XIII, 2003, p. 83-153 les sources des oraisons de ce Missel. Cf. F. BROVELLI, « Per uno studio dei messali francesi del secolo XVIII. Saggi di analisi », *Ephemerides liturgicae*, 96 (1982), p. 292-345 : présentation synoptique des formulaires des 24 dimanches après la Pentecôte dans le Missel romain, les Missels de Troyes (1736) et de Poitiers (1767), avec à la suite une longue étude comparative.

généralement: il s'agit du Missel de Clermont, publié par l'évêque Jean-Baptiste Massillon en 1737, soit un an avant celui de Vintimille, mais préparé en même temps. Le 9 octobre 1732, une assemblée fut « tenue à l'évêché pour la composition du nouveau Missel dans laquelle il a été décidé en présence de Monseigneur l'Évêque qu'on garderait les anciens usages de l'Église de Clermont »; pour l'Avent, « feria 4 quatuor temp.: Tout dans Paris [1706], à l'exception de l'offertoire qui sera pris dans Cluny [1717]; feria 6a: Tout dans Paris excepté l'Off. qui sera pris dans Cluny; Sabbato, tout dans Paris, à l'exception de l'Évangile qui sera pris dans Clermont [1656] et l'Off. dans Cluny. ». À côté du précédent Missel de Clermont, ce n'est cependant pas celui de Paris de 1706, mais celui de Sens de 1715 qui est le plus souvent mis à profit<sup>104</sup>.

*Les dernières éditions du Missel de Paris (1830 et 1841)*

La Révolution de 1789 empêcha l'archevêque Antoine-Léonor Leclerc de Juigné (1781-1801) de mener à bien, comme il l'avait prévu, une nouvelle édition du Bréviaire parisien et ensuite du Missel<sup>105</sup>. Sous la Restauration, l'œuvre fut reprise par le cardinal Alexandre de Talleyrand-Périgord (1817-1821), mais il mourut avant d'avoir vu son achèvement. Son successeur, Mgr Hyacinthe de Quélen (1821-1839) la mena à bonne fin en deux étapes: le Bréviaire en 1822, le Missel en 1830 (Mandement *Illustrissimorum* du 2 juillet). Dans son Mandement *Venerabili Decessori* (6 janvier 1822) en tête du Bréviaire, il indiqua les principales modifications apportées au Calendrier parisien: saint Joseph revient du 20 avril au 19 mars, saint Yves a la préséance sur saint Pierre Célestin le 19 mai, saint Joachim et sainte Anne passent du 28 au 26 juillet, saint

<sup>104</sup> Je remercie dom Étienne Henry, de l'abbaye de Randol, de m'avoir communiqué ces renseignements.

<sup>105</sup> Les éditions de 1782, 1790 et 1791 (cf. R. AMIET, *Missels et Bréviaires*, nn. 754, 755, 755 B) reproduisent celle de 1776. Les proses suivantes sont placées dans le Sanctoral avec l'indication « Si la fête est du rite Solennel »: *En ades ad nuptias* (3 janvier), *Joannes coelestia* (24 juin), *Te laudamus, ô Regnator* (29 juin), *Cantibus laetitiae* (11 novembre). La série des oraisons *ad diversa* se réduit à 51, bien moins qu'en 1776, et même qu'en 1738.

Ignace de Loyola du 31 au 30 juillet, sainte Claire du 11 au 12 août, saint Corneille du 14 au 24 septembre, saint Martin pape du 10 au 12 novembre, saint Lin du 26 au 27 novembre, saint François-Xavier du 2 au 3 décembre, la plupart de ces changements de date ayant pour but de restituer à ces saints la même date qu'au Calendrier romain ou de leur donner un office complet au lieu d'une simple commémoration. Les vigiles des fêtes d'Apôtres et de saint Laurent disparaissent, ainsi que certaines commémorations : la translation de saint Germain de Paris le 25 juillet, celle de sainte Geneviève le 28 octobre, mais de nouvelles fêtes apparaissent : sainte Jeanne de Valois le 4 février, sainte Colette le 6, la bienheureuse Marie de l'Incarnation le 18 avril, saint Jean-François Régis le 16 juin, le Vœu de Louis XIII le dimanche après l'Assomption, mais aussi des fêtes sans lien apparent avec Paris : saint Pie V, saint Augustin de Cantorbéry, saint Philippe Néri, saint Louis de Gonzague, sainte Marguerite, saint Stanislas Kostka, sainte Hélène. Surtout, la solennité du Sacré-Cœur<sup>106</sup> est désormais obligatoire et fixée au 2<sup>e</sup> dimanche de juillet depuis 1822. La dévotion mariale est marquée par la fête du Saint Nom de Marie le 15 septembre, les messes votives du Cœur très saint de Marie et du Rosaire. Des oraisons du Temporal<sup>107</sup> et surtout du Sanctoral<sup>108</sup>, en nombre non négligeable, sont modifiées

<sup>106</sup> Messe *Venite ad me*, d'inspiration eudiste, publiée en 1822, à la place de celle du Supplément au Missel de 1776, avec C *Concede* de la messe romaine *Miserebitur* (1765), SO *Pater misericordiarum*, dérivée de la collecte de la messe *Gaudeamus* composée par saint Jean Eudes (1668), Prose : *Fas sit, Christe, mysteria*, Préface *Qui in terris conversatus*, PC *Mitis et humilis Corde*.

<sup>107</sup> La collecte du dimanche dans l'octave de l'Épiphanie entre dans le cycle de Noël, à la place de *Vota* (= M R), en évoquant l'enfance du Christ : *Deus qui humilem Filii tui infantiam coelesti clarescere sapientia voluisti ; praesta ut spiritus prudentiae repleti, sincera tibi humilitate placeamus* (= Toul 1750).

<sup>108</sup> Les saintes Reines Bathilde (31 janvier) et Radegonde (13 août) bénéficient d'oraisons appropriées ; de même saint Clet (26 avril), saint Yves (19 mai), l'octave des saints Pierre et Paul (6 juillet), saint Bonaventure (14 juillet), saint Vincent de Paul (19 juillet), saint Loup de Troyes (29 juillet), saint Germain l'Auxerrois (31 juillet), saint Remi (1<sup>er</sup> octobre), saint Léon (10 novembre), pour ne citer que les plus marquants. Le 8 décembre, la pâle collecte *Famulis tuis* (= M R) fait place à une nouvelle, dérivée de celle du Missel de Rouen de 1728, qui exprime avec exactitude l'objet de la fête : *Deus, qui propter honorem Domini nostri Jesu Christi beatam ejus genitricem*

ou ajoutées à la place de celles des Communs. Sur ce point, le Missel parisien bénéficie de l'apport de divers Missels diocésains publiés entre temps. Quelques épîtres sont changées pour mieux correspondre aux évangiles. Mais le développement du Sanctoral va de pair avec un accroissement du degré de célébration<sup>109</sup> :

3. 1	Geneviève	(DM)	Solennel mineur
18.1	Chaire de saint Pierre	(SD)	Double
29.1	François de Sales	(SD)	Double
19.3	Joseph	(DM)	Solennel mineur
19.5	Yves	(Comm.)	Semi-double
3.6	Clotilde	(SD)	Double
19.7	Vincent de Paul	(SD)	Double
30.7	Ignace de Loyola	(Comm. le 31)	Semi-double
13.8	Radegonde	(Comm.)	Semi-double
25.8	Louis	(SD)	Solennel mineur
29.9	Michel	(DM)	Solennel mineur
1.10	Remi	(SD)	Double
1.11	Tous les Saints	(Sol. min)	Annuel mineur
4.11	Charles Borromée	(SD)	Double
10.11	Léon le Grand	(SD)	Double
3.12	François Xavier	(Comm. le 2)	Double
28.12	Innocents	(D)	Double majeur

Dans son mandement, Mgr de Quélen a beau affirmer qu'« il n'a rien retranché à l'honneur dû aux dimanches communs, mais qu'au contraire il l'a promu », il les fait céder devant les fêtes au moins de degré double majeur. Plusieurs fêtes sont déjà fixées au dimanche : la Trinité, le Sacré-Cœur, la réception de la sainte Couronne d'épines, la Commémoration du Vœu de Louis XIII ; s'ajoutent les fêtes d'Apôtres, les autres fêtes de rite double majeur, et toutes les fêtes d'un rang supérieur. Même si la raison alléguée est que « les chrétiens rappellent maintenant au moins de temps en temps ceux qu'ils ont eus comme maîtres dans la foi et à qui ils ont jadis accordé la plus grande vénération », c'est là une mesure qui fait brèche

*Virginem Mariam ab omni labe peccati praeservasti ; quaesumus, ut nos ejus purissimam Conceptionem recolentes, ab omni iniquitate mundos gratia tua efficere digneris.*

<sup>109</sup> Entre parenthèses le degré précédent, suivi du degré nouveau.

dans la célébration dominicale ordinaire, telle qu'elle fut recherchée un siècle auparavant. On peut faire la même observation, à un degré moindre, pour le Carême.

En 1841 (mandement *Cum Missalis Parisiensis* du 13 juillet), Mgr Denys Affre (1840-1848) publie une nouvelle édition du Missel de Paris, qui ne diffère de celle de 1830 que par la suppression de quelques commémorations<sup>110</sup>.

Le Missel parisien de 1830, suivi par celui de 1841, épouse les tendances nouvelles de la dévotion en France à l'époque de la Restauration, dénote un certain alignement du calendrier de Paris sur celui de Rome et accuse un fléchissement de la règle de préséance du dimanche. L'équilibre obtenu en 1736 pour le Bréviaire et en 1738 pour le Missel serait-il devenu instable? Le Missel de 1841 devait être le dernier publié par un archevêque de Paris, et déjà le mouvement liturgique commençait à se tourner depuis 1830 non plus vers Paris, mais vers Rome.

### *L'influence du Missel de Paris au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*

La fin de la Révolution de 1789, marquée pour l'Église par le Concordat promulgué le 18 avril 1802, aurait pu être l'occasion d'une unification liturgique autour du Bréviaire et du Missel de Paris. La carte des diocèses de France était bouleversée : les cent-quarante diocèses étaient réduits à soixante, chacun d'eux composé de portions d'anciens diocèses, ayant leurs traditions et souvent des livres liturgiques disparates. Les Articles organiques (5 avril 1802), joints unilatéralement par l'État au Concordat, décrétaient : « Il n'y aura qu'une Liturgie et un Catéchisme pour toutes les Églises catholiques de France ». Le catéchisme impérial fut bien mis en circulation, mais rien ne se fit pour l'unité liturgique, ni autour de la liturgie parisienne ni autrement. La présence prolongée du pape Pie VII en 1804-1805 provoqua, pour beaucoup de Parisiens,

<sup>110</sup> Sainte Radegonde (31 janvier), saint Chéron (28 mai), saint Érasme (3 juin), saint Vite ou Guy (15 juin), saint Cucufat et saint Germain (25 juillet). Le 26 juin, les saints romains Jean et Paul l'emportent sur le saint parisien Babolein, réduit à une commémoration.

un intérêt nouveau et même de la dévotion pour la personne du Souverain Pontife, mais il ne venait à l'idée de personne de se rallier à la liturgie romaine. L'activité du cardinal-légat Caprara ne fut pas plus déterminante. Par un indult du 9 avril 1802, il ne chercha à imposer en France ni la liturgie parisienne, ni la liturgie romaine. Il se contenta de réduire les fêtes d'obligation aux seules solennités de Noël, l'Ascension, l'Assomption et la Toussaint ; de transférer au Dimanche la solennité des fêtes de l'Épiphanie, du Saint-Sacrement, des saints Pierre et Paul, des saints Patrons du diocèse et de la paroisse ; d'instituer une Commémoration de tous les saints Apôtres au jour de la fête des saints Pierre et Paul, et de tous les saints Martyrs au jour de saint Étienne ; enfin, de fixer la fête de la Dédicace des églises au dimanche qui suit l'octave de la Toussaint. À ces mesures s'ajouta le 21 mai 1806 un décret instituant la fête de saint Napoléon, martyr, qui sera en même temps la fête de la Restauration de la Religion Catholique, jointe à la solennité de l'Assomption.

Indépendamment de ces décisions, chaque évêque fit comme il put pour une certaine unité liturgique de son diocèse, à défaut d'une unité en France. À la Restauration, les Accords de 1822 avec le Saint-Siège augmentant le nombre des diocèses ne firent qu'ajouter à l'imbroglio liturgique. L'exemple de Montpellier est assez parlant :

Montpellier, écrit *La Voix de la Vérité* le 3 février 1847, est composé de quatre anciens diocèses, qui sont Béziers, Lodève, Saint-Pons, Agde et un fragment du diocèse de Narbonne. À Montpellier, on suit le Romain, à Agde le Parisien, à Lodève le Parisien, à Saint-Pons le Romain aussi, mais modifié à la façon de Paris pendant le temps pascal (...). Dans le canton de Campestang, (...) on a conservé le rit narbonnais, qui n'a de Romain que les Complices. Ajoutez à cela que la plupart des prêtres de Montpellier récitent *privatim* le Bréviaire de Paris, édition de M. de Quélen, même ceux qui ont à gouverner des paroisses romaines. (...) Dans telle église le matin on fait le Romain, le soir le Parisien, et souvent, dans la même matinée, le Romain et le Parisien se succèdent poliment au lutrin.

Devant une telle situation, pour ne pas heurter de front des fidèles habitués à leurs usages, dont ils sont fiers, les évêques successifs de Montpellier publient chaque année, de 1802 à 1854, cinq Ordos différents pour les cinq anciens diocèses réunis dans celui de Montpellier. D'autres évêques, pour éviter les complications inévitables et incessantes à l'intérieur de leur diocèse, adoptèrent les livres parisiens. À Dijon, l'éditeur J. N. Alexandre Douillier fournit ses propres éditions au titre significatif: *Missale ad usum Ecclesiarum quae ritum Parisiensem sequuntur* (1825, 1827, 1830) ou *Missale Parisiense ad usum Ecclesiarum quae hunc ritum sequuntur* (1825, 1847), l'édition de 1827 ayant été faite pour le compte du libraire Prudhomme de Saint-Brieuc. Mais curieusement, ces éditions reproduisent le Missel de 1738, sans les changements apportés par la suite<sup>111</sup>.

#### *La fin du Missel de Paris (1872)*

L'année 1841 marque la fin de l'édition du Missel de Paris. À partir de 1840, en effet, l'un après l'autre les diocèses de France se plient aux invitations de plus en plus pressantes du Saint-Siège de « revenir » à l'unité liturgique autour des livres romains.

Deux ans à peine après avoir publié l'édition du Missel parisien en 1841, Mgr Denys Affre, successeur de Mgr de Quélen, écrivait, dans une circulaire adressée le 14 avril 1843 aux prêtres de Paris: « Nous aussi, nous regrettons les remaniements et les changements faits sans nécessité; nous aussi, et par le seul désir d'établir un nouveau lien avec le Saint-Siège, nous voudrions que, dans notre diocèse, une semblable mesure fût possible ». Malgré ce vœu pieux, dans une autre circulaire du

<sup>111</sup> Il faut cependant noter l'absence de vigile aux fêtes d'Apôtres et à celle de saint Laurent, la fixation de la Dédicace de toutes les églises le dimanche après l'octave de la Toussaint, comme le demandait le décret du cardinal Caprara, et à la fin du Sanctoral, sans indication de date de célébration, la fête du Sacré-Cœur, de rite Solennel majeur (Messe *Venite ad me*, de Paris, 1822). Les trois dernières oraisons *ad diversa* sont: 76, *Pro pueris in eorum prima communione* (M P de 1776); 77, *In festo Scapularii, 16 julii* (M R 1726); 78, *In festo Sanctissimi Rosarii, prima Dominica Octobris* (M R 1716).



2 juillet 1846, le même Mgr Affre abolissait toutes coutumes et cérémonies contraires aux rites et statuts du diocèse et promulguait un nouveau *Manuel des cérémonies*, établi par un prêtre du diocèse [le sulpicien Caron], défendant expressément de s'en écarter sous aucun prétexte, afin de « faire cesser une variété de rites non moins préjudiciables à l'ordre qu'à la piété ». En 1849, le concile de la province de Paris, réuni par l'archevêque Marie-Dominique Sibour (1848-1857), émet le vœu de retourner à la liturgie romaine, sans toutefois le prescrire et en souhaitant en même temps une réforme du Bréviaire romain<sup>112</sup>. Car le Bréviaire, non le Missel, est le principal point d'achoppement, mais les deux ne vont pas l'un sans l'autre.

L'abandon du Bréviaire et du Missel apparaît à la longue inéluctable, mais cela demandera du temps. Quand Mgr Sibour se rend à Rome pour la proclamation du dogme de l'Immaculée Conception, le 8 décembre 1854, il fait une démarche dans le sens du concile provincial. Le pape Pie IX lui répond par un bref du 15 janvier 1855 : il y souligne la haute importance de l'unité liturgique et exprime son désir de voir le diocèse de Paris se rattacher au Saint-Siège par un lien plus étroit. Un second bref suit, le 1<sup>er</sup> mars de la même année, dans le même sens. Le 3 octobre suivant, dans une lettre au Chapitre de Notre-Dame, Mgr Sibour demande aux chanoines de délibérer sur la question du retour à la liturgie romaine. Leur réponse contraste absolument avec celle de leurs prédécesseurs en 1583 : le 26 novembre, ils déclarent à l'archevêque regarder comme une loi le vœu exprimé par le Souverain Pontife, ils sont d'avis qu'il y a lieu d'adopter la liturgie romaine dans l'Église et le diocèse de Paris et s'en remettent d'une manière absolue à la prudence de Sa Grandeur pour le temps et la manière de faire ce changement.

<sup>112</sup> Décret n. 22 : *De unitate servando in ritibus et caeremoniis*. L'*Ami de la Religion*, dans son n° 4837, a ce commentaire atténué : « Nous sommes assurés que NN. SS. les Archevêques et Évêques de la province de Paris ont unanimement résolu d'exprimer au Saint-Père, dans les lettres synodales qu'ils doivent lui adresser, leur désir de rétablir la liturgie romaine dans tous leurs diocèses, en faisant seulement connaître à Sa Sainteté les considérations graves et les difficultés matérielles qui peuvent, à leur grand regret, retarder l'accomplissement de ce vœu plus particulièrement dans quelques-uns de ces diocèses ».

Mgr Sibour communique ces pièces à Rome, preuve de son obéissance au vœu du Pape et de la disponibilité du Chapitre à entrer dans ses vues. La réponse de Rome ne se fait pas attendre : dans un nouveau bref, le troisième, du 27 décembre, Pie IX adresse à l'archevêque et à son Chapitre, ses félicitations et dit sa confiance que cet exemple serait un puissant entraînement pour tous, et en particulier pour le clergé de Paris, à embrasser la liturgie romaine. Il est certain que si Paris adoptait le Bréviaire et le Missel romain, c'en était fait aussi de la liturgie parisienne dans les diocèses qui l'avaient adoptée et des autres liturgies diocésaines : on pouvait dès lors prévoir l'abandon de leur particularisme par trente-six diocèses.

Le 1<sup>er</sup> mai 1856, Mgr Sibour publie un mandement annonçant la nomination d'une commission chargée de préparer un *Propre* diocésain, le cérémonial et le chant, trois domaines imbriqués l'un dans l'autre. Un *Propre* ? Ce sera le premier dans l'histoire du diocèse, qui a toujours eu son Missel, et son Bréviaire, bien avant ceux de Vintimille. Le Cérémonial de Paris avait été codifié et publié en 1656, 1703, et en dernier lieu en 1846, et les habitudes prises auront du mal à céder devant les rubriques remaniées. Le chant ? Il faudra sacrifier les livres de chant, gros in-folio des lutrins et manuels de chant pour les fidèles : ils contenaient un chant bâtard mais connu, qu'il faudrait remplacer par un chant romain, qui n'a pas de mélodies officiellement reconnues.

Mais le mandement ne s'arrête pas là. Paradoxalement, en même temps qu'il annonce la création d'une commission pour préparer l'adoption de la liturgie romaine, il poursuit par une glorification de la liturgie parisienne, qu'il faudra se résigner à voir disparaître, mêlée à une critique de la liturgie romaine, qu'il faudra pourtant adopter, une critique qui porte surtout sur le bréviaire : la répartition du psautier alourdit le poids des offices, surtout les jours où le clergé est le plus occupé ; on peut estimer défectueuse la poésie de certaines hymnes, surtout si on les compare à celles du Bréviaire de Paris ; on devra lire à l'office des légendes apocryphes ou trop naïves dans leurs détails. Mais c'est le prix à payer pour l'unité liturgique demandée par le Pape.

Mgr Sibour ne verra pas l'aboutissement des travaux de la Commission qu'il a instituée. Mgr Affre, son prédécesseur, avait été tué au Faubourg-Saint-Germain en juin 1848, lors de l'insurrection parisienne qui avait chassé Charles X. Lui-même connaît une fin semblable : il est poignardé le 3 janvier 1857 par un prêtre interdit en l'église Saint-Etienne du Mont, où il venait célébrer la solennité de sainte Geneviève.

La question liturgique reste en sommeil à Paris pendant quinze ans, alors que se déchaîne une polémique pour ou contre l'adhésion à la liturgie romaine. Curieusement, le cardinal François Morlot (1857-1862), qui succède à Mgr Sibour, et qui n'a pas eu le temps de terminer à Tours l'établissement de la liturgie romaine, semble ne pas presser la commission d'achever ses travaux. Il meurt en 1862, sans que rien n'ait bougé. Son successeur, Mgr Georges Darboy (1863-1871) ne partage pas les idées ultramontaines : il quitte le Concile du Vatican en 1870 avant le vote sur l'infaillibilité pontificale pour ne pas avoir à émettre un *Non placet*, et de Paris il fera attendre plusieurs mois son adhésion au dogme promulgué en son absence. La situation liturgique est demeurée en l'état, lorsque l'archevêque, saisi comme otage par la Commune insurgée de Paris, est fusillé le 24 mai 1871. En moins de vingt-cinq ans, il est le troisième archevêque de Paris à succomber tragiquement. Ces événements n'ont guère contribué à un bouleversement de l'ordre liturgique.

L'établissement de la liturgie romaine à Paris sera l'œuvre du cardinal Guibert (1871-1886). Joseph-Hippolyte Guibert, qui fut disciple de Mgr de Mazenod et oblat de Marie-Immaculée, devenu évêque de Viviers en 1841, avait voulu introduire la liturgie romaine dans son diocèse, mais s'était heurté à l'opposition résolue de son clergé. Nommé archevêque de Tours en 1857, à la place du cardinal Morlot, il y introduit dès 1859 la liturgie romaine que ce dernier avait entrepris d'établir. Il lui succède à Paris en 1871 comme il lui avait succédé à Tours, et ne tarde pas à réveiller la Commission établie en 1856.

Le Propre de Paris est finalement mis au point et adressé à Rome pour approbation. La Congrégation des Rites accepte le projet qui lui est soumis, mais se refuse à accorder à Paris ce

que Lyon avait obtenu en 1866<sup>113</sup> : il n'y aura pas de *Missale Romano-Parisiense*. Les fêtes, nombreuses et pour beaucoup sans rapport avec Paris, que l'archevêque conserve ou établit, ne seront pas mêlées aux fêtes du sanctoral romain, mais soigneusement mises à part, soit en appendice au Missel et au Bréviaire romains, soit en volume séparé. Et le calendrier doit bien distinguer ce qui est parisien de ce qui est romain. Il faut, de plus, que ces additions, admises et approuvées par le Saint-Siège, soient distinguées par une numérotation spéciale, que la première page soit imprimée en grands caractères, qu'au verso on trouve le décret d'approbation, et à la suite le Propre soit des offices, soit des messes. À ces instructions minutieuses s'ajoute une véritable mise en garde :

Dans une affaire aussi grave, et, selon les lois ecclésiastiques, réservée au suprême jugement du Saint-Siège, pour que le Révérendissime Seigneur Archevêque ne paraisse pas déterminer quoi que ce soit de sa propre autorité, en raison de la singulière vénération filiale et de la piété qu'il doit montrer envers ce Saint-Siège, il a proposé avec toute l'obéissance possible à la sanction de notre très saint Seigneur le Pape Pie IX un exemplaire du calendrier diocésain composé par lui, ainsi que du Propre des offices et des messes, en y joignant ses humbles prières pour qu'il daigne approuver chacun de ces éléments de sa bienveillance apostolique.

Tel est le langage du décret d'approbation du 19 décembre 1872, qui dissimule mal la peur rétrospective qu'un diocèse aussi important et influent que Paris garde son autonomie liturgique, la volonté de réduire à une sorte de réserve les débris subsistants de la liturgie parisienne, et une sorte de plaisir à rabaisser le rôle de l'archevêque en exaltant au plus haut l'autorité papale.

Le Propre diocésain est donc publié en 1873, en même temps que Missel, Bréviaire et Rituel romains remplacent les

<sup>113</sup> Le diocèse de Lyon, si jaloux de l'antiquité de sa liturgie, avait obtenu en 1866, non sans peine, un *Missale Romano-Lugdunense*, qui ne connut qu'une autre édition en 1868 (AMIER, *op. cit.*, nn. 562, 563), avant d'être réduit en 1904 à un *Missale Romanum, in quo antiqui ritus Lugdunenses servantur*, qui connut deux autres éditions, en 1934 et 1956 (Amiet, nn. 563 B, 563 C, 563 D).

livres parisiens. Mais il faut croire que le résultat laissait à désirer, car dix ans plus tard le même cardinal Guibert revient à la charge : pour faire droit au souhait du clergé et du peuple de la capitale de voir rétablir plusieurs fêtes, il a entrepris une révision du calendrier approuvé en 1872. La Congrégation des Rites accepte les modifications demandées, le 1<sup>er</sup> juillet 1883<sup>114</sup>. Mais dès lors Paris n'est plus le chef de file de livres liturgiques concurrents des livres romains, il n'est plus qu'un diocèse soumis au régime commun.

Les fêtes parisiennes sont noyées dans un calendrier surchargé : aucun jour libre en janvier, juillet, août, septembre, novembre, un en octobre, deux en juin, trois en mai et décembre, quatre en février, sept en avril, quatorze tout de même en mars. Encore faut-il ajouter les nombreuses fêtes mobiles, des reports de date (saint Julien du Mans passe du 27 janvier au 15 février), et les fêtes transférées d'un jour à un autre. Ce

<sup>114</sup> Le Propre de 1872/1883 reprenait l'essentiel des fêtes reçues auparavant à Paris, et ajoutait des saints anciens oubliés (la bienheureuse Isabelle, sœur de saint Louis, le 25 février, la bienheureuse ou sainte Julienne de Mont-Cornillon, le 5 avril, saint Hugues, évêque de Paris, le 9 avril, saint Bertrand du Mans, ancien archidiacre de Paris, le 3 juillet au lieu du 30 juin, saint Louis de Toulouse, le 19 août, le bienheureux Pierre de Luxembourg, évêque de Metz, le 30 mai († 2 juillet 1387), des saints et bienheureux au culte reconnu récemment (Urbain II, Urbain V, Grégoire X, Reginald, Jeanne-Marie de Maillé, Benoît Labre, Pierre Fourier, Marguerite-Marie Alacoque, Françoise d'Amboise), une mémoire de la translation de saint Vincent de Paul (25 avril 1830) et une Commémoration solennelle de tous les saints évêques, patrons et autres saints du diocèse, le 3<sup>e</sup> dimanche de juillet. Ont conservé leur collecte de 1738 Geneviève (2176), Siméon Stylite (325), Lucien (2196), Aubin (2436), Droctovée (2442), Rieul (2461), Marie l'Égyptienne (2514), Opportune (4180), la découverte du corps de saint Denis et de ses compagnons (2503), Eutrope (2072), Mamert (2609), Germain de Paris (2433), les martyrs de Lyon (2651), Clotilde (2604), Landry (2680), Agoard et ses compagnons (2809), l'ordination de saint Martin (2885), Martial (2865), Julien (2925), Victor (2909), Christophe (3000), la translation de saint Marcel (3968), Samson (3039), Yon (3995), Justin (3147), la réception de la sainte Couronne d'épines (3176), Radegonde (4200), Roch (3218), Louis IX (3264), les Saintes Reliques (3850), Cloud (3353), Cérans (3549), Léger (3590), Denis et ses compagnons (3646, 3655, 3675), Hermeland (3683), Céline (3707), Mathurin (4109), Léonard (3844), Eugène (3895), Malo (3896), Aude (4179), Geneviève des Ardents (3967), Saturnin (2072), Éloi (2093), Fuscien et Victorin (2129).

n'était pas tant un accroissement de la dévotion aux saints qui était la cause de cet envahissement, que le désir de n'avoir pas à prendre l'office ferial et surtout l'office dominical du bréviaire romain, d'une longueur insupportable pour les prêtres qui avaient apprécié l'équilibre du Bréviaire parisien. Le passage du Missel parisien au Missel romain constituait, lui, une sorte de régression, avec un lectionnaire trop réduit et des oraisons sans relief et à peu près interchangeables.

*Du Missel parisien de 1738 au Missel romain de 1970-2002*

La liturgie parisienne n'avait cependant pas dit son dernier mot en 1872, et sa revanche posthume allait venir d'où on l'attendait le moins : de Rome.

Cela se fit d'abord par petites touches. En 1863, la nouvelle messe du 8 décembre emprunte son introït à la messe parisienne de sainte Geneviève. En 1908, ce sont les oraisons de la messe parisienne de saint Paulin de Nole (22 juin) qui deviennent romaines. En 1919, la préface du Missel de Vintimille pour les messes des défunts entre dans le Missel romain. Les autres, diffusées même hors de France dans des Propres diocésains, seront insérées dans le Propre de France en 1962. En 1925, la nouvelle fête du Christ-Roi reprend l'antienne de communion du 1<sup>er</sup> dimanche de l'Avent du Missel parisien. En 1929, la messe du Sacré-Cœur (*Cogitationes*) adopte l'antienne de communion de la messe des Cinq Plaies du Christ au Missel de Paris. Le corpus des préfaces s'élargit : en 1919, pour les défunts et pour saint Joseph ; en 1925, pour la nouvelle fête du Christ-Roi ; en 1928, pour celle du Sacré-Cœur. En 1951, la réforme de la veillée pascale réduit les lectures de l'Ancien Testament à quatre, comme à Paris en 1738 et bien avant.

Mais surtout, tandis que la réforme du Bréviaire romain en 1911 s'inspirait du même principe que le Bréviaire parisien pour la répartition du psautier, le Missel romain promulgué par Paul VI en 1970 a repris un bon nombre des données qui caractérisent le Missel de Paris :

### Le calendrier

(1) La prééminence du dimanche, qui ne le cède désormais, au cours du Temps ordinaire, qu'aux solennités et aux fêtes du Seigneur, les dimanches de l'Avent, du Carême et de Pâques l'emportant même sur toutes les solennités, les seuls dimanches régulièrement occupés par une fête, et une fête du Seigneur, sont le dimanche après Noël (la Sainte Famille), le dimanche après l'Épiphanie (le Baptême du Seigneur), le dimanche qui suit la Pentecôte (la Sainte Trinité) et le dernier dimanche de l'année liturgique (le Christ Roi de l'univers) ;

(2) la réduction des célébrations à trois degrés : douze solennités dans le Sanctoral, vingt fêtes et des mémoires, les unes obligatoires (soixante-trois en 1970, soixante-huit en 2002), les autres facultatives ;

(3) la réduction des octaves à celles de Pâques et de Noël, et des vigiles à une seule, à Noël, tandis que d'autres fêtes sont dotées d'une messe la veille au soir : la Pentecôte, la Nativité de saint Jean-Baptiste, les saints Apôtres Pierre et Paul, l'Assomption de la Vierge Marie et, en 2002, l'Épiphanie et l'Ascension ;

(4) pour dégager le Carême, les mémoires qui subsistent se réduisent à une simple commémoration, ou bien les saints dont l'anniversaire tombe en ce temps sont transférés, comme pour Paris, à d'autres jours : Thomas d'Aquin († 7 mars) le 28 janvier, jour de la translation de son corps à Toulouse en 1369, Grégoire le Grand († 12 mars) le 3 septembre, anniversaire de son ordination, Benoît († 21 mars) le 11 juillet, jour de sa translation. Même la solennité de saint Joseph pourrait être déplacée par la Conférence des Évêques du 19 mars à un autre jour en dehors du Carême. Sur ce point la convergence des deux Missels est patente.

(5) la fixation de la fête d'un saint, en dehors du Carême, à son jour anniversaire, ou un jour proche, autant que possible, ou un autre jour remarquable, par exemple : le 2 janvier pour saint Basile († 1 janvier), le 13 pour saint Hilaire, le 24 pour saint François de Sales, anniversaire de son inhumation à Annecy, le 13 septembre pour saint Jean Chrysostome

(† 14 septembre), le 10 novembre pour saint Léon le Grand, jour de sa *depositio* à Saint-Pierre ;

(6) la réduction du nombre des fêtes aux « saints qui présentent véritablement une importance universelle », selon la prescription du *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, 111<sup>115</sup>.

(7) Enfin les fêtes du 2 février et du 25 mars redeviennent, comme à Paris, des fêtes du Seigneur : *Praesentatio Domini* et *Annuntiatio Domini*.

### Les lectures

Mgr de Harlay (1685), suivi par Mgr de Vintimille, avait voulu que le Nouveau Testament soit lu presque entier dans le Missel. La réforme décidée par le Concile Vatican II est allée bien au-delà en demandant qu'« on ouvre plus largement les trésors bibliques pour que, dans un nombre d'années déterminé, on lise au peuple la partie la plus importante des Saintes Écritures » (*Sacrosanctum Concilium*, 51). Le Lectionnaire, réalisé selon ce plan et promulgué le 25 mai 1969, est réparti sur trois ans pour le dimanche, et sur deux ans pour la première lecture en semaine, chaque jour étant ainsi pourvu de lectures. À cela s'ajoutent les lectures pour les messes des saints, pour les messes rituelles et pour diverses circonstances. Ce sont pratiquement tous les livres de la Bible qui sont désormais, peu ou prou, proposés aux fidèles.

### Les préfaces

Le Missel parisien de 1738 avait ajouté huit préfaces (treize même en 1776) aux onze que contenait le Missel romain. Ces préfaces nouvelles allaient se répandre dans presque toute la France, et certains Missels comme celui de Cahors de 1760 en ajoutaient d'autres. Le Missel romain de 1970 n'en reste pas

<sup>115</sup> Le volume *Calendarium Romanum ex decreto sacrosancti oecumenici Concilii Vaticani II instauratum auctoritate Pauli P.P. VI promulgatum*, Editio typica, Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, MCMLXIX, donne p. 112-149 les changements apportés au Calendrier romain de 1962, en particulier la suppression d'un certain nombre de fêtes et le motif de ces suppressions.



là : il contient 84 préfaces<sup>116</sup> et dans sa troisième édition, en 2002, le nombre atteint 96.

### Les chants de la messe

Le Missel romain de 1970 n'a conservé que les antiennes d'ouverture et de communion, laissant à l'*Ordo cantus Missae* (1972) les graduels, traits, versets d'alléluia et antiennes d'offertoire. Malgré cette réduction, il a emprunté au Missel de Vintimille, parmi d'autres sources, 18 antiennes d'introit<sup>117</sup> et 35 antiennes de communion<sup>118</sup>.

### Les oraisons

À rechercher les sources des oraisons du Missel romain de 1970, on peut remarquer

qu'après les sacramentaires romains et ambrosiens, les Missels français du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, et spécialement le Missel parisien de Vintimille y tiennent une place de choix.

Ils ont exercé une double influence. Ils ont d'abord été des inspireurs pour la création d'un certain nombre d'*Orationes ad diversa* et pour leur répartition en séries cohérentes. C'est ainsi qu'on trouve, dans le Missel de Paris, des oraisons pour l'Église locale, l'évêque, l'ensemble du clergé, les ordinands (hors de la Messe d'ordination), pour la cité et ses habitants, pour le pasteur d'une église en l'anniversaire de son ordination, pour les catéchistes et les enfants à catéchiser, pour les premiers communiant, pour un Ordre religieux au jour de la fête de son fondateur, pour les vierges consacrées, les veuves, les époux en l'anniversaire de leur mariage, pour une femme enceinte, pour les fruits de la terre, en action de grâce après la récolte. Il y a là un aliment de qualité pour la « prière du

<sup>116</sup> Cf. A. WARD et C. JOHNSON, *The Prefaces of the Roman Missel. A Source Compendium with Concordance and Indices*, Congregation for Divine Worship, Roma, 1989, 694 p.

<sup>117</sup> nn. 303, 1324, 1473, 2152, 2175, 2255, 2832, 2841, 3205, 3250, 3339, 3681, 4059, 4197, 4291, 4527, 4611, 4707.

<sup>118</sup> nn. 184, 209, 245, 284, 295, 333, 484, 548, 780, 822, 970, 1342, 1567, 1592, 1851, 1893, 1907, 2005, 2079, 2421, 2510, 2777, 2839, 2892, 3203, 3260, 3392, 3785, 4020, 4039, 4121, 4141, 4363, 4483, 4537.

temps présent », qui a trouvé plus qu'un écho dans le Missel de Paul VI.

Mais plus encore qu'une inspiration, les oraisons des missels français ont fourni une matière première largement utilisée par le nouveau Missel, en particulier au sanctoral<sup>119</sup>.

Dans le Propre du Temps, une vingtaine d'oraisons ont leur source ou même leur texte dans le Missel parisien<sup>120</sup>. Dans le Sanctoral<sup>121</sup> et dans les Communs, les emprunts sont beaucoup

<sup>119</sup> P. JOUNEL, « Les sources françaises du Missel de Paul VI », *Questions liturgiques*, 52 (1971), p. 310 (article repris dans *Liturgie aux multiples visages*, CLV – Edizioni Liturgiche, Roma, p. 227).

<sup>120</sup> (MR éd. 2002) : 21 décembre, SO (MP 675) Épiphanie (veille), C (MP 324), Carême : Lundi 1, SO (MP 588), Mardi 1, SO (MP 614), SP (MP 2531), Jeudi 3, SO (MP 716), Mardi 4, SO (MP 1976), Mercredi 4, PC (MP 982), Lundi 5, SP (MP 560), Samedi 5, SP (MP 962) ; Temps pascal : Lundi 3, C (MP 1361), Dimanche 4, PC (MP 1397, SO ; éd. 1776, PC), Ascension (veille), SO (MP 1493), PC (MP 1495) ; Temps *per annum* : 9<sup>e</sup> Dimanche, PC (MP 1768), 19<sup>e</sup>, SO (MP 675), 20<sup>e</sup>, PC (MP 4470), 23<sup>e</sup>, PC (MP 425), 26<sup>e</sup>, PC (MP 1782), 33<sup>e</sup>, C (MP 4147).

<sup>121</sup> (MR éd. 2002) : 2 janvier, C (MP 4107, 13 janvier, c (2565), 17 janvier, PC (2240), 21 janvier, C (2280), 2 février, Bénéd. 2 (2372), PC (2384), 22 février, SO (2250), 23 février, C (2542), 19 mars, SO (2499), 4 avril, C (4103), 13 avril, C (2291), 25 avril, SO (3495 + 2520), PC (3692), 2 mai SO (2571), PC (2573), 3 mai, C (2555), SO (2561), PC (2563), 14 mai, SO (2430), PC (2432), 25 mai (2), C (3470), 27 mai (2676), 31 mai, SO (2881), PC (2883), 3 juin, SO (2911), PC (2913), 11 juin, C (2701), 28 juin, SO (2829), PC (2831), 29 juin (veille), PC (2840), (jour), PC (2711), 3 juillet, PC (2161), 20 juillet, C (2130), 22 juillet, C (2979), PC (2987), 25 juillet, C (2999), SO (3008), 26 juillet, C (3038), SO (3045), PC (3048), 29 juillet, C (MP éd. 1685), 6 août, PC (3144), 7 août (1), C (3135), 8 août, SO (3126), PC (2128), 12 août, C (2069), 19 août, C (2322), 20 août, C (3224), 28 août, C (3830), 29 août (3298), SO (3304), 3 septembre, C (4073), PC (4107), 13 septembre, SO (2208), PC (3478), 15 septembre, SO (cfr 949 et 951), 16 septembre, C (3457), 21 septembre, C (3489), SO (3495), PC (3497), 30 septembre, PC (3877), 1 octobre, C (3612), 2 octobre, C (3599), 7 octobre, PC (4300), 14 octobre, C (3858), 15 octobre, C (3671), 16 octobre (2), C (2176), 17 octobre, SO (2364), PC (2366), 18 octobre, PC (3692), 28 octobre, C (3760 + 3772), 1 novembre, SO (3796), PC (3798), 4 novembre, C (3830), PC (3841 + 3537), 11 novembre, C (3874), PC (2893), 18 novembre, C (2848), 23 novembre, C (3943), 30 novembre, SO (2764), PC (2091), 3 décembre, PC (4123), 7 décembre, C (2483), PC (2491), 11 décembre, C (2319), 27 décembre, SO (272), 29 décembre, C (2895).

plus nombreux<sup>122</sup>. Il en va de même pour les messes et oraisons *ad diversa*<sup>123</sup> ; si l'on veut prier à l'occasion d'une réunion de chefs d'État, la collecte proposée (n. 19 en 1970, n. 23 en 2002) n'est autre que celle du Missel de Vintimille pour la réunion des États généraux (n. 4495). Il n'est pas jusqu'à la répartition des oraisons *ad diversa* qui n'ait sa correspondance entre les deux Missels : pour la sainte Église, pour les affaires publiques, pour diverses circonstances publiques, pour certains besoins particuliers<sup>124</sup>.

Les rédacteurs du Missel romain de 1970 avaient à leur disposition le Missel parisien de 1738 (ou plutôt l'édition de 1776), à côté d'autres comme le Missel de Lyon, celui de Milan et quelques propres diocésains français. Ils avaient aussi sous la main les éditions récentes des anciens sacramentaires, meilleures que celles dont disposaient les rédacteurs du Missel parisien. Leurs choix ne sont pas les mêmes bien souvent, mais leur désir de faire du Missel le lieu premier de l'Église en prière rejoint celui que formulait déjà en 1738 l'archevêque Charles de Vintimille : « Puiser à des sources si pures les formules de prière que nous ont livrées ces premiers témoins de la doctrine chrétienne ». De 1685 à 1738, de 1738 à 1841, la recherche a

<sup>122</sup> Au Commun de la Vierge Marie : nn. 4272, 4275, 4292 ; des Martyrs : nn. 2131, 2146, 2194, 2195, 2289, 2298, 2661, 2719, 2831, 2895, 3135, 3295, 3610, 3995, 4008, 4018, 4021, 4057, 4181 ; des Pasteurs : nn. 2072, 2074, 2081, 2322, 2330, 2664, 2686, 3549, 3961, 4074, 4075 ; des Docteurs : nn. 2208, 4107 ; des Vierges : nn. 2184, 4191, 4192 ; des Saints et Saintes : nn. 2176, 2684, 4125, 4126.

<sup>123</sup> Aux messes *ad diversa* : 1 D : nn. 4473, 4482 ; 1 E : n. 4867 ; 3 : nn. 4808, 4869, 4870 ; 4 : n. 4500 ; 5 : nn. 4486, 4496 ; 7 : nn. 5006, 5007, 5008 ; 13 : nn. 5027, 5028, 5029 ; 15 : nn. 4853, 4855 ; 20 : nn. 4486, 4496, 4498 ; 23 : n. 4895 ; 27 : nn. 4667, 4676 ; 28 : nn. 4684, 4686 ; 37 : nn. 4986, 4987 ; 38 : n. 4591 ; 41 : n. 5011 ; 42 : nn. 5013, 5014 ; 43 : nn. 5052, 5053 ; 46 : n. 4581 ; 47 : nn. 4581, 4587, 4589 ; 48 : n. 4994 ; 49 : n. 4621. Aux messes votives : 3 : n. 4364 ; 6 : nn. 4338, 4340 ; 8 : n. 4470 ; 14 : nn. 4422, 4423 ; 18 : n. 2522 ; 19 : nn. 4458, 4471. Aux messes pour les défunts : nn. 4715, 4717.

<sup>124</sup> Dans l'édition de 2002, la répartition des oraisons en trois sections (pour la Sainte Église, pour des circonstances publiques, pour divers besoins) est moins satisfaisante que celle de 1970, due à P. Jounel. Celui-ci m'a confié que l'idée lui était venue des orientations demandées pour les intentions de la Prière universelle (Présentation générale du Missel romain, n. 46).

été continuelle pour procurer au Missel de Paris « toute la beauté qui paraîtrait la plus appropriée » et « pour exciter dans le cœur des fidèles des sentiments plus fermes de piété »<sup>125</sup>.

La réforme du Missel romain a suivi les mêmes principes et est même allée au-delà de ce que pouvait souhaiter et réaliser en son temps l'archevêque de Paris. Le pape Paul VI déclara en le promulguant : « L'innovation majeure porte sur la prière eucharistique » : « (elle) s'est enrichie d'un grand nombre de Préfaces, puisées à l'antique tradition romaine ou nouvellement composées, ce qui mettra mieux en lumière les divers aspects du mystère du salut et procurera de plus amples motifs d'action de grâce ». Plus encore, le pape décida d'ajouter au Canon romain, demeuré unique et invariable depuis les IV<sup>e</sup>-V<sup>e</sup> siècles, trois nouvelles Prières eucharistiques. Il alla même jusqu'à modifier les paroles de l'institution et enlever l'insertion : « le mystère de la foi », pour en faire l'introduction à l'acclamation du peuple aussitôt après. « D'autres parties, ajoutait-il, ont aussi été revues et considérablement modifiées : le temporal, le sanctoral, le commun des saints, les messes rituelles et les messes votives. On a apporté un soin particulier aux oraisons, leur nombre a été augmenté, soit à partir de sources liturgiques anciennes, soit pour répondre à des besoins nouveaux. » (Constitution *Missale Romanum*, 3 avril 1969).

Du Missel parisien des XVII<sup>e</sup>-XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles au Missel Romain de 1970, la démarche est la même, et les convergences sont nombreuses. Pour réaliser l'un comme l'autre, leurs rédacteurs ont tiré du trésor de prières de l'Église du neuf et de l'ancien, dans la conviction qu'exprimait la constitution *Sacrosanctum Concilium* que « la liturgie est le sommet auquel tend l'action de l'Église, et en même temps la source d'où découle toute sa vertu » (art. 10).

Même supprimé en 1872 au profit du Missel romain et au regret de bien des prêtres, le Missel de Paris n'aura pas été qu'un épisode transitoire dans la longue histoire de la liturgie latine. Les travaux scientifiques, les grandes publications comme le *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie* (1907-1953) de dom Cabrol et de dom Leclercq, les catalogues des livres litur-

<sup>125</sup> Cf. le mandement *Supremo Numini* du Missel de Vintimille.

giques de Mgr V. Leroquais, les études de Mgr L. Duchesne, de P. Battifol, l'encyclopédie *Liturgia* de R. Aigrain ont permis la lente germination en France du mouvement liturgique, qui a trouvé son apogée à Vatican II. La réforme du Missel, engagée selon les directives de la constitution *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, comptait parmi ses experts un nombre important de pasteurs, d'enseignants et de scientifiques français<sup>126</sup>, dont l'apport a été décisif pour parvenir à un Missel romain renouvelé et enrichi, où l'apport du Missel de Paris, tant dans son organisation que dans ses textes, est loin d'avoir été négligeable, mais plutôt un exemple et un stimulant.

En présentant le livre du P. Jounel *Liturgie aux multiples visages* (1993), le cardinal Noè, qui fut longtemps Secrétaire de la Congrégation pour le Culte divin, n'hésitait pas à écrire :

L'examen des liturgies diocésaines en France des années 1685 à 1875, et la manière avec laquelle leurs auteurs ont su nouvellement tirer parti des sources liturgiques antiques, qui venaient d'être découvertes et publiées, ne sont pas sans intérêt pour mieux comprendre la composition du missel romain de Paul VI : les mêmes sources liturgiques, le même désir d'enrichir la prière d'aujourd'hui, l'utilisation des richesses qui y sont contenues, pour les rendre plus actuelles : tout a été mis en œuvre. Et l'on pourra constater avec quel résultat heureux le missel de Paul VI a su reprendre les meilleures oraisons des missels diocésains français, en particulier pour le sanctoral (p. 6-7).

Dans une des études de ce recueil, « Les sources françaises du Missel de Paul VI », le P. Jounel concluait, en élargissant son propos au-delà du seul Missel de Vintimille :

Il convient de se demander pourquoi les auteurs des Missels français du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle ont pu apporter une contribution de choix à l'élaboration du nouveau Missel romain. C'est, à n'en

<sup>126</sup> Mgr J. Beilliard, P. L. Bouyer, dom E. Cardine, J. Cellier, dom J. Claire, P. L. Deiss, dom A. Dumas, P. J. Féder, P. G. Fontaine, dom J. Gaillard, P. J. Gelineau, P. P.-M. Gy, dom R. Hesbert, dom J. Hourlier, Mgr P. Jounel, dom E. Lanne, dom H. Marot, Mgr A.-G. Martimort, P. J.-B. Molin, dom A. Nocent, P. A.-M. Roguet.

pas douter, parce que les prières qu'ils ont créées étaient le fruit d'une profonde culture biblique, patristique et liturgique. Seule une telle culture permet à l'inspiration de jaillir et d'insérer le renouveau dans une tradition venant des origines. » (*Op. cit.*, p. 231)

### Résumé

Le *Corpus Orationum* entendait répertorier toutes les Oraisons de l'Occident Latin depuis l'Antiquité tardive jusqu'à la fin du Moyen Âge, mais la collecte s'est prolongée dans les deux derniers tomes jusqu'à l'édition 2002 du *Missale Romanum*. Parmi les témoins de cette période plus récente, le Missel parisien de 1738 tient une place particulière, qui ne tient pas seulement à son euchologie. Dans la continuité d'une tradition diocésaine particulière, il marque un aboutissement : en recueillant le meilleur des publications et des recherches liturgiques de son temps, il a suscité l'émulation dans la plupart des diocèses de France, et, ce qui était imprévisible quand il a dû disparaître en 1872, il a servi d'inspiration et de source au Missel romain actuel. C'est ce que cherche à montrer, au-delà de la seule euchologie, l'histoire du Missel de Paris, dans ses éléments permanents comme dans son évolution.

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